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NEW SERIES.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1802.

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SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE preſent Volume of the Annual Regiſter comprizes a period when Europe was at peace, or rather when military operations were intermitted; for that can hardly be called a ſtate of peace, in which an active and uſurping power is buſily employed, in undiſguiſed efforts to extend dominion, and, under the ſemblance of influence, to acquire deſpotic controul over all other countries. The tranſactions of this period proved the wiſdom of thoſe, who, at the beginning of the French revolution, predicted, that it muſt terminate in a rigid military deſpotiſm; and that a people ſo enſlaved, would be very capable of carrying ſlavery into all parts of the world.

Our narrative of paſſing events has been conſtructed with a particular view to the expoſition of this moſt important truth, and therefore, the circumſtances attending the aſſumption of the ſovereignty of Italy by Bonaparte; his acquiſition of extended power in France; the perfidious manner in which the indemnities in Germany were arranged; and the undiſguiſed attempt to re-eſtabliſh ſlavery in St. Domingo, have been related with minute exactneſs.

In

In our Domeſtic Hiſtory, the moſt prominent point is, the Debates on the Peace of Amiens. In detailing theſe we have been unuſually copious, conſidering the ſentiments of every ſtateſman on this great topic, an intereſting and valuable record, and one which, not only thoſe who perſonally participate in the reputation of the ſpeakers, but all poſterity will regard with the ſentiments due to diſcuſſions on a ſubject ſo momentous, and, under all circumſtances, ſo new. It is not, however, intended, in future, to afford ſuch large details, but to reſume our old and approved mode of compreſſing the general merits of every important debate.

As the plan of publiſhing a Volume of the Old Series of the Annual Regiſter, with one of the New Series has been adhered to on the preſent occaſion, no apology is offered here for any apparent delay in the publication of this Volume. Every effort will be exerted to keep pace with our repeated promiſes, and with the juſt expectations of the public; but thoſe promiſes would be ill performed, and thoſe expectations miſerably diſappointed, if, in order to gain a reputation for diſpatch, the Editors were to ſend into the world crude, undigeſted, and incorrect narratives, which cannot be peruſed with ſatisfaction, nor quoted with confidence.

THE

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1802.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Effect of the Peace in England. A Party dissatisfied. Various parties contented for different Reasons. From preference of the Cause of France. From Conviction of the Difficulty of Proceeding in the War. The Nation in general satisfied. The National Spirit unbroken. The Attachment to French Principles likely to abate in Peace. The Party which disapproved of the Peace highly respectable. Secret Treaties and Intrigues of France. Inquiry whether the separation of Great Britain from all Connexion with the Continent, could be occasioned by the Peace, or prevented, by continuing the War. Holland, Spain, Italy, the northern Powers. Turkey, its distracted condition. Massacre of some of the Beys in Egypt. Indignation of General Hutchinson. Treaty between France and the Porte—between France and Russia—and between France and Portugal. Their beneficial effects to France. Statement made by that Government of the improved condition of the Country—on Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Turkey, and England. The people of France rejoiced at the Peace. Public celebration fixed for the Ninth of November.

IN concluding the history of the preceding year, the last subject noticed, was the preliminary articles of peace concluded between Great Britain and the French republic. The extravagant joy demonstrated by the people on this occasion, and the apparent prostration of the national character in the reception of General Lauriston, were regarded by some, who had ever shewn the most ardent zeal for the honour of their country, with undisguised

concern and indignation, but the general ſatisfaction was too loud and too violent for their reaſonings to make, at the time, any ſenſible impreſſion.

Perhaps no peace was ever made, in which ſo many parties rejoiced for reaſons ſo widely different. They who had always oppoſed the war with France, although they did not unite with the miniſtry, profeſſed an early and decided approbation of the preliminary treaty. The reaſon aſſigned for their ſatisfaction was, that as England had entered into the war without any juſt cauſe, it was fit, that on its termination ſhe ſhould be foiled and diſgraced; and that the treaty ought in juſtice to be honourable and advantageous to France, becauſe that country had been during the whole war, injured and inſulted.

The friends of the late adminiſtration, who had ſupported the war from its commencement, and who now declared their ſatisfaction at its termination, were rather driven by neceſſity than invited by their judgment to that opinion. In the progreſs of the ſingular and eventful conteſt, which was juſt cloſed, they had been continually aſſailed with demands and propoſitions the moſt artful and perplexing. While the public jealouſy was excited by repeated declarations, that the war was begun for no other purpoſe than that of reſtoring the family of Bourbon to the throne of France, miniſters were perpetually required to define the objects for which they were at war. The anſwer to ſuch queſtions could not, in ſuch a conteſt, ever be ſatisfactory, becauſe the ſingular character aſſumed by the French nation at all periods of the revolution, preſented danger in ſo many ſhapes, that the meaſures which would have appeared to afford ſecurity at one time, would have been moſt ineffectual barriers at another. At all periods too, the party in oppoſition had been violent in clamouring for peace. During what the French term the reign of terror, when all was anarchy and blood, and when the principles openly profeſſed were deſtructive of the independence of every nation in Europe, the Engliſh miniſtry were required to deſert the general cauſe, and make peace. When by the ſucceſſes of the allies ſome reaſonable hopes were entertained, that whatever might be the form of government ſhe ultimately adopted, France might be prevented from accompliſhing thoſe injuries ſhe avowedly meditated againſt all the governments of Europe, the Britiſh miniſters were urged to fruſtrate theſe ſalutary hopes by making peace. When the poſſeſſions of the allies of England were torn from them, when new governments were eſtabliſhed by art and by force in their dominions, and neither peace nor neutrality could afford protection againſt the revolutionary manœuvres of France, rendered confident by ſucceſs, and audacious by finding, that the evil which was done was always excuſed, or even defended; then too Great Britain was required to remove the only effectual obſtacle to the general diffuſion of French principles and power, by ſoliciting peace. When the deſertion of ſome allies, reduced the powers who remained firm to unexpected diſtreſs, the Engliſh miniſtry were incited to augment the difficulty by a ſimilar breach of faith, and when-

whenever they had concluded a treaty with any of the European powers, and meaſures had been taken for giving it the moſt vigorous effect, the cry for peace was ever moſt ſtrenuouſly renewed and moſt urgently repeated. In the debates too on theſe ſubjects, and indeed, on all connected with the war, the French revolutionary governors found their atrocities palliated either by direct aſſertion or by compariſon; every new government was recommended as worthy of confidence, becauſe it had not, in its outſet, furniſhed deciſive evidence of bad faith; when ſome time had eſtabliſhed its ſway, it was pronounced as permanent as any other government in Europe, and when notorious inſtances of its injuſtice were alleged, they were partially vindicated by alluſions to the ancient government of France, and by ſtill more offenſive declamations againſt the conduct of thoſe powers with whom the Britiſh government was in alliance.

The miniſters generally anſwered theſe arguments in favour of a premature and diſhonourable peace with triumphant force, but the ill ſucceſs which attended the operations of the allies, and at laſt drove them all to the neceſſity of accepting terms dictated by France, gave perpetual reſources to thoſe who were deſirous to repeat and enforce arguments which had been previouſly refuted, and to draw from events thoſe concluſions which they had failed to eſtabliſh by reaſoning. In theſe circumſtances, men who had never varied in opinion reſpecting the juſtice of the Britiſh cauſe in the beginning, or the propriety of perſevering at any period of the conteſt, now rejoiced in, and were prepared to applaud a peace, which gave repoſe from a diſpute which there remained no hopes of terminating advantageouſly by means of conqueſt, and which in its further duration, would only have protracted, without commenſurate advantage, the miſery of a large portion of mankind.

On the ſide of thoſe who thus approved the peace, was not only the thoughtleſs rabble, who in the hurry of exultation had diſgraced the Britiſh name, by giving a ſort of civic triumph to the envoy of the enemy, but the great body of the nation. The glories of the Britiſh arms, afforded frequent grounds of joy and pride, but of late, all the advantages gained in war did not appear to forward any of the principal cauſes, for which it had been undertaken. The power of France had not in fact been diminiſhed, but greatly augmented, nor did it ſeem poſſible, that the force of England ſhould effectually ſhake it. The diffuſion of ſuch revoluſionary principles, as could be dangerous to the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, was no longer apprehended, ſince in France, the ſuppreſſion of every thing like freedom in ſpeech, in the preſs, and in the conduct of the people, ſeemed to be one of the great ends of government. The viſitation of ſcarcity which had lately afflicted the country, and which could not, at the time the preliminaries were ſigned, be conſidered as abſolutely removed, had produced a great degree of apathy even among thoſe who had been very zealous in ſupport of government. The aſſertion ſo often repeated, both in parliament and in print, that the

war was one great cauſe of this calamity, although not true, was ſufficiently plauſible to find many ſupporters. They who had voluntarily armed, and acquired military diſcipline for the purpoſe of protecting the country, in caſe of invaſion by a foreign enemy, or of a rebellious inſurrection among the people, felt deep regret at being frequently called out to protect property againſt the attacks of thoſe who alleged that they were urged by famine, and at finding their intended ſervices limited to the terrifying of the people whom it had been their hope to encourage and protect. The volunteers, whenever embodied on theſe occaſions, had executed their taſk with ſpirit and ſteadineſs, but their love of military duty was diminiſhed, in proportion as the approbation of many with whom they were obliged to mingle in their ſocial hours, was withheld or converted into diſguſt.

Yet it could not be affirmed, that the national courage was ſo depreſſed as to render peace indiſpenſable on that account. The war with France had ceaſed to be popular from the operation of the cauſes above alluded to, and many others, but when, in the beginning of the year, the people ſaw the government compelled to engage in a new, extenſive and dangerous conteſt to reſcue the nation from an evident injuſtice, and to eſtabliſh an acknowledged and beneficial right, they merely regarded the criſis with that ſolemnity of conſideration which it demanded; they did not cenſure the boldneſs which referred their rights to the deciſion of the ſword, nor did they regret the probable increaſe of burthens, privations and difficulties with which they were threatened. Their triumph in ſucceſs was unmixed with cenſure, and the northern aggreſſors had few advocates out of parliament, except among thoſe who were the objects of juſt ſuſpicion to government.

Even with reſpect to theſe perſons, the ſituation of government during war, was one of extreme difficulty. A pretended zeal for the eſtabliſhment of liberty and equality formed the lure which had induced many individuals, and ſome bodies of men, to connect their wiſhes, and to unite their efforts with the promoters of the French revolution, and there is often a fatal obſtinacy in political matters, diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of conſiſtency, which makes men adhere to the individuals, whoſe cauſe they have once eſpouſed, even after every principle which firſt engaged them to adopt ſuch a party, has been explicitly as well as practically renounced. Thus while France profeſſed nothing but the reverſe of her original fallacious promiſes; while conqueſt, plunder, and the ſuppreſſion of every thing reſembling freedom in the countries viſited by her arms, were both her avowed principles, and her conſtant practice; a party both in Great Britain and Ireland, which had firſt avowed an attachment to her cauſe when extenſion of dominion was diſclaimed, and a wiſh for univerſal freedom and happineſs was pompouſly alleged as the only impulſe which actuated her government, ſtill held out her hands to claim her protection and alliance, and ſtill appeared to hope, that through her means, general liberty would ſtill be eſtabliſhed.

That

That the perſons compoſing this party could only recover from their deluſion, or rather from that irritation of mind which produced the effects of deluſion, by being allowed quietly to reſume their ſtations in ſociety, could not be doubted; but this permiſſion could only be ſafely given in a time of peace. During the exiſting war, a miniſtry would have been juſtly cenſured as deficient in prudence, if they had renounced the protective regulations which had been adopted, and expoſed the public ſecurity to danger, either from deliberate treaſon or from ſurprize. The neceſſity of uniting again the whole nation, ſo fatally ſeparated by the French revolution, was generally felt, and this formed one powerful motive with many for approving the peace.

But this approbation was not univerſal. Some ſtateſmen, formidable from their character and talents, rather than their numbers, profeſſed an early and unequivocal diſſatisfaction at the peace. Their oppoſition could not be aſcribed to anti-patriotic motives, for during the whole courſe of the war, they had been conſpicuous in their endeavours to animate the country, and indeed all Europe, againſt the common enemy. To repreſent them as men who preferred war to peace, was an effort of groſs, and malignant injuſtice, which their character, as exhibited on every occaſion, evidently refuted. They did, however, prefer the late war to the preſent peace, and their reaſons ably and amply detailed by themſelves in the two houſes of parliament, are the materials from which a judgment muſt be formed of the correctneſs of their views, and the juſtneſs of their inferences. Their reaſonings did not make any great number of proſelytes, but the motives which dictated their diſapprobation of the peace, prevented all but thoſe whom long oppoſition had hardened into injuſtice, from blaming the ſpirit of their proceedings. That their party ſhould not be numerous, could excite no ſurprize when it is conſidered, that moſt of thoſe who had ſupported the war, whether in or out of office, applauded the peace as ſafe and honourable, and all thoſe who had oppoſed the war, rejoiced in the peace, as a ſtriking illuſtration of their long continued prophecies, that it muſt be diſgraceful to Great Britain, and beneficial only to the enemy. Againſt parties who took ſo wide a range in their courſe of approbation, little room was left for thoſe who deemed the peace unſafe, diſhonourable and unjuſt, becauſe it ſacrificed the advantages to which the country was intitled, left the continent to the mercy of an encroaching enemy, and fortified a power founded on rapacity and violence, and threatening univerſal plunder and ſubjugation.

At the time here alluded to, that is, before the meeting of parliament, many tranſactions then concluded, and which tended materially to advance the power of France, were unknown. Her extenſive intrigues and formidable military force were not unnoticed, but much had been gained by ſecret treaty, and much was preparing by private influence, of which no evidence was yet collected, but which therefore, could only be ſurmiſed in general, or pointed at by conjecture.

That Great Britain was in a great degree cut off from her wonted connexion with the continent, appeared to many to be the effect of the peace, but it is not eaſy to deſcribe in what manner a continuation of the war could have changed that circumſtance. The influence of France, wherever it extended, could not be leſs deciſively exerted during hoſtilities than in peace, and therefore, Holland, Spain, and Italy could not have been leſs friendly to us than before. Neither was the recent pacification won from the northern powers, likely to be ſtrengthened by the difficulties and miſunderſtandings which might have reſulted from a continuance of war with France, ever ſubtle and perſevering in ſuggeſting complaints and diſcovering grounds to excite contention.

The ſervice rendered to the Grand Seignor by the expulſion of the French from Egypt, might have been expected to afford to Great Britain ſome advantage in his dominions, but thoſe evidently could only be commercial, and were not peculiarly beneficial in a time of war. The preſents and honours accumulated on the Britiſh officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Egypt, were no leſs flattering in themſelves than juſtly merited; but the very nature and ſtate of the Turkiſh government, forbad any hope that during a continued war, any conſiderable benefits could be derived from the gratitude and friendſhip of that power, even if they could be permanently relied on.

The diſtracted condition of the Ottoman empire, where ſucceſsful rebels were continually able to contend ſucceſsfully againſt the eſtabliſhed government, would neceſſarily render its councils weak, fluctuating, and ſubject to the impulſes of artifice, or the ſway of accident. That a diſpute with England was not impoſſible even on the very ſcene where ſuch important ſervices had been rendered, was proved by an incident which occurred ſoon after the departure of the French.

Although the Porte had aſſented to the re-eſtabliſhment of the mamaluke government in Egypt, and pledged its faith to ſupport it, ſtill a ſecret reſolution was formed for its ſubverſion, and that by means the moſt atrocious and diſhonourable. A plan is ſuppoſed to have been arranged for ſecuring the Beys under ſpecious pretences, and conveying them to Conſtantinople, where they were to have been put to death, and the execution of the project was committed to the Grand Vizier, and the Capitan Pacha. From ſome unknown cauſe, however, the ſcheme was varied; perhaps all could not be ſecured, and therefore a few of the moſt eminent were ſelected as victims to be ſacrificed on the ſpot. The moſt diſtinguiſhed were invited to Alexandria, under pretence of concerting the re-eſtabliſhment of their authority; they were received in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, but the Capitan Pacha ſoon informed them that the Grand Seignor required them to renounce for ever the government of Egypt, and even that they ſhould be conveyed to Conſtantinople. The mamalukes had long perceived the improbability, that they ſhould retain their power throughout Egypt, and therefore, truſting to the

the promiſes which were made them, that their perſons ſhould be unmoleſted, and their dignity greatly advanced in the capital, and relying on the effect in their favour, which might juſtly be produced by the exertions they had made in recovering their country from the French, they heard this arrangement without diſſatisfaction, and ſeemed to entertain no ſuſpicion of the fate intended for them. The Grand Vizier and the Capitan Pacha, acted in concert on this occaſion, but who was criminal in the event which followed it is not eaſy to determine.

The Beys ſeized by the Capitan Pacha, were proceeding with him on board his own boat, to dine with Admiral Bickerton in the harbour of Alexandria. As they paſſed on the lake Mareotis, the Capitan Pacha went on ſhore to an officer, who ſaid he brought diſpatches from Conſtantinople, which required an immediate anſwer; and the boats by his order, ſtood toward a Turkiſh gun-boat in the lake. The ſuſpicion of the Beys being excited by theſe extraordinary circumſtances, they attempted to ſeize the veſſel, but were vigorouſly oppoſed by the Turkiſh rowers, and the gun-boat when they approached, poured on them a diſcharge of muſketry. The mamalukes, after a ſtubborn reſiſtance, were obliged to ſubmit; Oſmyn Bey Tambourgi, their chief, Oſmyn Bey Laſhzar, Mahommed Bey Manfich, and Murad Bey, firſt Chamberlain to Tambourgi, were ſlain. A ſimilar fate awaited the Black Caia Bey, who was obſerved to fight, with deſperate fury, till he expired. Oſman Bey Bardici was ſeverely wounded, and with the ſurvivors conſidered as a priſoner.

As the perſons of the mamalukes were under the direct protection of the Britiſh faith, General Hutchinſon acted on the occaſion, in a manner becoming the dignity of his own, and of the national character. He immediately ordered his troops under arms, and not ſatisfied with the excuſes of the Capitan Pacha, who attributed the diſaſter which had befallen the mamalukes to their own unfounded ſuſpicions, he forced the Turks to give up their living priſoners, and cauſed the dead to be buried with military honours, expreſſing the moſt vehement indignation at the fate they had met with.

Such an incident, had a protracted reſidence in the country been neceſſary, might have produced a moſt ſerious change in the ſentiments of the two governments, and the campaign in Egypt, far from cementing mutual friendſhip, might have become the very cauſe of hoſtility. The acknowledgment of the republic of the Seven Iſles contained in the preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, although in itſelf highly beneficial to Turkey, could not afford grounds for expecting that it would produce permanent friendſhip; on the contrary, it was already repreſented by the enemy as beneficial neither to the people, nor to any government, but as a ſource of miſery and diſcord alone.

The French would undoubtedly, even if war had been perſiſted in, have endeavoured to regain their ancient aſcendency in the Turkiſh councils, and in peace it was not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch an object would be neglected. On the con-

trary, in a few days after the preliminaries had been ſigned Oct. 9. at London, a treaty was executed at Paris between the miniſter for foreign affairs and the Turkiſh embaſſador, by which, the French, artfully aſſuming the merit of conſenting to evacuate Egypt, and of acknowledging the republic of the Seven Iſles, obtained a ſtipulation that whatever indulgences ſhould be granted in Egypt to other powers on the part of the Porte, ſhould alſo be extended to France; that the treaties which exiſted before the preſent war between France and the Porte, ſhould be renewed on their former footing; and that, in conſequence of this renewal, the French republic ſhould enjoy, in every part of the dominions of his highneſs, all the rights of commerce and navigation which ſhe previouſly enjoyed, as well as thoſe to which the moſt favoured nations might henceforth be admitted.

In this treaty too, the Porte was to acknowledge the guaranty of the French republic as well as that of Ruſſia for the republic of the Seven Iſles; and England was not even mentioned on the occaſion. This compact exhibited conſpicuous proofs of artifice and duplicity. The ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms were turned againſt the Britiſh nation, and the conqueſt which had been achieved in Egypt was ſold by the conquered, to the prejudice of the victors. Thus in two treaties, with Great Britain and with the Porte, the French who already knew, although the other contracting parties did not, that their army in Egypt had capitulated, made the ceſſion of Egypt the price of ſome covenants in their own favour. To obtain their point with the Ottoman miniſter, it is even ſaid that extraordinary means were uſed to keep from him and his ſuite all intelligence of recent events, even of the ſignature of preliminaries with England.

With Ruſſia too, in a week after the articles with England, Oct. 8. a treaty was effected; of leſs comparative conſequence, ſince it only ſtipulated the eſtabliſhment of peace, while the two countries could hardly be conſidered at war, and obliged both to abſtain from interfering in the internal concerns of each other, when it was not the intereſt, nor appeared to be the inclination of either to do ſo. A commercial treaty was to be framed at a future period.

A little before the Sept. 29. concluſion of theſe compacts, but evidently with a view to them, and as part of a general ſyſtem, a treaty was entered into at Madrid, between the French republic and Portugal, by which, after declaring the termination of hoſtilities, it was agreed that the ports and roads of Portugal ſhould be ſhut againſt Engliſh veſſels, both of war and trade, and opened to thoſe of France; that Portugal ſhould not furniſh to the enemies of France and her allies any aids whatever, in men, ammunition, proviſions or money; and that all treaties at any time before entered into, obliging her ſo to do, ſhould be deemed null and void. Theſe articles, conſidering the time at which they were concluded, only two days before the peace with Great Britain, are of little importance, except as they prove the complete aſcendancy of the republic, and the abject ſubmiſſion of Portugal.

A ſtipu-

A ſtipulation of much greater conſequence was that which fixed the limits of the French territory in Guiana. It was in theſe terms. The boundaries between the French and Portugueze Guiana ſhall, for the future, be determined by the river Carapanatuba, which falls into the Amazon, at about a third of a degree of the equator, north latitude, above Fort Macapa. Theſe boundaries ſhall follow the courſe of the river to its ſource; thence they ſhall be continued toward the great chain of mountains which divides the waters, and follow the inflections of that chain to the point where it approximates to Rio Branco, near two degrees and one third, north of the equator.

Beſide this new deſcription, or ceſſion of territory, which was deemed highly advantageous to France, it was agreed that a treaty of commerce ſhould be, at ſome future period, eſtabliſhed between the two countries; that, in the mean time, all communications ſhould be reeſtabliſhed, and that the woollen manufactures of France ſhould be admitted into Portugal on the ſame footing with thoſe of the moſt favoured nations.

Theſe were the compacts into which France was known to have entered at the period when ſhe had concluded, or was on the point of concluding one with Great Britain, and by the effect of them, together with thoſe which had been previouſly diſcloſed, was the relative ſituation of the two countries to be judged. Connected with the treaty of Luneville and other treaties concluded in the preceding part of the year, they tended to ſecure the aſcendancy of France on the continent, to tranquilize all apprehenſions of efforts to change her eſtabliſhed government, and to afford leiſure for the reſumption of her agricultural, mechanical, ſcientific and commercial labours. It was indeed evident, that France, being extricated as ſhe was from all the dangers and difficulties which had menaced her in the courſe of the Revolution, and placed in a ſituation of unexampled power and preeminence, could only be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of ſuch advantages by making attempts hoſtile to the general repoſe and ſafety of Europe. Every good that a wiſe government could rationally deſire was to her abundantly ſecured, and if her governors were wiſe and moderate, there was reaſon to hope for a continuance of the repoſe rendered neceſſary by ſuch long and violent conflicts.

Such indeed appeared to be the manner in which the French themſelves viewed their poſition. In the ſtatement of the ſituation of the republic, printed by authority ſoon after the ſignature of the preliminaries, the government congratulated the people on the change which had been effected in the courſe of the year, which, opened in every direction, a long perſpective of hope and happineſs. In ſupport of this aſſertion, were cited the efforts made to ſuppreſs inſurrection and conſpiracy, and an apology for the new ſpecial tribunals, which it was ſaid, had pronounced 780 ſentences of which nineteen only had been reverſed by tribunals of appeal. The eſtabliſhment of religion was applauded as having been effected without injury to the proteſtants, without great expence to the ſtate, and without prejudice to the freedom and independence of opinion.

opinion. Then, after exhibiting the ſtate and circumſtances of France in many other particulars, both domeſtic and colonial, and acknowledging that the proſperity to be expected depended on the benefits of peace, the relation of foreign countries with the republic was reviewed in terms which ſeemed to ſhew that the government was apprized of the wiſdom of moderation.

Holland, it was ſaid, had voluntarily changed its conſtitution becauſe ill adapted to the manners and genius of its people; and the number of French troops ſtipulated to be retained there had been reduced from twenty-five to ten thouſand. Switzerland had been agitated by factions; the Firſt Conſul had been applied to for advice on the future government of the country, and had recommended as its baſis, ſimplicity; above all, exhorting the rulers, for the example of Europe, to preſerve liberty and equality in that nation which had firſt taught all others the leſſon of freedom and independence. And it was affirmed that France had withdrawn from Switzerland all her troops, except four thouſand which were left there by deſire of all parties.

Turning to Italy, the official paper obſerved that the Ciſalpine and Liguria had pauſed in their organization, fearing the commotions which would reſult from the firſt nominations. They appeared deſirous to refer the matter to the Firſt Conſul, and he would endeavour to reconcile the wiſh of theſe two republics ſo dear to France, with the more ſacred functions impoſed on him by his ſituation.

Lucca having expiated by the torture of a proviſional ſyſtem the errors which had drawn on her the vengeance of France, was employed in preparing a definitive organization. The King of Tuſcany, tranquil on his throne was recognized by many great powers, and would ſoon be by all. Four thouſand Frenchmen kept Leghorn for him, till he could organize a national army; the ſovereign pontiff poſſeſſed his eſtates intire, the Ciſalpine troops having withdrawn from thoſe ſtrong places which they held for his benefit; but 1500 French were yet in the citadel of Ancona, to preſerve a communication with the army of the South. The moderation ſhewn to Naples was alſo extolled.

Peace being concluded with Ruſſia, nothing henceforward could interrupt the connexion between two great nations, who with every reaſon to love, had none to fear each other, and whom nature had placed at the two extremities of Europe, to counterpoiſe each other in the North and South. The Porte, it was added, reſtored to its true intereſts and to its inclination for France, had returned to its oldeſt and moſt faithful ally.

On the treaty with England, the following remarks were made. "This peace was to be the reſult of long negotiations, ſupported by a ſyſtem of warfare, which, although ſlow in preparation, was infallible in its ſucceſs. England was already abandoned by the greater part of her allies. Hanover, the only continental poſſeſſion of her ſovereign, was ſtill in the power Pruſſia; the Porte, threatened by our important poſitions on the Adriatic, had begun a ſeparate negotiation; Portugal alone remained, and that had been ſo long ſubmiſſive to the influ-

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ence and exclusive commerce of England, that it was in fact a mere province of that country. There Spain was to find a compensation to offer for the restitution of Trinidad, but when after a few light skirmishes she ratified the peace of Badajos, then she assented in effect to the loss of that island, and from that period, England would never listen to any proposal for restoring it.

"With equal inflexibility Great Britain refused the restitution of Ceylon, but the Batavian republic will find, in the numerous possessions which are given up to her, the re-establishment of her commerce and her power.

"France has sustained the interests of her allies with the same zeal as her own, and even sacrificed her own advantage to theirs; but those allies, exhausted as they were, no longer offered her any resources for continuing the war. Thus, in all parts of the world, the republic has now nothing but friends or allies, and in all parts, her commerce and her industry will return into their accustomed channels.

"In the whole course of the negotiation, the present ministry of England have shewn a frank disposition to terminate the miseries of war: the English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm; the hatred occasioned by rivalship is extinct, and nothing of it will remain but the emulation of great actions and useful enterprizes. It has been the ambition of government to place France in her natural relation with other nations, and it shall be the glory of government to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace which will constitute the happiness of France and of mankind."

Notwithstanding the specious professions which were only repeated in this official paper, the intentions of the French government were viewed by many sound politicians with uneasiness and suspicion; the position of Italy, Holland, Switzerland and Turkey, excited many alarms, which were considered merely speculative at the time, but were regarded with more and more seriousness as their justness was rapidly unfolded.

If the mere inclination of the people could have been supposed to sway the government of France, the peace, which was by all acknowledged necessary, might also have been expected to be permanent. Their joy, so far as it could be exhibited without dictation and without constraint was indisputably sincere, but in the circumstances which attended it, latent designs on the part of government, and the jealousy incident to new and uncertain power, were also to be observed.

On the evening when the intelligence of signing the preliminaries arrived, the news were spread by the firing of cannon, by a public declaration at the theatres, and by a sort of proclamation, made by detachments of police officers, assisted by parties of horse, by torch-light; and the public offices and some houses in Paris were illuminated. Compliments on the occasion were presented by the legislative body to the First Consul, who, in replying to their congratulations, did not forget to remind them that the stability of the social organization had principally contributed to the present peace. Many other public bodies, military as well as civil, were admitted by their

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their deputies to the presence of Bonaparte, and testified their satisfaction in congratulatory speeches. The grand celebration was however deferred till the 9th of November, a day which was to be thus doubly joyous; it was to commemorate the return of peace, and the accession to power of the First Consul.

Before this celebration, and the circumstances which attended and followed it, are related, it will be necessary to notice the proceedings in the British legislature on the peace, and some other subjects.

CHAP. II.

Slight change in the Ministry during the Recess. Meeting of Parliament. King's Speech. Address in the House of Lords carried without opposition. Sentiments of the Duke of Bedford on the Peace. Address also voted in the House of Commons without division; but with observations on the Peace by various Members; Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Sheridan, Earl Temple, and Mr. James Martin. State of the Ministry on this occasion; evident appearance of a new Opposition; conduct of the old Opposition. Further proceedings. Treaties laid before Parliament; observations on them by Lord Grenville, who requires explanatory papers; which are not granted. Similar observations made by Mr. Grey in the House of Commons, but treated as irregular. On an ensuing day Lord Hawkesbury gives the required explanation.

30th July. DURING the recess of parliament, a slight change had taken place in the ministry; the Duke of Portland having been appointed president of the council, which situation became vacant when Lord Chatham accepted of that of master of the ordnance, vacated by the Marquis Cornwallis; his grace was succeeded in the office of secretary of state for the home department by Lord Pelham.

29th Oct. Parliament was convened as soon as possible after the signature of the preliminaries with France, and, in his speech from the throne, his majesty informed the two houses of that event, observing that the treaty, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. He also stated that the differences with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which the nation contended were thereby secured, and provision made, that the exercise of them should be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties. Copies of these papers were to be immediately afforded.

His majesty also mentioned, with gratitude to divine providence, the blessing of a plentiful harvest, and paid a just tribute of applause to the

the temper and fortitude which all deſcriptions of the people had manifeſted under the various and complicated difficulties with which they had had to contend. Having then acknowledged in proper terms the valour and eminent ſervices of his forces, both by ſea and land, the exertions, zeal, and perſeverance of the militia, yeomanry, and volunteers, and particularly of the army, which had expelled the French from Egypt, the king concluded in theſe terms:

"It is my firſt wiſh, and moſt fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have ſo well merited, in a full enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, in a progreſſive increaſe of the national commerce, credit, and reſources, and above all, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the ſafeguard and protection of that conſtitution, which it has been the great objects of all our efforts to preſerve, and which it is our moſt ſacred duty to tranſmit unimpaired to our deſcendants."

In the upper houſe the addreſs was moved by Lord Bolton, and ſeconded by Lord Lilford. In their ſpeeches the noble lords dwelt on the bleſſings of peace, and the joy with which the news of ſigning the preliminaries had been received through every part of the country. Peace was in itſelf ſo emphatically felt to be deſirable, that men did not allow themſelves to doubt of its being advantageous, but gave free and unbounded indulgence to their joy. It was a ground of pride and ſatisfaction that miniſters had choſen a moment for the negotiation when our reſources, by the ſpirit, loyalty, and attachment of the people, were in their full vigour; when the nation had diſtinguiſhed its character by the firm, manly, and determined poſture of preparation into which it had voluntarily put itſelf on the menaces of an invaſion, and when our finances were unimpaired, and our armies triumphant.

It was a grand and magnificent triumph for England to make peace, when her navies and armies were every where conquerors, from the frozen ſeas of the north, to the pillars of Hercules; and from Africa to the extremeſt ſhores of Aſia and America. The feeling was rendered ſtill more gratifying and exalted, when we made our triumphs only acceſſary to the ſpirit of moderation which dictated our appeal to arms—when the unexampled achievements of that band of heroes who had reſcued Egypt from its invaders, were made only to reſtore it to its rightful owner; and when our moſt endearing and ſplendid trophies appeared to be human happineſs and order, inſtead of aggrandizement or gain. The noble ſtruggle this country had made, unaſſiſted and alone, was calculated to fill the mind with the moſt enthuſiaſtic veneration. Some of our allies had already made peace, the ſtates of others were invaded and poſſeſſed by the enemy, and the integrity of Europe could no longer be preſerved. Had it been poſſible to do ſo any longer, it muſt have been done by the power of Great Britain.

——Si Pergama dextrâ
Defendi poſſent, etiam hac defenſa fuiſſent.

While every other country which had oppoſed the principles inſeparable from revolutions, had either had

had its government ſubverted, or its rights, more or leſs, invaded and injured, this happy empire had ſafely ſtood the ſhock; the fabric of her conſtitution remained unimpaired, her religion unviolated, and her laws and liberties preſerved. The glorious figure our arms had made in the conteſt, and the ſtrong proof we had afforded that this country poſſeſſed a ſpirit and an energy equal to the defence of every thing that was dear to us, were to be conſidered as the beſt guarantees of the ſecurity and permanence of the peace. From abroad we had little to dread, and at home we could have nothing to fear from domeſtic enemies, if any remained either here or in the ſiſter kingdom; ſince thoſe few who might continue to act under the influence of the pernicious principles that had ſo much agitated and endangered other countries, would find that they had no longer any abettors.

No oppoſition was offered to theſe ſentiments. The Duke of Bedford alone, in expreſſing his intire approbation of the peace, and hearty concurrence in the addreſs, intimated that a more fit time might have been found by miniſters much earlier. When he ſaid this, he did not mean to impute the ſmalleſt blame on this account to his majeſty's preſent miniſters; the fault did not certainly lie with them; they had negotiated and effected a peace with all practicable alacrity from the moment that they came into office, for which he returned them his ſincere thanks, and he hoped that, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the conſtitution, of which the people had been ſo long deprived, would be reſtored to them, and a true attention be paid to their wiſhes.

Although the Houſe of Commons, like the Lords, voted the addreſs without diviſion, yet the obſervations of members were characterized by more radical differences of opinion than the peers had expreſſed, and gave a proſpect of a ſettled oppoſition to the meaſures of government.

The addreſs was moved by Lord Lovaine, in a ſpeech which treated on topics nearly ſimilar to thoſe advanced in the other houſe, and Colonel Woodhouſe ſeconding the motion, made a few obſervations of the ſame kind, approving the peace, but deprecating a premature diſcuſſion of the preliminary articles.

Mr. Fox, cordially concurring in the addreſs on the happy and long deſired attainment of peace with France, ſpoke of the event with joy and exultation, and ſaid it was one in which the people of England had the greateſt cauſe to rejoice and exult.

Mr. Pitt, declaring that he ſhould now, for the firſt time in his parliamentary life, utter his ſentiments upon any ſubject in which the houſe ſeemed inclined to be unanimous, declined making any obſervations on the preliminaries; but when he came to expreſs his motives for rejoicing in the attainment of peace, poſſibly they might appear to be very different from thoſe of the preceding ſpeaker. Whatever opinion he might entertain as to the propriety of certain articles, he highly approved the outline; the event was matter of joy to the country; and he cheerfully gave his tribute of praiſe to thoſe miniſters who had obtained

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it. The bleſſing was due to the the gallantry of our fleets and armies and the good conduct of the people, and ſo long as the people of England were true to themſelves, and their repreſentatives true to their intereſts, they had nothing to fear from external foes.

Mr. Windham, differing from both the preceding members in their expreſſions of joy and exultation, ſaid he would not concur in the addreſs, if it went ſo far as to pledge the houſe to an approbation of thoſe preliminaries ſpecifically; but, as it did not, he would not withhold from it his ſupport. He only conſidered it neceſſary to ſtate in the outline, the reaſons of his differing from thoſe who approved this peace concluded under the preſent circumſtances of Europe. "I muſt own" he ſaid, "that to ſtand as a ſolitary mourner in the midſt of general exultation, to wear a countenance clouded with ſadneſs, while all others are lighted up with joy, is at once rather unfortunate and ungracious. I would aſk—Are the circumſtances of this peace the natural ſigns for rejoicing that have been wont to juſtify our exultations on former occaſions? I own they ſtrike me in a contrary point of view, and when I am called on to rejoice, before I put on my wedding ſuit, I ſhall firſt enquire whether I am called upon to celebrate a marriage or a funeral. When I am deſired to illuminate, I ſhall firſt endeavour to learn whether it is to light me to a feaſt or a ſepulchre. For, if the ſolemnity of a death-bed declaration has any claims to veracity or ſincerity, I ſhould have no heſitation, were I to make it at this moment, to ſtate my firm perſuaſion and belief, that my honourable friends, in ſigning this peace, have put their ſignature to the death-warrant of their country. I know the inconſtancy of human affairs, and I am not profane enough to ſet bounds to the diſpenſations of providence—neither can I pretend preciſely to foreſee what different changes may be wrought in the diſpoſitions of the people of England, by intrigues from without, or convulſions from within; but upon no rational view that I can take of this ſubject, nor any proſpect to which my diſcernment enables me to look, can I ſee my way out of the evils it will entail upon my country. The only one thing which France wanted to enable her to divide with you the empire of the ſeas, was a participation of your commerce, to enable her to extend her navy; this participation ſhe will have effectually ſecured by this peace, while, by the ſurrender of your conqueſts, you will have thrown out of your hands the only means to prevent this aggrandizement, the extenſion of your colonial ſyſtem. What were the motives that induced miniſters to conclude theſe preliminaries under exiſting circumſtances in Europe, I know not preciſely. Some of theſe motives I have heard, but they do not convince me; on the contrary, they appear wholly inſufficient. If thoſe who have concluded the peace will ſhew me it is a ſafe one for England, I ſhall aſk them no further reaſons; but if we were really driven to this peace by any fatal neceſſity; if miniſters have been forced to accept it through any inability of reſorting to alternatives, their conduct is the more excuſable,

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and we have to thank them, not for what they have acquired, but for what they have ſaved for their country. If they have yielded to neceſſity, inſtead of cenſure for what they have given up, they may be intitled to gratitude for what they have preſerved. If they can ſhew that they have, by ceding foreign colonies, ſaved objects nearer and dearer to us; if they have ſaved Portſmouth and Plymouth, and Ireland; if they have preſerved the ſoil of England from ravage and devaſtation, they will eſtabliſh, not an apology, but a claim to thanks. Such a plea, however, I do not recognize. How far they were actuated by ſuch neceſſity, will be a matter for future diſcuſſion."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer animadverted on the impropriety of diſcuſſing thus prematurely, the preliminary articles of peace. The ſpeech from the throne ſaid nothing more than that copies ſhould be laid before parliament, and his right honourable friend, Mr. Windham, had acknowledged that the addreſs did not pledge the houſe to any approbation of them. To the objection that the conquered colonies ought to have been retained for the preſervation of the Britiſh marine and commerce, he anſwered, that the relinquiſhment of what we had conquered, was the only pledge for our ſecurity; and that in preſerving our own conſtitution and defending our own poſſeſſions, and not in extending our territories by conqueſt, we hold the beſt ſureties for our rights and the extenſion of our commerce. He diſclaimed the motive for peace intimated by Mr. Windham, that it was the reſult of neceſſity, and of a want of the means to continue the conteſt; and publicly declared, that had it been found indiſpenſably neceſſary to perſiſt, no deficiency whatever would have been found in the finances and reſources of the country.

Mr. Sheridan could ſee no objection to the addreſs as it ſtood, nor ſhould he diſturb the unanimity of the vote; but, notwithſtanding this ſingular unanimity, he ſincerely believed, that if this were the time for men to deliver their opinions, if this were the moment when they were to ſpeak out their real thoughts, there never was a period of leſs real unanimity. He could not agree with thoſe who characterized the peace, as glorious and honourable, and ſtill leſs with thoſe who contended that it was inexpedient to make peace at all. This, Sir, he ſaid, is a peace of which every man is glad, but no man can be proud. It is a peace involving a degradation of national dignity, which no truly Engliſh heart can feel with indifference. It is a peace, ſuch as the war had a tendency to lead to, as its neceſſary reſult. The war was one of the worſt in which this country was ever engaged, and the peace is, perhaps as good as any man could make in the circumſtances, in which the country was placed.

The debate was cloſed by Earl Temple, and Mr. James Martin, the former expreſsly declaring that in ſanctioning the addreſs, he did not mean to pledge himſelf to ſupport the peace; the latter proteſting that his adoption of the ſame courſe, muſt not be conſtrued into any thing like an engagement to give a ſingle vote in favour of thoſe men who had ſo long carried

on a war ruinous to their country, and who had so materially trenched on the constitution.

The discussion of the address was most anxiously expected by the public; for as parliament was not sitting when the preliminaries were signed, the sentiments entertained on them by public men could only be known by reports in print, and by some extraordinary expressions at convivial and political meetings. In the debate in the House of Commons, the rudiments of a new opposition appeared, for although Mr. Windham qualified his disapprobation of the peace with expressions of respect for the ministers, and although in the debate the term right honourable friend was ostentatiously repeated on both sides, still it was not difficult to foresee that they who differed radically in opinion, on a question of so much moment, would not long be bound by the regulations of mutual forbearance. These expressions were construed like those compliments which, in the transactions of private life, are observed to be more punctually paid when friendship is declining, or when past esteem is yielding to present rivalship. Earl Temple had been considered an opponent of ministers from their first coming into office, and, therefore, his conduct was less ceremonious than that of Mr. Windham.

In the support received from the old opposition, the ministry had no further reason for congratulation than what arose in the passing day. The duke of Bedford indeed afforded them his countenance with manly dignity, his approbation of their measures was conveyed in terms equally free and generous, unstained with adulation, uncontaminated with reproach; but in the lower house, every expression uttered by that party in praise of the peace, contained some strong censure on the war which the present ministers had strenuously supported, and which must be highly offensive to Mr. Pitt, on whose friendship and assistance they still continued to rely. The connexion of the new opposition could easily be ascertained; it was evident that it would form a centre about which a great number of individuals would in time be collected, and it was clear, on the other hand, that many of those who on this occasion expressed approbation of the measures of government, would at some period be induced, by the operation of all the motives which sway public men, to combine in endeavours to remove them from their posts.

The nature and form of the incipient opposition became more clearly marked on the following day, when, in pursuance of the promise contained in the king's speech, the convention with Russia, and the preliminaries of the peace were laid on the table in both houses. These papers were not in themselves matters of curiosity, the terms of the convention having long been ascertained, and the preliminaries with France having been published verbatim, by that government, and copied into all the English papers, but it was regular to notice them in parliament, only when they were officially presented. Oct. 30.

As soon as that was done, lord Grenville stated the great satisfaction he felt at observing the perfect unanimity which prevailed on the preceding evening. There

were many circumſtances which rendered this unanimity deſirable. The re-appearance of his majeſty in the houſe muſt have kindled univerſal joy in the breaſts of all his ſubjects; but more particularly in thoſe of their lordſhips, who, from their ſituation, had nearer and more frequent opportunities of witneſſing his paternal virtues. But having performed this duty, another remained which had been recommended in the ſpeech, that of diſcuſſing, and exerciſing their judgments on the ſeveral matters ſubmitted to them. His lordſhip then expreſsly guarded his aſſent to the addreſs from being conſtrued into an approbation of the peace. From what was paſt, he feared every ſort of evil, every ruinous conſequence, and all his hopes and expectations of ſalvation, were founded on that which had not yet, and he truſted never would be done. From the prominent and reſponſible part he had borne in the late war, he felt himſelf imperiouſly called upon again to maintain and aſſert thoſe principles upon which he had always acted, and when the proper day arrived, he ſhould not be found wanting in that duty, which he owed to his country and to himſelf. He ſhould then give his reaſons for being decidedly of opinion, that there never was any tranſaction of this kind, in the hiſtory of this country, at any period, or under any circumſtances, in which ſo much had been given up without any equivalent, ſuch unlimited conceſſion made, ſo much diſgrace incurred, and the nation placed in ſuch awful circumſtances of impending peril.

He was induced to make ſome obſervations on this occaſion, by the expreſſions which had fallen from the mover of the addreſs, and the noble lord who had ſeconded that motion, importing, that the treaty evinced the fidelity of Great Britain in ſecuring the integrity of the poſſeſſions of her allies. In this treaty were three articles reſpecting our allies, which ſtood greatly in need of explanation. The ſtipulation in favour of the Ottoman Porte he could comprehend very well, as it agreed that its territories and poſſeſſions ſhould be preſerved intire, ſuch as they exiſted previouſly to the war. With reſpect to Portugal the caſe was very different; and he knew not yet, in what manner the integrity of that kingdom was to be underſtood, whether, as it ſtood before the war, or as it ſtood before the ſigning of the preſent preliminaries. It was notorious, that Portugal had made a treaty with Spain, and, ſince, another with France, both which contained conſiderable ceſſions. He aſked then, for he could not reſolve the queſtion from the ambiguous tenor of the article, whether the preliminaries with England would do away theſe ceſſions? There were alſo other ſtates which had been connected with us in certain circumſtances nearly ſimilar, reſpecting treaties with the French republic and its allies, and which muſt come within their lordſhips contemplation in the courſe of this diſcuſſion. It would be impoſſible for the houſe, when the day for conſideration of the articles ſhould arrive, to enter into it effectually, without fuller information before them, explanatory of the meaning and extent of that article, to which he had alluded. He aſſured his noble friend,

friend, the Secretary of State, (Lord Pelham) that he ſhould feel ſincere regret, if he found himſelf compelled, by a ſenſe of his duty to the country, even to appear to lie under the neceſſity of oppoſing the meaſures of his majeſty's government; but the honour and intereſts of the country were deeply concerned in the true conſtruction of the article in queſtion. It was by aſcertaining this great and important queſtion reſpecting the integrity of Portugal, previous to the entering into a diſcuſſion of the articles, that the houſe could alone be enabled to judge of theſe two things; firſt, whether the good faith of this country had been kept with our allies? And next, what was the comparative value of the ſacrifices and conceſſions that had been made to the French republic, and of the peace that had been obtained in exchange for theſe conceſſions?

Lord Grenville then read his intended motion, which was for an addreſs to his majeſty, "that copies of all treaties, conventions, and agreements, made within the laſt year between any of his majeſty's allies, and the French republic; which had been communicated to his majeſty, be laid before the Houſe." He repeated, that he had the higheſt reſpect for his noble friend, and ſhould deeply regret the being obliged upon the point in queſtion, to oppoſe the meaſures of government. So far, indeed, was he from meaning any ſuch matter, that if his noble friend would ſay that he had his reaſons for wiſhing that he would not preſs his motion at preſent, he would moſt readily forbear to make it.

Lord Pelham, lamenting that his noble friend ſhould even intimate that he might feel it neceſſary to oppoſe his majeſty's miniſters, eſpecially on the important point in queſtion, reminded him that a ſeparate day would be appointed for taking the articles into conſideration, and then he ſhould be prepared to enter into every neceſſary explanation. With reſpect to the papers referred to, it muſt ſurely be recollected, by a noble Lord of ſo much experience, that while matters ſtood between this country and the French republic, as they did at preſent, in point of negotiation, ſuch papers could not be laid upon the table, without conſiderably embarraſſing government, and greatly endangering the public intereſts. It was true the treaties had been made public; but they had had no other authority than that of the French and other journals; they were indeed in general communicated to allied and friendly governments, but it was rather in a confidential manner, and it might eaſily be ſuppoſed, that foreign powers would be unwilling to have treaties which did not refer immediately to ourſelves, made ſubjects of debates and diſcuſſions in that houſe.

Lord Grenville ſtrongly diſclaimed the intention of making a general oppoſition to government, ſtated in new terms the altered ſituation of Portugal in conſequence of the treaties with Spain and France, which would for ever prevent the renewal of the ſame commercial intercourſe that before ſubſiſted between her and this country. Far from meaning to embarraſs miniſters, or oppoſe their meaſures, unleſs in matters of ſuch

moment as left him no option, he was desirous to give them all the assistance his humble abilities would enable him to give, provided they continued to act with firmness, and maintained all that was alike dear to the honour and dignity of the kingdom. In conclusion, he desisted from making his motion.

Lord Pelham expressed great satisfaction at Lord Grenville's candid declaration, that he did not mean to enter into opposition: it would afford as much satisfaction to those with whom he acted in office, as it did to himself.

Oct. 30. In the House of Commons, on the same day, Mr. Grey made similar observations to those of Lord Grenville on the stipulated integrity of Portugal, adding some remarks on the article in the treaty between that country and France, which stipulated that the goods of the republic should be introduced into the markets of Portugal, with every advantage and privilege formerly extended to the most favoured nations. He wished to be informed whether such an article was known to ministers, or whether they had obtained satisfactory assurances, that our relations with Portugal would be maintained on the same footing as before the conclusion of this treaty. Such an article, he contended, would be contrary to all the treaties between this country and Portugal, formed in the last century, and would, in fact, virtually abrogate their stipulations. Were ministers then aware of this, or had they received assurances, that no former commercial arrangements between this country and Portugal were to undergo any material change? He considered an explanation on those points highly necessary, but offered no motion.

Lord Hawkesbury considering the questions unusual and irregular, declined, for the present, any explanation; but in both houses the third of the ensuing month was fixed for taking the preliminaries of peace into consideration.

Nov. 2. The day before the grand discussion, however, an explanation was given by ministers on both the points alluded to, and on another arising out of the treaty.

Mr. Whitbread led to the subject, by observing, that it appeared in the second article of the preliminaries between this country and France, that great sacrifices had been made of the territories of Spain and Holland. He therefore desired to know, if any communication had been made to those countries relative to the cessions agreed upon; and if any person had been appointed by those countries, empowered to accede to such cessions?

Lord Hawkesbury answered, that neither Holland nor Spain had appointed any person to represent them before the signing of the preliminaries; but France was to be considered as capable of acting for herself and allies. Then proceeding to answer the question put on a former evening by Mr. Grey, he said, it was meant that the territories and possessions of her faithful majesty should be maintained intire, as settled by the treaty of Badajos. With respect to the admission of the manufactures of other countries into Portugal, upon the same terms as those of England, he could only observe, that the preference given by each country

country was reciprocal; and if Portugal admitted the woollens of other nations to be imported upon the terms heretofore exclusively enjoyed by this country, we should be at liberty to place all other wines upon a footing with those of Portugal.

CHAP. III.

The Preliminaries of Peace discussed in the House of Lords. Previous Conversation respecting Portugal. Observations of Lords Grenville, Pelham, Thurlow, Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor. The Lords proceed to the order of the Day. The address moved by Lord Romney; seconded by Lord Limerick; opposed by Earl Spencer; supported by the Duke of Clarence; Lords Pelham and Westmeath; speech of Lord Grenville against it; answer of the Lord Chancellor; who is supported by Lord Moira; the Earl of Warwick opposes the peace; it is defended by Lord Mulgrave and the Duke of Bedford; condemned by the Bishop of Rochester; applauded by the Bishop of London; attacked by Earl Fitzwilliam; justified by the Earl of Westmoreland, Earl Saint Vincent, and Lord Nelson; censured by the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Caernarvon; general reply of Lord Hobart. The address carried by a great majority.

ALTHOUGH from the discussions which had already taken place, the ministers were abundantly prepared to expect an opposition to the address in approbation of the preliminaries, yet they had not probably apprehended that it would be so strong in matter, or conducted with so much earnestness as they afterwards experienced.

Nov. 3. Notwithstanding the explanation afforded the preceding day in the house of Commons, Lord Grenville on the day the preliminaries were to be discussed, anticipated the business by repeating his former questions respecting Portugal, to which Lord Pelham answered, that Portugal was at liberty to treat with this country, and that the integrity of her territory was guaranteed from and after the treaty concluded on the 29th of September last.

This answer Lord Grenville censured as not explicit, and Lord Hobart was proceeding to speak, when Lord Thurlow complained of the irregularity of a conversation without a motion; the order of the day being the matter before the house.

Lord Grenville insisted that his mode of acting was not unusual; but to comply with the wish of the noble and learned lord, and to place himself within the strict line of the rules of the house, he would move an address to his majesty, praying that a copy of the treaty concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September, between the most catholic king and her faithful majesty, might be laid on the table. He would adduce as an argument for the production of this paper, that the silence of ministers made his conjectures not doubtful. They had given an answer to his question as to the integrity of the territory

of Portugal; but they had been ſilent as to the commerce. He put it to the honour of their Lordſhips, as well as to their wiſdom and independence, whether they would give their approbation of the terms of theſe preliminaries, when a meaſure ſo intimately connected with them was concealed from their knowledge.

Lord Hobart expreſſed aſtoniſhment, that the noble lord ſhould aſk for a paper which his own particular experience muſt convince him, it would be injurious to the country to grant in the interval between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty. If the noble lord were ſtill in the ſituation which he lately held, he would feel it his duty, as he had often felt it, to refuſe the production.

The Lord Chancellor too, obſerved, that he had never before heard a motion for the production of treaties or conventions pending a negotiation, and much leſs for treaties or conventions, to which this country was not a party, and laſt of all men ſhould have expected it from the noble lord, whoſe long experience and reſponſible ſituation ought to have impreſſed upon his mind the importance and peculiar delicacy of ſuch productions. He confeſſed alſo his ſurprize, that a noble lord ſo habited to the rules of that houſe, ſhould have thought proper, after withdrawing a motion, again to come forward, to put the ſame queſtions and renew the ſame motion. He could not thank him for his candour. For himſelf, he would acquieſce in the very worſt ſuppoſition that the noble lord's fancy could deviſe with reſpect to Portugal, and argue the caſe upon that ſuppoſition, rather than agree to the production of the paper.

Lord Grenville, however, ſtill perſiſted, and when it was objected that his motion could not be received in preference to the order of the day, endeavoured to introduce it as an amendment on the propoſition for proceeding to the order. The converſation was drawn to conſiderable length and maintained with much animation; Earls Spencer and Caernarvon ſupporting Lord Grenville, and the Duke of Bedford and Lord Darnley joining with Lord Thurlow, and the Lord Chancellor in oppoſing him.

At length the houſe proceeded to the order of the day, and that part of the king's ſpeech, which related to the preliminaries, and the treaty itſelf being read, Lord Romney moved the addreſs, expreſſing approbation of the peace.

His lordſhip began by obſerving, that we had terminated a war, the greateſt and moſt momentous in which Britain had ever been engaged; a war productive of the heavieſt burdens, moſt ſeverely felt, though firmly, patriotically, and loyally borne, from a conviction that it was a war of neceſſity, for the defence of our allies, including our own independence and ſecurity, and was to preſerve our religion, laws, conſtitution, property, eſtabliſhed ſubordination and ſocial order. Our ſucceſſes, when ſingly engaged, had been moſt ſignal, and Egypt could witneſs the truth of an opinion expreſſed by Lord Moira, that Britiſh ſoldiers, if they had an equal opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, would not fall ſhort of Britiſh ſailors. Succeſs was the ſeaſon for peace, and his lordſhip, reviewing the treaties

treaties which had terminated the laſt two wars, inferred from them, that conqueſts ought to be retained only as they tended to ſecurity. We had in this war ſecured our religion, laws, conſtitution, property, and independence; we had manifeſted not only valour, military and naval ability, but reſources of every kind far beyond even our former conception. In a ſeaſon of great pecuniary diſtreſs, the wiſdom of our miniſter, and the ſpirited exertions of our countrymen, had ſupported the bank, and revived the value of the funds. Such we had ſhewn ourſelves during the war. The treaty before the Houſe ſecured all the important objects for which the conteſt had been carried on. Ceylon and Trinidad, his lordſhip ſhewed to be poſſeſſions of conſiderable importance, and our ſucceſſes in India combined acquiſition with ſecurity. We had alſo procured reſtitution to the allies who continued faithful to us; we had driven from the Turkiſh dominions, an enemy who had ſeized the moſt valuable part of the Sultan's territories, and the granary of his metropolis. To our allies, indeed, we behaved with magnanimous liberality; we ſupported them as long as our ſupport could render them any uſeful aſſiſtance; when fidelity to us was no longer beneficial to themſelves, we releaſed them from their engagements. The aggrandizement of France, it was beyond our power to prevent, and even if we could ſend to the continent 500,000 men, we could not recover the conqueſts which had been made, and we were not, under ſuch circumſtances, to continue a hopeleſs conteſt, and for the ſake of an iſland more or leſs, an object not neceſſary to our ſecurity, go on accumulating debt and aggravating taxes. It had been objected, that the peace could not be laſting. One great ſecurity for its permanence was the intereſt both of Britain and France. Both countries had immenſe capabilities, which, in improving to the utmoſt extent, they might, far from hurting each other, reciprocally promote their higheſt commercial intereſts.

Lord Limerick, in ſeconding the motion for an addreſs, augured moſt favourably of the peace, from the general approbation with which it was received. To eſtimate its merits, let their lordſhips look to the fate of ſurrounding nations, and compare the way in which they had concluded peace with the recent common enemy, with the mode in which Great Britain had agreed to terms, and the reſult would obviouſly be in favour of this country. Its character was undiminiſhed, and not one inch of ancient territories or poſſeſſions ſurrendered; on the contrary, our laws, religion, and conſtitution were preſerved pure and inviolate. Let the preſent ſituation of this land be compared, even with that in which ſhe ſtood at the laſt peace, and the compariſon, he averred, would decidedly be in our favour. On the former occaſion, our fineſt colonies were rent from the boſom of the parent ſtate. Iſland after iſland, and fortreſs after fortreſs were ſhamefully ceded to the enemy; that peace was deſervedly reprobated by all. The miniſtry of that day were prevented from perfecting what they had well begun, being driven from their ſeats by an unexpected and unnatural coalition. He hoped nothing of that

ſort, no paltry coalition would take place in the preſent day. His lordſhip then reviewed in an able manner, and eloquent terms, many of the events of the war, proving the integrity of the country, and the bravery of her warriors, and at length adverted to Ireland, the part of the United Kingdom to which he had the honour to belong. After a well expreſſed, and merited eulogy on his countrymen, although a great part of the inferior orders were ſo circumſtanced as to require the greateſt circumſpection on the part of government; he ſaid, that when the gibbet had ceaſed to be burthened, and the ſword was ſheathed, there were many who imagined it proceeded from fear, and when England was left alone in the late arduous conteſt, their hopes obviouſly revived. In what a ſituation England would be left, if the projects of the traitors in that country had ſucceeded, he ſhuddered to contemplate even in imagination. She would not then be fighting for this or that iſland, but for her very exiſtence as an independent nation; and, although he had no doubt of her being ultimately ſucceſsful, yet what ſacrifices ſuch a conteſt muſt demand, their lordſhips would beſt feel. The late miniſters deſerved the gratitude and applauſe of the country and the preſent miniſters deſerved no leſs. They were truſted with the reins of government at a period of great difficulty, and their conduct ſince evinced their patriotiſm and ability; particularly in procuring for the nation ſuch advantageous preliminaries of peace.

Earl Spencer profeſſed the moſt heartfelt regret at delivering an opinion in oppoſition to that of the two preceding lords. He ſhould have been content to deplore the calamity of the peace in ſilence; he ſhould have lamented the enthuſiaſtic joy with which it was received by the people, and ſhould have ſuppreſſed his deep feelings of mortification at the degradation of his country, without riſing to oppoſe his majeſty's miniſters, if he had not been compelled by a ſenſe of the duty which he owed to his own character, to his king, to that houſe, and to his country. It was with particular regret that he oppoſed a government compoſed of men with whom he had ſo long acted, and with ſome of whom it had been the pride of his life to be in the ſtricteſt habits of friendſhip. Peace, abſtractedly, was undoubtedly a good and deſirable thing. A ſafe and honourable peace was the ſole end of every legitimate war; but by theſe preliminaries, not one object of war had been attained. We had ſacrificed all means of protection. In every part of the globe we had made ceſſions, either to France or her allies, of every thing which our gallant forces by ſea and land had acquired; and every thing by which we might have been ſecured againſt the conſequences of the aggrandizement of France on the continent. But it was ſaid we had protected our allies. What was the fact? The integrity of the Porte had been preſerved; but was that owing to the cabinet? No; it was the reſult of the glorious campaign in Egypt. What had been the protection to Portugal he could not comprehend. Her boaſted integrity was limited to a certain portion only of that integrity, for a moſt important part of the province of Olivenza was to be ceded.

Another

Another ally, the Prince of Orange, was not even named in the preliminaries, though by his faithful attachment to us, he had loſt his territory and ſtation. The peace produced none of the juſt objects of the war, neither indemnity for the paſt, nor ſecurity for the future. We had only the ſettlements of Ceylon and Trinidad, which could not be viewed as any adequate indemnity for ſuch a war, much leſs as affording ſecurity for the future. In every quarter of the world had our ceſſions enlarged our danger. In India, the gallantry and enterprize of our armies reduced Tippoo Saib, and extinguiſhed that enemy; but this treaty, by ceding the Cape and Cochin, had given an opening again to the coaſt of Malabar, while in South America, by the article in the treaty with Portugal, it was known that our rival was to have a military poſt at the mouth of the river of Amazons, which would be fatal to our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, by the uſe which the French would make of it. We had ſurrendered the ſtrong central poſition of Martinique, and we had left them in intire poſſeſſion of St. Domingo, an iſland which, according to themſelves, was calculated to erect around her an independent republic of iſlands. In the Mediterranean we had ſurrendered every thing. We had intirely excluded ourſelves. Malta was to be put into the hands of a third power, but the French were to have equal footing with us. In ſhort, he ſaw nothing but a precarious peace, and to which nothing but ſtrong precautions on our part could give a chance of ſecurity. That peace which was unequal, could not be permanent; miniſters ſaid, it would be the intereſt of France to maintain it; but who could ſay what would be the intereſt of an uſurper? If ever peace was precarious, this was ſo; if ever precarious peace was dangerous, it was this. French principles were triumphant; thoſe principles which noble Lords, and he, among others, had been ridiculed for oppoſing, were adorned with all the attraction and dignity of ſucceſs. Expreſſing theſe opinions, he diſclaimed all ſyſtematic oppoſition; he felt mortification to differ from miniſters; he ſhould feel it his duty more than ever to give his ſupport to meaſures of vigour that might give the country a chance for ſafety.

The Duke of Clarence ſtrenuouſly ſupported the miniſtry. He reviewed with approbation the policy of the war, and obſerved that the retention of the Cape of Good Hope was rendered leſs important by our ſucceſſes in the Eaſt, begun by the Marquis Cornwallis, and completely confirmed by the penetration and the wiſdom of the Marquis Welleſley, who had overthrown and deſtroyed the power of the tyrant Tippoo, and ſecured our poſſeſſions by the fall of that reſtleſs chief, and the total reduction of his government. The expedition of the French to Egypt was calculated to ſubvert this happy eſtabliſhment, and their defeat by Britiſh valour obtained from his royal highneſs a warm eulogy, with an honourable tribute to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and a due notice of the navy, the regulars, the militia, and the volunteers, whoſe ſervices had been ſo very uſeful to the community at large. At the cloſe of the war he obſerved, England and France, finding

finding that each, from its vaſt conqueſts, was placed in that particular predicament in which no blow could be given with effect, the beſt plan to be adopted was an adjuſtment of differences, and a reconciliation of parties. France had completely overcome every contending power on the continent, conſequently had no new conqueſts with which ſhe could exerciſe her numerous armies. Great Britain, ſo far as regarded maritime affairs, was in a ſimilar ſtate. Having therefore no other objects of peculiar attack or conqueſt, except the invaſion of each other's domeſtic territories, they were reduced to the neceſſity of extending an unavailing war, with the accumulation of debt and its concomitant calamities, or of negotiating a peace on terms ſafe and honourable to both governments. This was not therefore a common peace, but a reconciliation of differences between the two greateſt nations in the world. The intereſt of New France appeared to be its continental conqueſts, the intereſt of Great Britain was its commerce. The former was conſequently, from its relative ſituation and conſtitution, a military government; the ſtrength of the latter was in its navy. Continental territories were the exiſtence of the one, commerce that of the other. We had therefore to look forward to the cultivation of the arts of peace; to the improvements of the nurſeries of ſeamen; they had to look forward to the preſervation of that military ſyſtem which had overcome all oppoſition on the continent. Neceſſity impelled France to act on the principle here deſcribed; wiſdom muſt induce England to adopt a plan diametrically oppoſite; and notwithſtanding aſſertions to the contrary, his royal highneſs entertained the beſt hopes of a ſecure and a laſting peace. The civilities which had paſſed between the two countries were honourable to each, and indications that the peace would be durable. It was not neceſſary to diſcuſs minutely the value of the poſſeſſions ceded, but the Cape of Good Hope was a place of no trade, and conſequently it had not the advantages attributed to it.

Lord Pelham, lamenting the difference of opinion between himſelf and Lord Spencer, juſtified the treaty, not only by a view of its ſtipulations, but by a compariſon between them, and the terms to which miniſters would have acceded, in the negociations in 1796 and 1797. The latter period moſt reſembled that in which the preſent peace was made, and he wiſhed to compare the *projet* which miniſters then gave in, with the preliminaries which his majeſty's preſent ſervants had obtained. In the projet of 1797, the Cape of Good Hope, as well as Ceylon and Trinidad, was to be retained. In 1801 the Cape was only to be a free port. Was there ſuch a difference in this as to juſtify the continuance of war? But our conduct to our allies was an argument. No mention was made in the preliminaries of the Prince of Orange. It certainly was not in our power, by perſevering in war, to replace that prince in his power; the turn of events, and the revolution in his country, made it impoſſible; but the opportunity was not loſt of treating for him; and it would not be neglected. It had been ſaid that Egypt had not been ſaved to the

the Porte by treaty, but by conqueſt; but this diſtinction was immaterial to the diſcuſſion. Naples, at preſent occupied by the armies of France, was to be reſtored to its legitimate ſovereign; and Malta was to be available to neither of the contracting parties. With reſpect to Portugal, when he conſidered how freely the ſpeeches of noble lords were publiſhed through newſpapers, he muſt abſtain from entering into the particulars at this critical and unſeaſonable time.—He would only ſay, that Portugal would retain every thing which in reaſon could be uſeful to her, and would make no ſacrifice that could be injurious. She was eſſentially protected. With reſpect to the Weſt India iſlands, he would entreat noble lords to ſay, whether any one iſland, or all of them together, would have been worth the calamity of continuing a ſtruggle, by which the two nations were to exhauſt one another, or rather each to exhauſt itſelf. In the Eaſt, the overthrow of Tippoo had ſecured our poſſeſſions againſt all annoyance. We owed his extinction to the war, ſince it was by the intercepted correſpondence that we had diſcovered his intrigues. Ceylon and Trinidad were great and important acquiſitions; and was it no conqueſt to have ſubdued the erroneous opinions prevalent in England and Ireland, and to have reſcued them from French principles?

Lord Weſtmeath alſo defended the treaty, being fully perſuaded that we had obtained the ſecurities of peace, and had conſequently eſtabliſhed on the firmeſt baſis, thoſe eſſential points which were neareſt to his heart, the proſperity and happineſs of Great Britain. By the bleſſings of peace we might reſtore trade, improve agriculture, and ſtrengthen our conſtitution, which had always been the envy of nations. Our ſyſtem of government, inſtead of being the ſport or attack of mad theoriſts, who wiſhed to overturn the glorious fabric of our anceſtors, would, as hitherto, become the admiration of the world, the envy of the univerſe!

Lord Grenville began a ſpeech in diſapprobation of the peace, by declaring the great ſatisfaction and lively joy he ſhould have felt, if the dictates of his own judgment would have allowed him to concur in the line of congratulation marked out by the mover of the addreſs; to have concurred in ſtating that we had brought an arduous and important conteſt to a ſucceſsful termination. It had been juſtly obſerved, that ſecurity had been the object of the war; but inſtead of obtaining it, we were now left in a ſituation of far greater inſecurity than at the commencement of the war, or at any time during its continuance. The queſtion was not, whether peace was deſirable upon ſecure and honourable terms, for ſuch a peace was the object of every war; not whether it ſhould, or ſhould not now be agreed to; for the honour of the nation was pledged to perform the conditions; but it was this: What were the merits of the preſent treaty? and he could not agree in carrying to the foot of the throne an addreſs, which told his Majeſty that the terms deſerved their approbation, becauſe he thought them diſadvantageous to the country, and fraught with degradation and national humiliation.

In entering into negotiation, every

every ſtateſman knew that the baſis muſt be, either to take the original ſtate of things, at the commencement of hoſtilities, the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*; or the actual ſtate of things, the *uti poſſidetis*, at the moment of negotiating. If the ſtate of things was ſuch, that they could not be replaced in their original poſition, or the ſuperiority on one ſide was ſuch as to render ſuch a project ridiculous, at leaſt every deviation ought to be narrowly watched and maturely conſidered. But our inferiority to the enemy was loudly denied. If it was ſo; if the ſituation of the country was elevated and proſperous, we ought to have had honourable terms of peace, becauſe we were in a condition to demand them; and entitled to aſk ſuch as were commenſurate with our rank and power.

He would conſider the relative ſituation of the two countries, and in ſo doing, it was far from his intention to undervalue the acquiſitions of France; on the contrary, he thought them more important than they were generally eſteemed. She had made the Rhine the boundary of her empire; ſhe had acquired Savoy, &c. and had not only extended her territory beyond what the moſt ambitious of her monarchs ever had in contemplation, but ſhe had her frontiers protected by dependent republics, and tributary kings. On our ſide we had ſucceſſes no leſs brilliant than ſtriking; we had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode invincible. We had reſcued Egypt; we had captured Malta; we had poſſeſſed ourſelves of Minorca; and the Mediterranean was ſhut up from the ſhips of France and Spain. In the Eaſt Indies, we had every thing except Batavia, and that we ſhould have poſſeſſed but it was not worth the coſt of an expedition. We had the Cape of Good Hope, if not the only, at leaſt an important key to the Eaſt. In the Weſt Indies we had every thing deſirable, Martinique, Trinidad, &c. &c. Upon the continent of South America we had an abſolute empire, of almoſt equal extent, and ſuperior to that power to whom we had reſtored it; he meant Surinam, Demarara, &c. indeed, the value of it was not known until, in Britiſh hands, it had felt the benefit of Britiſh induſtry and Britiſh capital. Such were the colonial poſſeſſions which we had acquired by the war. It was true that the war was not undertaken for the purpoſe of colonial conqueſts; yet the force of the country had been moſt wiſely directed to that object; for whenever we were at war with France, one of our firſt objects muſt always be to cripple her marine, which could never be better done than by contracting her commerce—by depriving her of her colonial poſſeſſions. But although we were diſappointed in the object of the war, theſe poſſeſſions ſhould nevertheleſs have been held as pledges of indemnity, and ſtill more as pledges for ſecurity; and if the continent of Europe could not have been reſtored to its former ſtate, they ought to have been retained as a counterpoiſe to the power of France.

In defending the treaty, recourſe was had to a ſort of *argumentum ad hominem*, to a compariſon of the treaty with the *projet* of Liſle. He diſdained to retract what he then did, but he thought the queſtion ought to be decided by arguments of higher importance, and drawn

from the nature of things themſelves. But it eſcaped the noble lord's memory, that in addition to what they propoſed to cede by the *projet* of Liſle, the preſent treaty gave up Surinam, Malta, and Minorca. Upon what new principle in negotiation was it, that after four years of additional war and expence, they ſhould offer more to receive leſs, which was the caſe, as between the preſent treaty, and the *projet* of Liſle? The noble lord ſaid, that they treated on a footing of equality. At Liſle the caſe was different, for at no time during the continuance of the war was the ſpirit of the country ſo much depreſſed as juſt at that period. If he were aſked, why did miniſters chuſe ſuch a moment of deſpondency to negotiate? He would fairly ſay, that it was a moment preferred by no man; but they were fully convinced, though it was then a melancholy reflexion, that the war could no longer be carried on, unleſs the people of this country were convinced that peace would not be granted by the then rulers of France, upon any terms of moderation, or ſuch as could be acceded to. A variety of cauſes combined to produce that deſpondency: the ſtoppage at the Bank—the conſequences of which were expected to be more dreadful than they turned out to be: the defection of our allies, which was as diſcouraging as unexpected: and above all, from that cauſe which he wiſhed it were poſſible to blot from his memory, he meant the deplorable mutiny in our fleet. If ſuch was the ſituation of the country, the terms then might have been defended upon neceſſity; but at this time no man ventured to aſſert the preſent was a meaſure of that nature. It was affirmed, that as much was ſecured by the preſent treaty as would have been by the *projet* at Liſle, but by that we demanded the Cape and Cochin; and further, though in that we gave up much for ourſelves, yet we retained the dignity of ſtipulating for our allies. We then ſtipulated for Portugal, not equivocally, but expreſsly; and we had alſo another ally who was not omitted in the *projet* at Liſle, though he was abandoned by the preſent treaty; and of all the circumſtances for which he objected to it, and there were many, for no one did he object to it more, than for the degrading omiſſion of the Prince of Orange. The noble lord ſaid, that ſome meaſures might be adopted in the definitive treaty relative to that point. Was it enough to ſay that ſome *might* be adopted? If miniſters had inſiſted upon an indemnity for the Prince of Orange, did they think the French would have made that matter of ſufficient importance to break off the treaty? If not, they would have gained with certainty an indemnity for our illuſtrious and unfortunate ally.

With reſpect to the guaranty of the integrity of Portugal, his ſatisfaction was abated by an explanation he had heard from the noble ſecretary. In the firſt place he would proteſt againſt the practice of ſigning preliminaries, which bore one view upon the face of them, but were limited by ſecret underſtandings between the parties. The Houſe ſhould know what the conceſſions were, and not be degraded into an approbation of terms unknown. The noble lord told them this integrity was as ſettled by the

treaty

treaty of Badajos; and by his explanation, it did not appear but that, inſtead of guaranteeing the integrity of Portugal, it confirmed her diſmemberment. Neither was this all; the treaty of Madrid and that of Badajos, either of them gave to France the means of a naval arſenal at the mouth of the Amazon river; and if French Guiana were to extend to the limits preſcribed by thoſe treaties, it would throw the whole of the Brazils completely under her controul. To eſtimate the conſequences, their lordſhips ſhould look at our Indian dominions. What we had gained there we had gained by the war, and not by the preliminaries; for by the ceſſions we made to the French in India, we put our own poſſeſſions in a ſtate of great hazard; particularly by the ceſſion of Cochin and Pondicherry. The fort of Cochin was one of the ſtrongeſt in India; and at the time of the treaty at Liſle, adminiſtration had made up their minds that on no conſideration would they reſign that fortreſs. When we had driven out Tippoo, and deſtroyed all competition in the Myſore country, there was no more ground for the French to remain in Pondicherry and Cochin, than for us to cede the Netherlands, and yet claim to garriſon the barrier towns with our troops. They could have no object in retaining thoſe poſſeſſions, but to excite the native powers againſt us. As to Pondicherry, it was of no great importance except as connected with Cochin; but for the latter, he conceived it to be the moſt dangerous in the hands of France. What would prevent her, being in poſſeſſion of thoſe places, from filling them with European troops equal to the number of our own in that country; and if ſo, would it not form a dangerous diverſion, if, when we had any diſpute with the northern native powers, we muſt alſo diſpatch an European force ſouth to protect the Ghauts, and the flat country? Combine this with the ceſſion of the Cape. Much had been lately ſaid as to the importance of the Cape as a point of commerce: his lordſhip ſtill retained the old faſhioned opinion, that it was of very great importance. It was ſaid, that it had of late become the practice to proceed direct to the deſtination in India, and not to touch at the Cape, which conſequently rendered it leſs important. In anſwer to this he had to obſerve, that it was not matter of indifference, in caſe even of ſtreſs of weather, for an Eaſt India ſhip to have a friendly port at which ſhe could enter and refit. But another conſequence reſulted from this argument: if the Cape was of no value, why retain it ſo far as to ſtipulate for a free port? The conſequence muſt be, that this article in the preliminaries muſt be of no value if the Cape itſelf was of ſo little. Was it of no value as a port of war: There was a danger of the French excluding us from the ports of Brazil; and if we were alſo excluded from the Cape, we ſhould have no means of ſending an armament to the Eaſt. For though commercial ſhips might proceed direct, yet tranſports could not; for if they proceeded in that manner, they would be fitter for the hoſpital than for action upon their arrival.

As to the Weſt Indies, he was not inclined to undervalue Trinidad; but the advantages to be derived

rived from it were as yet merely ſpeculative. The Houſe was told that it was capable of becoming a great military ſtation:—may be ſo. But what had we given in exchange?—Martinique. That did not require being brought into cultivation; it was already cultivated and it was already a military ſituation.

Adverting next to the Mediterranean, Lord Grenville obſerved, that we had there poſſeſſed ourſelves of every thing, and ceded every thing. Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Porto Ferrajo, and Egypt, were all in our hands. The firſt indeed we had retained; but every thing elſe we had given up. The firſt conſequence of our liberating Egypt, was a treaty by our ally with the French, by which they were put in the ſame ſituation with ourſelves in the dominions of Turkey. Malta we had alſo ſurrendered, which was a moſt important military ſtation, and had reſerved its future protection to a ſubſequent diſcuſſion; but no future arrangement reſpecting that iſland, could put us in the ſame ſituation in which we ſtood before the war. As the treaty did not ſpecify who the protecting power was to be, it would be indecorous in him to ſay more upon the ſubject: but in any conteſt with that power he would hold that important fortreſs as a pledge for our acquieſcence in any demands which might be made.

In the preſent inſtance there was a deviation from all accuſtomed practice in ſigning preliminaries. It had been uſual to make them as comprehenſive as poſſible, and leave but little to the definitive treaty. The reaſon of ſuch a ſyſtem was obvious; but in the preſent caſe, miniſters might reſiſt any new demands, yet he was not ſanguine that they would obtain better terms at Amiens. This obſervation applied to another article, which was referred to future diſcuſſion—he meant the Newfoundland fiſhery. England had nothing to wiſh but that it ſhould remain as it ſtood at the laſt peace; what occaſion was there, therefore, to throw open this ſubject, eſpecially as any new arrangement muſt be in favour of France?

One point more, as reſpecting Naples. If we treated her as our ally, we ought to have ſtipulated effectually for her; at preſent the terms were perfectly illuſory. France was to withdraw her troops, but ſhe might go into the Ciſalpine republic, within ſixty miles of Naples; and it might happen, that all which ſhe could get would be a precarious reſpite of three days.

Such were the principal points in our treaty. If we negotiated on a footing of equality, he ſaw no reciprocity; all the ſacrifices were on our part, and none on that of the other contracting parties. The reſult was, that we had given them the only thing they wanted—the means of creating a navy, and of rivalling us in commerce. This treaty would extend their trade as much as their territory.

If the peace was not a meaſure of neceſſity, was it one of expediency? Were the diſadvantages of the war more than the advantages of the peace? He could not think ſo; inſtead of ſecurity, in his opinion, we ſtood in a ſtate of greater danger than ever. He ſaw no motives to ſubmit to ſuch a peace. He would not ſuppoſe the

threat

threat of invaſion to influence it; if it did, that would be repeated whenever the enemy had a point to carry. By the peace we had removed every ſecurity we had before poſſeſſed. Malta, Minorca, the Cape, Cochin, all ſurrendered, and our only ſecurity was, the word of the government of France. Much had been ſaid of our reliance on France, and it had become the faſhion to conſider it now as a monarchy; but even that ſtate in France would not ſecure the duration of peace, ſince the countries had hardly ever been tranquil for ten years together. Further, it had been ſaid that opinions and doctrines were diſſeminated inimical to order and good government—thoſe doctrines which it was alſo ſaid ſtill exiſted. Could not France avail herſelf of this diſpoſition to diſturb the repoſe of this country? What the influence of France might do, after the ſpecimen they had lately ſeen of the behaviour of ſome part of this country, he dreaded to contemplate. Many loyal ſubjects no doubt rejoiced at the peace; but there was not a villain or a traitor who did not exult with rapture. His lordſhip concluded by hoping that vigorous meaſures for repreſſing ſuch principles would be adopted; and that miniſters would act like men, who having incautiouſly given up their out-works, yet, having the citadel remaining, would rather bury themſelves in the ruins than ſurrender it.

In reply to theſe arguments, the Lord Chancellor claimed the attention of the Houſe. The war, he ſaid, had been carried on until it became hopeleſs to proceed. It was undertaken to guard the country againſt the effect of principles and practices, which had been propagated and carried on by perſons combined together for the very purpoſe of overturning the conſtitution, and it had been attended with ſucceſs, becauſe thoſe principles no longer exiſted to any extent that could be attended with danger.

He muſt not however be underſtood to vapour in praiſe of the peace, as if it was a very honourable one. The principal objects had been, that it ſhould be ſecure and laſting, and the former miniſters had often declared they had no other object in view. If the repreſentation was true which the noble lord had given of the external and internal ſtate of this country, he would aſk him, at what period could he ever hope to make a peace? what were the reſtorations he would refuſe? it was true this country got ſeveral poſſeſſions belonging to the enemy; but had France got none at all? Had ſhe no dominion over Naples or Portugal?

It was a fact, that in 1797, a peace had been fought with the French directory; but nothing had been done at the negotiations at Liſle, except propoſing the baſis on which the parties were about to treat; and there was a material difference between a propoſition and an *ultimatum*. It was not, therefore, certain, what conditions would have been agreed upon had the negotiations proceeded.

The obſervations with regard to Portugal were not well founded; and, whatever conſequences might ariſe from the new arrangements with regard to her American territory, it was an evil which could bear no proportion to that of continuing the war. He would not

continue

continue the war for the ſake of getting rid of the war.

The circumſtances under which this country had entered into the conteſt might have impoſed a neceſſity of requiring that a competent proviſion ſhould be made for the illuſtrious houſe of Orange; but it would not have been juſtifiable to hazard the ſucceſs of the treaty by inſiſting on ſuch a condition; and therefore it would be wiſer to leave it as a ſubject for future arrangement.

As to the Cape of Good Hope, he certainly had heard ſeamen and ſtateſmen ſay, that it was a place, of the firſt conſequence; and it was ſo only as it ſerved for a harbour to our ſhipping on their voyage to India. This advantage was ſtill to continue; but on what grounds could the ceſſion of this port be a matter of regret? Was it becauſe the place had been fed at a moſt enormous expence, from which this country was moſt happily relieved? It was not then neceſſary to treat on the value of the place as a free port, but if there were no other object in carrying on the war, than that of determining whether a certain point of land, at the extremity of Africa, was to belong to Great Britain, or to Holland, and conſidering, at the ſame time that ſince this place got into our poſſeſſion, no leſs a ſum than 125 millions had been ſpent, and that another year would take away thirty millions more, without this country being one whit nearer the object in view; he had no heſitation in declaring which courſe he ſhould purſue.

The noble lord found fault with the ceſſion of territory and a port in the Mediterranean; and aſked, what was to become of our fleets ſailing in that ſea? What would the noble lord have ſaid on this ſubject, had he conſented to make peace in 1797, when neither Malta nor Minorca was in our poſſeſſion? If he conceived the occupation of them on the part of Great Britain as neceſſary to the ſecurity of this country, how could he have ſuppoſed it poſſible for England to make a ſecure peace when we did not poſſeſs them. The occupation of Minorca was not at all neceſſary to our ſecurity: and as to Malta, if we conſidered the facility with which it became an acquiſition to France, it muſt appear that our ſecurity with regard to that port muſt be increaſed with the difficulty of the French being able to take poſſeſſion of it again, while under the guarantee of a third power. With reſpect, therefore, to Malta, we were evidently in a better ſituation than we would have been, had peace been concluded in 1797. As to our ſhips in the Mediterranean, if they had nothing elſe to do but to ſail round that ocean, he thought it by no means an uſeful employment. There was no uſe in keeping a naval ſtation there, if we could not command the commerce of that ſea; particularly ſo, if the French had taken poſſeſſion of Naples and Portugal as they might have done.

Turning then to the Weſt Indies, the Lord Chancellor aſſured the Houſe that government would have retained Martinique in preference to Trinidad, had it been in their power; but as that object could not be obtained, what alternative was there? Nothing but that of ſpending thirty millions more, that miniſters might be able to aſk themſelves

ſelves that day twelve months, how many more years were to paſs away before peace could be made.

But if the preſent treaty was to be condemned, on what terms would its opponents conſent to a peace? There were ſome members in both Houſes, who thought it neceſſary to continue the war until the ancient monarchy of France ſhould be reſtored. He would not then enter into the queſtion, how far that was a deſirable object; but if the preſent government of France was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and even when the combination did exiſt, it was able to effect nothing. And on the other hand, to have inſiſted on continuing the war till France would reſtore all the territory it had ſeized on the continent of Europe, would have been, on the part of miniſters, a criminal waſte of blood and treaſure.

From the diſſemination of French principles there was now no reaſon to apprehend any danger; to ſay that the preſent government of France was founded on principles deſtructive to civilized government, was an abſurdity in itſelf; and the people of England had too much ſenſe to ſhed the blood of one half their countrymen in a civil war, for the ſole proſpect of gaining ſomething which could never be called a ſyſtem of liberty.

As to the danger, that the peace would not be permanent, there was a greater chance of its being ſo now than in 1797, when the late miniſters negotiated with France; and, although he did not attempt to repreſent this peace as a glorious one, yet it was a peace which he believed would be conducive to the ſecurity of the ſubſtantial intereſts of the country.

The Earl of Moira, although moſt of the ſentiments he intended to deliver had been anticipated by the Lord Chancellor, offered ſome arguments againſt thoſe adduced by Lord Grenville. The peace had been termed inadequate, and ſo it certainly was; but how? It was inadequate to the expectations which that noble lord and his colleagues had ſo confidently held out to both Houſes of Parliament, and to the country at the commencement of the war; of indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future. Thoſe were promiſes given by the noble lord in that Houſe, year after year; and, although more ample ſupplies than had ever been intruſted to miniſters in any former war were voted every year with a prodigal liberality, yet, year after year, all their promiſes failed, and ſtill the blind confidence and deluſion of the people continued till they were brought to the verge of ruin, and a peace at any price became abſolutely neceſſary. His lordſhip alſo inſiſted that the peace was not as it had been called, hollow and precarious, and that the ceſſions which had been made by the Britiſh government were not juſt objects of cenſure. From the moderation and candour obſervable in the ſpeech of the noble Secretary of State, he flattered himſelf that his majeſty's preſent ſervants meant well, and that among other proofs of their inclination to give the people the full and free enjoyment of the conſtitution, they would do away thoſe violations of it, which, in his opinion, had not been juſtified by actual neceſſity, but which could

now

now be no longer requiſite, if at any time there had been any ſuch neceſſity. The peace, he added, would be likely to produce the moſt beneficial effects on the ſeditious in Ireland.

The Earl of Warwick rejoiced in the peace, as highly neceſſary to terminate the difficulties and diſtreſſes of the country; at the ſame time, he did not conſider the preliminaries adequate to the expectations which our glorious ſucceſſes intitled us to entertain; nor did it appear that we had been able to keep our faith with our allies, or to obtain the ſmalleſt pledge of ſecurity for the performance and ſafety of the peace.

Lord Mulgrave, comparing the preſent terms with the *projet* of 1797, could not but think, that, conſidering the enormous expenditure that had ſince taken place, no leſs than one hundred and twenty-five millions, peace was cheaply purchaſed at the price we had conſented to pay for it. It would puzzle a plain man to find out what beneficial conſequences we could expect from prolonging the conteſt; at ſea, ſcarcely a point remained at which France was vulnerable, and on land, for England ſingly to attack her, was little ſhort of madneſs. His lordſhip then ſhewed the value of Ceylon and Trinidad, which had been retained, and reduced to their juſt eſtimate the conqueſts which had been ſurrendered. He noticed alſo our ſecurity and extenſive power in India, which made Cochin of no particular value, and in an animated eulogium attributed that ſecurity and power to the valour and ſkill of our naval and military defenders.

The Duke of Bedford, ſupporting the peace, applauded the candour and moderation of the Secretary of State, as a contraſt to ſome expreſſions of the mover and ſeconder of the addreſs in which he could not concur. He defended the coalition, which he conſidered to have been improperly reflected on by Lord Limerick, and inſiſted that the appellation of factious demagogues, could not with juſtice be applied to the party who had acted with Mr. Fox. On the war, which the preſent miniſters had juſt put an end to, the noble lord who had arraigned the preliminaries in terms of ſuch ſeverity, might recollect that it was owing to the ill conduct of it, that an inadequate peace was now made. It could not be forgotten, that he and his colleagues had uniformly been humbled by every turn of ill fortune, and elevated beyond bounds by the return of ſucceſs. In the one ſituation, they had condeſcended to hold the moſt abject language, and, in the other, they had aſſumed a tone of arrogance and inſult. If it were not at the expence of the country, what a triumph might not he and his friends feel, at the fulfilment of all the predictions they had ſo repeatedly made, that a war ſo miſconducted would ſurely end in an unequal and diſgraceful peace. Lord Grenville had no reaſon to applaud his own *projet* of 1797 as preferable to the treaty now concluded; ſince, notwithſtanding the extraordinary ſucceſs of our arms, owing to the gallantry and intrepidity of our officers by ſea and land, military ſucceſs placed the French republic, if poſſible, in a higher ſituation than that in which it ſtood in 1797. He did no more than act conſiſtently with the language he

had held for years, in declaring his thorough approbation of the peace, unequal as it was, and disgraceful as it might be. His Grace entertained lively hopes, that the king's present servants would conduct themselves on principles of more equanimity and less violence than their predecessors; that they would not be forward to shew humiliation and abjectness to the strong, and pride and disdain to the weak. He returned them his thanks for having made the peace, and he trusted, that they would follow it up by a full restoration of the constitution to the people, and an immediate repeal of those statutes, which originated in childish alarm, and unfounded apprehension of dangers that never existed, but in the minds of his majesty's ministers. His Grace concluded with declaring, that he would vote for the address, and a promise that he would support ministers, if they continued in the same course in which they had commenced their career in office.

The Bishop of Rochester apologized for the course he was about to take, by saying, he was aware how awkward it was for him to rise from the bench on which he sat, and appear the enemy of peace. He was not an enemy to peace, but to the semblance, the counterfeit, and the pretence of peace, which contained in it the germs of future war, and possibly ruin and destruction to the country. Pursuing this notion, the bishop stated his objections to the treaty, on nearly the same grounds as Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville, and reprobated the arguments by which the preliminaries had been defended. The mass of cessions, he said, should be weighed against the advantages of a precarious and hollow truce, and then the House would be able to decide with judgment and exactness. Having incurred so much danger, he hoped the king's servants would meet it with vigorous measures, and above all, that they would not rescind those salutary statutes that had preserved peace and tranquillity, and kept down the factious and seditious.

The Bishop of London said, he was only anxious to be heard, lest the House should conclude that all the reverend bench were of the same opinion, with the right reverend prelate who preceded him. He was satisfied with the peace, because after nine years of war, and two of famine, in which the people had suffered such severe distress, repose was absolutely necessary to the country, to recover its resources, and renovate its strength. He was also satisfied, that, although the resources of the country were not exhausted, it would be an useless waste of blood and treasure to continue the war, since our successes in every part of the globe had been pursued as far as the French republic was vulnerable.

Earl Fitzwilliam, in expressing his disapprobation of the peace, denied that he was unwilling to agree to any treaty made with republican France. He agreed with Lord Grenville in considering it a hollow, and precarious truce, with no symptoms of security or permanence. The terms of the *projet* at Lisle, were more favourable to the country than the disgraceful and humiliating conditions now obtained, and the exultation of the people appeared extremely suspicious, and the effect of momentary delusion, which would vanish as

soon

ſoon as they ſhould return to their reaſon, and calmly reflect on the importance of the ceſſions and ſacrifices we had made, and the comparative inſignificance of the ceſſions of the French republic. For the two iſlands of Trinidad and Ceylon, this country had been nine years engaged in war, and had waſted ſome hundred millions of money, and the lives of thouſands of her ſubjects. Among other objections, not the leaſt, was the letting looſe of correſponding ſocieties, and giving an opportunity of diſperſing the pernicious principles of the French republic to the ſeditious and diſaffected. But while he profeſſed theſe ſentiments, the Earl declared, that he was far from wiſhing that the public faith ſhould not be kept. His majeſty had been adviſed to order the preliminaries to be ſigned, and however ill he might think of them, he would be the laſt to recommend the ſmalleſt departure from the ſacred execution of them.

The Earl of Weſtmoreland expreſſed regret that in the few obſervations he was about to offer, he ſhould appear to differ from two noble lords with whom he had long acted, but in fact it was thoſe noble lords who differed from themſelves. If the whole ſubject was a matter of mere terms as Lord Grenville had ſtated, it was a little extraordinary that thoſe noble lords ſhould inſiſt with ſo much indignation againſt the preſent preliminaries, after they had themſelves offered the *projet* of 1797, and called upon that Houſe to concur in an addreſs to the throne approving that *projet*. After an able inveſtigation of this *projet* as compared with the preſent preliminaries, his lordſhip pronounced the peace, ſuch as it was, a deſirable one for Great Britain, and that it had been made at a happy moment.

Earl St. Vincent denied that the preliminaries on the table were attended with circumſtances of humiliation and diſgrace; he was convinced they were equally honourable and advantageous to this country, and the ſhare he had in adviſing them, he ſhould ever conſider as the pride of his life. We had obtained two of the moſt valuable iſlands in the habitable globe, conſidered either in a political or commercial view.

Lord Nelſon too, defended the preliminaries againſt the imputation of too extenſive ceſſions. Minorca, he ſaid, was of little value to us, as at too great a diſtance from Toulon to ſerve as a ſtation to watch the fleets. On his return from the battle of Aboukir, he had thought it his firſt object to blockade Malta, becauſe he deemed it an invaluable ſervice to reſcue it from the hands of the French. In any other view, it was of no conſequence to this country. It was true, it contained a moſt extenſive and commodious harbour, with a ſtrong fortification, but it would require at leaſt 7000 ſoldiers to man the works. By the preliminaries, that iſland was to be put in the poſſeſſion of a third power, and in any hands but thoſe of the French, it became immaterial to us. As to the Cape of Good Hope, when the Indiamen were heavy ſhips, it might have been found uſeful to them to touch there and refit, but now ſince thoſe ſhips were coppered, like men of war, and ſwift ſailers, it frequently happened that they

reached India without touching at any port whatever. He conſidered it as merely a tavern in the paſſage, which ſerved to call at, and thence often to delay the voyage. It produced little that made it worth holding, and it could not be maintained but at an enormous expence, and therefore, conſidering the preſent ſituation of our territories in England, miniſters had acted with prudence and economy in giving up the Cape, and making it a free port. The king had often aſſured parliament that he would be ready to accede to terms of peace as ſoon as the government of France ſhould wear an appearance of permanency; and could any man now ſay, that government was not as permanent as that of any other ſtate? Miniſters were therefore pledged to ſeize the firſt opportunity of making peace, and the preliminaries on the table were honourable and advantageous.

The Marquis of Buckingham lamented ſincerely that he could not give his aſſent to the preliminaries on the table, becauſe he thought them humiliating and diſgraceful. They were diſhonourable, inaſmuch they did not keep faith with our allies, but left them expoſed and unprotected. Portugal, in particular, was moſt ſhamefully abandoned, for the treaty with France, of which the Houſe had heard and ſeen ſo much, had been ratified ſince the firſt of October, the day on which the preliminaries were ſigned. By that treaty this country was all but excluded from her former commercial intercourſe with Portugal, and if it were true that the cloths of France were to be received as thoſe of the moſt favoured nation, our woollen manufacturers would ſoon taſte the bitter fruits of this peace, in the loſs, if not of our greateſt, at leaſt of our oldeſt cuſtomer. With regard to ſecurity, nothing was ſtipulated, but we were left to depend ſolely on the bare word and honour of the perſon now holding the government of the French republic. What was there in the character or conduct of that perſon which ſhould give us any juſt and reaſonable hopes, that he would not take the earlieſt, the firſt favourable opportunity of breaking the peace? In what inſtance had he ſhewn the milk of human kindneſs ſo much as to lead us to rely on his abſtaining from freſh hoſtilities, as ſoon as he felt his intereſt to recommence the war againſt us? Had he never betrayed a rooted jealouſy towards this country, an implacable revenge, and a deep lodged hatred? Was his milk of human kindneſs ſo ſuperabundant and overflowing as to waſh from his remembrance all his paſt animoſity towards us? Since the ſigning of the preliminaries, the intrigues of the French had negotiated a private peace between the republic and the Porte, and preventing the latter from feeling a juſt and grateful ſenſe of the manifold ſupport and aſſiſtance we had afforded it (greater aſſiſtance he would venture to ſay than had ever been afforded the Porte by any European power) and prevented it from making thoſe returns to which we were intitled. Let their lordſhips remember that we had conceded every thing that would enable the French republic to recover its commerce, and reſtore its marine. We had given to the Firſt Conſul "a "giant's ſtrength," and we might be aſſured, he would "uſe it like "a giant." Another matter truly alarming,

alarming, his lordſhip ſaid, was, that, although it was ſtipulated that the ſeamen of France confined in this country were not to be returned before the definitive treaty was ſigned, yet report ſaid, that many of them were already embarked and ſailed from our ports. If this were ſo, it was putting into the power of the French republic inſtantly to equip her own navy, the navy of Spain, and the navy of Holland, and thus enabling her immediately to recommence hoſtilities againſt us.* Paying a juſt tribute to the valour of the ſea and land forces, the Marquis obſerved that when miniſters firſt came into office, he had declared that he could not give them his confidence, becauſe they were untried men, but he had nevertheleſs forborne to oppoſe any of their meaſures till the preſent preliminaries came to be the ſubject of conſideration. It was painful to him to object to them, but entertaining the ſentiments he had expreſſed, he could not vote for the propoſed addreſs. If any thing could leſſen the danger to which he in his conſcience thought the terms of peace expoſed the country, it muſt be by following up the meaſure on the table by others of vigour and energy; if his majeſty's miniſters would make the neceſſary exertions to render the peace leſs precarious than it appeared to him to be, he would give them his hearty ſupport.

The Earl of Caernarvon alſo condemned the peace. He began by cenſuring a principle which he underſtood to have been advanced by the Lord Chancellor, that no peer ought to diſapprove the preſent treaty, unleſs he could preſent an outline of a better; nor would he agree that the approbation of the *projet* of 1797 prevented the Houſe from condemning the preſent terms, even if the former were leſs beneficial than thoſe under conſideration. Recapitulating ſome of the arguments of the Lord Chancellor and the Marquis of Buckingham, he obſerved, he felt no apprehenſion, that France would not wait till the definitive treaty had put her in poſſeſſion of all the advantages of the peace; but when we had reſtored without equivalent, all that had been taken in nine years of war, with ſmall exceptions, and diſgracefully ſubmitted to the uncompenſated plunder of our friends and allies, ſhe might then purſue, againſt this country, any object which her policy, or inſatiable ambition, might dictate, and her augmented power might enable her to execute. Theſe preliminaries the moment they were put into execution, would place us in a worſe relative ſituation than at the moment the treaty was ſigned, or in any period of the war; and we muſt then depend upon the good faith of a nation, not conſpicuous for that virtue, and generally eſteemed our natural enemy, and truſt that ſhe will not avail herſelf of her advantages. The Lord Chancellor had put a queſtion on each individual article, whether it was an object worth the continuance of a bloody war, and an annual expenditure of millions, as if each ſeparate article required a ſe-

* The return of the French ſeamen was immediately and expreſsly contradicted by Lord St. Vincent.

parate war, and its purſuit the ſeparate expenditure of millions, as it might require ſeparate diſcuſſions on its utility. Thoſe who conſidered the peace as neceſſary, had only viewed the ſtate of this country, and ſhut their eyes to that of France; but France was, as much as this country, fatigued and exhauſted with the war, and a peace, more adequate, ſafe and honourable, might have been obtained, had not our negotiators ineffectually ſurrendered the intereſts of the country.

Lord Hobart inveſtigated the objections advanced againſt the peace. It was a miſtake to ſay that the French were enabled by the treaty with Portugal, to erect a port within one hundred miles of the river Amazons, in South America, by that part of the compact which made the river Arrouara the limitation of the ceſſion made to France. And as to the alarm of our being excluded from the uſual exerciſe of our commercial intercourſe with Portugal, there was undoubtedly an article in the treaty between that country and France, which excluded us from all commercial intercourſe with Portugal during the war; but, on its termination, the excluſion was to ceaſe, and we were to be admitted to a commerce equally free with France or any other nation. The mutiny in our fleets could not have formed one reaſon for framing the *projet* in 1797, in terms ſo favourable to the French, for the mutiny was at an end before that *projet* was tendered, and Lord Duncan's victory over the Dutch, which took place in that year, proved that there was no mutiny remaining; and after that, his majeſty had expreſſed his inclination, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his arms, to liſten to any terms of peace that might be ſafe and honourable to the country. His lordſhip ſupported Lord Mulgrave's declaration, that Cochin was now of no importance to us, while we had poſſeſſion of the Myſore territory; and it might be added, that Cochin was no port, that it had a bar before it, ſo that none but ſmall craft could approach, and that a large ſhip could not even be hove down. It was ſurrounded by our poſſeſſions, and thoſe of the Rajah of Travancore, our ally, ſo that we had nothing to apprehend from the ceſſion of it to Holland, even although that republic was under the influence of France. With regard to the Cape, it could only be kept at an enormous expence; it had already coſt a million, and increaſed the ſcarcity of corn in England. Nor was it neceſſary for ſhips to touch there, in their paſſage to India, and in war his majeſty's ſhips might water at the Cape de Verd iſlands, at Madagaſcar, and at various other places. With reſpect to the *projet* of 1797, Lord Grenville had omitted to mention, that he had not only offered, by that *projet*, to cede Martinique and other iſlands in the Weſt Iſlands, but alſo Cape Nicola Mole, and other valuable ports then in our poſſeſſion in that quarter. Nor was there any ground for the alarm, that the peace would encourage the ſeditious ſocieties, and the agents of French principles. In the firſt place, France herſelf had abandoned thoſe dangerous and pernicious doctrines that the republic at one time held, and diſavowed that extraordinary declaration of their determined purpoſe to overthrow all the

the eſtabliſhed and regular governments of Europe; and as to any apprehenſions of the correſponding ſocieties, and the advantage that domeſtic traitors might be inclined to take of the peace, he could aſſure the Houſe, that already all the ſocieties and diſaffected perſons ſhrunk their heads with ſhame and deſpair, exaſperated that ſo effectual an end was put to the poſſibility of carrying their traiterous deſigns into practice. In the courſe of the debate, ſeveral lords had taken notice of the ſtadtholder, our firm ally, and had objected to the preliminaries, on the ground, that no care had been taken of him; the fact was, miniſters were not inſenſible to the ſtadtholder's claims on this country, for their beſt interference in his behalf; but it was at his expreſs deſire, that no ſtipulation was made in his favour, in the articles on the table, becauſe an arrangement was negotiating, through the medium of the court of Berlin, which promiſed a favourable iſſue. The preſent preliminaries, his lordſhip obſerved, were the baſis of a peace, as likely to be ſafe, honourable, and permanent, as Great Britain, under all the circumſtances of the relative ſituation of the two countries could hope for.

This protracted debate, which continued till five o'clock in the morning, terminated in a diviſion, in which the numbers were, contents 94, proxies 20; non-contents 10.

CHAP. IV.

Debate on the Preliminaries in the Houſe of Commons. The Addreſs moved by Sir Edward Hartopp; ſeconded by Mr. Lee; the peace diſapproved by Lord Leviſon Gower; vindication of the treaty by Lord Hawkeſbury; cenſure of it by Mr. Thomas Grenville; defence by Lord Caſtlereagh; it is oppoſed by Lord Temple; approved by Mr. Banks, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Addreſs voted without a diviſion.

Nov. 3. WHILE this diſcuſſion was proceeding in the Lords, the lower Houſe was engaged with equal eagerneſs on the ſame ſubject.

In this Houſe too, the debate was anticipated by a queſtion relative to the integrity of Portugal, which was offered by Mr. Thomas Grenville, in terms ſimilar to thoſe uſed by his relative in the Houſe of Peers. Lord Hawkeſbury, avowing that the only information he had on the ſubject was a confidential communication from the court of Liſbon, ſtating that the only ſurrender of territory made by Portugal to Spain, by the treaty of Badajos was that of the town of Olivenza. The treaty of Madrid was not ratified by France; and the only regulation made by the treaty of Portugal with France was an alteration of the frontier between the two Guianas, making the river Arrouara their common boundary.

After a few words on this topic from Mr. Grey, who was anſwered by Lord Hawkeſbury, the title of the preliminaries was read, and Sir Edward Hartopp, intreating indulgence to his imperfections, expreſſed his

his ſanguine hope that as the ſentiments of the people without doors were univerſally and unanimouſly in approbation of the peace, ſo would the ſentiments of thoſe whom he had the honour to addreſs. The war had been juſt and neceſſary; its two great objects were to defend their country from the deſtructive and ſanguinary doctrines of jacobiniſm; and to prevent France from extending its dominion over the continent of Europe. The deſtructive principles which had occaſioned the war, had, he hoped, ſufficiently manifeſted their own malignity to be for ever reprobated by the people of theſe realms. Even in France they were generally deteſted; and thus by the exceſs of their own virulence and malignity had effected their own deſtruction. By our vigilance and perſeverance, we had maintained unimpaired the purity of our happy conſtitution. Our widely extended dominions in every quarter of the world, we had not only preſerved in their integrity, but conſiderably increaſed by valuable attainments in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and of theſe we ſecured the retention of the very valuable poſſeſſions of Ceylon and Trinidad. The treaty proved, on the part of this country, a ſpirit of liberality and moderation, and vindicated the Britiſh character from every imputation of rapacity or injuſtice. The cauſe of failure in the other great object of the war, was the want of co-operation on the part of our allies, which rendered it expedient for us to enter into negotiations for peace. The unparalleled events of the laſt campaign had not altered the pacific diſpoſitions of miniſters, but by ſurrendering a part of our conqueſts as a price of ſecurity to our allies, we had held forth to Europe an illuſtrious example of honour, juſtice, and faith. His motion was, for an addreſs, thanking his majeſty for the communication of the preliminaries, and expreſſing the firm reliance of the Houſe, that the final ratification of thoſe preliminaries would be highly advantageous to the intereſts, and honourable to the character, of the Britiſh nation.

Mr. Lee ſeconded the motion, and in applauding the peace, vindicated the war, denying that it had been commenced on a principle of interference with the internal forms of government in France. When Auſtria and Pruſſia had commenced hoſtilities, Great Britain had, in 1792, reduced her naval eſtabliſhment far below that of France; and her military force to 16,000 men; but France, on the contrary, had laboured to effect the ſubverſion of the Britiſh conſtitution, and to excite rebellion in Ireland by the ſame revolutionary principles upon which her own government was ſubverted. The Houſe could not forget the machinations practiſed by emiſſaries ſent hither to ſeduce the lower order of the people of England; the operations of the correſponding and reforming ſocieties; and the effects of their leſſons upon, and committees formed in, Birmingham, Sheffield, and other manufacturing towns; as well as the laws which became neceſſary for their ſuppreſſion. Auſtria had views decidedly hoſtile to the French revolution. Thoſe of England were merely for ſelf-defence; but fearing, however, the diſpoſition of France towards this country, it became the duty of England

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to unite with the other powers of Europe for common defence. Having thus described the origin, Mr. Lee gave an account of the progress of the war, enumerating the glories of the British forces both by sea and land, and applauding the vigour displayed in the contest with the northern nations. By the extension of our power in India, and the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad, we had augmented our territories to a degree at least equally important with the extension effected by France.

Mr. Lee then noticed the efforts which had been made by the former administration for the attainment of peace. In 1796, ministers had offered to surrender all our conquests stipulating only for the Cape of Good Hope, and could any person who was in office at that time, and agreed to those cessions, object to those which the present ministry had made. The surrender of the Dutch East India settlements proposed at Lisle, was now infinitely less objectionable; since the possession of the Mysore country left no room for apprehension.

We had succeeded in all the great objects of the war, in the preservation of our constitution, and the defence of territories; and having made the Cape of Good Hope a neutral port, it could not be worth while to risk another campaign for the chance of effecting a better alternative. Our best security for the permanence of peace, was, because France and England, the two greatest powers in the war, had approved it, and were considerable gainers by the contest. The objection arising from the instability of the French executive government was removed; but whether that colossal power was permanent or crumbled to pieces, we ought not to interfere with its internal policy. The chief consul amused the people with an idea that they enjoyed a free republic, while in fact, he himself possessed more absolute authority over them than the Bourbons had ever exercised; but the people were satisfied, and no form of government established since the revolution had promised so much stability. There was, in fact, no security for peace between any two nations, the moment it became the interest of either to violate it; and when an Emperor of Morocco directly avowed that to be his principle, he had spoken, in plain blunt terms, the liberal language and principles of the modern courts of Europe.

Lord Levison Gower could not agree that any gentleman who was friendly to the terms offered during the negotiation at Lisle, was necessarily bound to give his approbation to the terms of the preliminaries now submitted to consideration. It was not merely by considering the terms but the circumstances, that the comparison must be made. A short time before that negotiation commenced, the bank had stopped its payments, and commercial credit had received a most violent shock. A spirit of dangerous insubordination existed in our fleet, and the funds had fallen so low as almost to give birth to despair of the future resources of the country. In Ireland, though rebellion had not openly broken out in the field, yet symptoms of violent disaffection had been unequivocally displayed, and communications were held with the enemy for the purpose of overthrowing the

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ment. The navy of the enemy was then nearly equal to our own; in the north ſea we were inferior in numbers, and in the Mediterranean there was not a ſingle Britiſh frigate, while the empire of the enemy was undiſputed and uncontrolled. But how changed was the preſent aſpect of our public affairs! Credit and commerce had riſen to the utmoſt pitch of ſplendour. Ireland was for ever ſecured to us by the act of Union. Our fleet was in a ſtate of moſt excellent diſcipline, and the ſpirit of our ſailors was elated by the remembrance of the brilliant victories in which they had ſhared. Yet were our preſent ceſſions infinitely greater than thoſe propoſed in that negotiation. Theſe ceſſions his lordſhip enumerated, complained of the French treaty with Portugal, but added, that although the terms of the preliminaries were far below his expectations, as he had witneſſed the univerſal joy which the news of peace excited throughout the country, he could not conſent to vote againſt it.

Lord Hawkeſbury began a detailed and able vindication of the peace by objecting to the compariſon endeavoured to be made between it, and the *projet* delivered by Lord Grenville in 1797, becauſe no man could venture to deny that Lord Grenville would gladly have taken leſs from the government of France than he demanded at that period of the negotiation. The additional effuſion of blood and increaſe of debt rendered peace deſirable at this time, although it was far from true that miniſters in making it were impelled by an overruling neceſſity. His lordſhip was aware that the peace, however eligible, however adequate to the relative ſtate of this country and of France, however it might be juſtified on principles of ſound policy, was not free from all evil, all chance, all riſk or danger. But, what event had ever taken place, or what event would yet take place, in accounting for which it had been or would be poſſible to remove every objection? He would not pledge himſelf for the ſecurity which the peace would give to this country, or be reſponſible for the ſtability of the treaty; but, under all circumſtances, he would maintain that it was honourable and advantageous.

To the objection that the end of the conteſt had not been gained by the peace, Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered, that the deſtruction of republicaniſm was not its object; and that no interference in the internal concerns of France was intended. This country was forced into the war by the conduct of France; it was ſhe who interfered in the affairs of other nations; who took part and direction in the internal regulations of all countries; who, both openly, and by her agents and intrigues, propagated diſaffection, ſedition, anarchy, and revolt. The revolution was a torrent ſo dreadful and violent in its origin and progreſs, that no man, or ſet of men, could be ſo ſanguine as to entertain a hope of checking its rage and impetuoſity: but if we had oppoſed it, even in its fatal and almoſt irreſiſtible courſe, with ſome ſucceſs; if we had, even when there exiſted but a very faint proſpect of a favourable iſſue to our labours, rendered it leſs dangerous in its effects than it would otherwiſe have been: if we had, at leaſt, changed its direction, and made it flow in a channel

channel less injurious to the general happiness and interests of the world; some acknowledgment must be due to the wisdom, vigilance, and perseverance of government, as well as to the spirit and exertions of the country. The most superficial observer, viewing the present state of France, considering the striking and almost incredible alteration which had taken place in the manners, opinions and habits since 1793, must be convinced that an important change was effected, and the moral evils of peace greatly diminished.

With regard to the continuance of hostilities there were two considerations by which we must be regulated: first, whether we possessed the power of forming another coalition against France; and second, if we continued the war, what harm could France do to us, and what harm we could do to France? The ill success of two coalitions was but too well known, and the state of Europe presented no probabilities of forming a third; and as to the mutual injuries which Great Britain and France might inflict, it would not require many words to shew satisfactorily, that a cessation of any thing like serious and decisive aggression had taken place.

In defending the peace, three considerations pressed strongly on his mind. The time, the tone, and the terms of the treaty.

The time was that when our triumphs were complete, and when it became the spirit and the magnanimity of the government, and the people, to listen to the voice of peace.

The tone of the peace was that of dignity and independence; the honour of the nation had been preserved, and every idea of humiliation resisted with success, both with respect to ourselves and our allies.

As to the terms, it would first be proper to direct the attention of the House to our conduct toward our allies; and particularly to the strict maintenance of that good faith for which we have been so eminently distinguished. Our generosity had released powers connected with us, from express and positive stipulations, when they were exposed to danger, from continuing faithful. To Portugal every assistance had been given consistent with our strength, and with her interests. Naples was called upon by France to exclude our shipping from her ports; but she went further, and joined in an alliance which would have warranted a declaration of war; yet we had interfered in her favour, and obtained the restoration of her dominions and the re-establishment of her independence. For the Ottoman Porte, which of all our allies remained faithful to the last, we obtained not only the restitution of all her dominions and territories, but also the renunciation of France to acquisitions which threatened her independence, and even her existence. France had ceded Venice to Austria; Austria had, in return, ceded the ex-venetian islands to France. These islands, which from their situation might have been productive of the most serious danger to the Porte, had been abandoned by the republic, and their independence recognized. There were indeed two other powers which it might be proper to notice; the Stadtholder and the King of Sardinia: we were not bound by any obligation of strict faith towards them; yet every

every thing which this country could do for them had been performed. An arrangement with reſpect to the former had at our inſtance been carried on at Berlin; but, from various cauſes, withdrawn. In favour of Sardinia we had alſo interfered, although ſhe had given up the coalition, and entered into an offenſive alliance with France.

Coming next to the ſubject of acquiſitions, Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved that the ſpirit of acquiring might eaſily be ſtrained beyond its proper limits; an increaſe of power does not take place in proportion to the increaſe of acquiſitions. Applying this obſervation to the Weſt and Eaſt Indies, he could not perceive any ceſſion made by us which could be the ſubject of regret; nor was any poſſeſſion given to France which ought to be viewed with jealouſy. Minorca we had always conquered when we pleaſed, and always reſtored it at the concluſion of peace. Of Malta, he ſpoke with leſs confidence: from its ſituation, and its almoſt impregnable ſtate, it was certainly of conſiderable political importance in the Mediterranean; but it was no ſource of trade and opulence; and if it were conſidered as connected with the proſperity of the Levant trade, its importance in that reſpect would be greatly diminiſhed. The Levant trade might, like many other ſubjects of commercial ſpeculation, be highly valued; but as it related to this country, it was next to nothing. The Britiſh manufactures exported to the Levant, during the war, had not exceeded 112,000*l.* Its chief ſupply had been from the South of Europe, and the articles drawn from the North had been furniſhed by the Dutch. If it were aſked how the Dutch, who had no port in the Mediterranean, could carry on this commerce with more advantage than England; the anſwer would be, that their quarantine laws were more lax, and in that reſpect wiſer, than ours. His lordſhip then deſcanted in warm language on the value of Ceylon and Trinidad, contending, on the whole, that although ſome gentlemen might refuſe to the peace the term glorious, it was, at leaſt, honourable.

In proof of this aſſertion, Lord Hawkeſbury examined the treaties of Ryſwick, of Utrecht, of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Paris, and of Verſailles. By two of theſe peaces, thoſe of Ryſwick and Aix-la-Chapelle, the country gained nothing. By that of Verſailles, we loſt very conſiderably, for we were deprived of our American colonies and ſome valuable poſſeſſions. It was only by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, and that of Paris, in 1763, that we gained any thing. Yet the treaty of Utrecht was not ſuperior to the preſent in point of advantage, or in the promiſe of ſtability. By the treaty of Paris, France gave up Canada, and Florida was ceded by Spain, yet they were not real acquiſitions. In the peace of Utrecht the ſeverity of the conditions impoſed on France, diſpoſed her to renew the war; and the ceſſions made to us by that of Paris led to the conteſt between England and America.

With reſpect to the negotiation at Liſle, it was difficult to conceive the conſiſtency of perſons who could ſign that treaty, and object to this. In the *projet* we only required Ceylon, Trinidad, and the Cape; if

if we had ſince obtained ſeveral important poſſeſſions, we had been deprived of others, among which was St. Domingo, where we had ſome of the moſt valuable points and ſtrongeſt holds. The only power we then ſtipulated for was Portugal, yet nothing was attempted at that time to what had been effected at this. The increaſed power of France was to be conſidered, but, on the other hand, Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia had alſo made great acquiſitions, by the partition of Poland, and the appropriation of Venice.

In eſtimating the relative power of Great Britain and France, his lordſhip took a comprehenſive view of the augmented commerce, and extended navy of this country, comparing the preſent ſtate of each, with that which it was in before the war, and obſerving that the manufactures and commerce of France were depreſſed to the loweſt degree, and, were her whole attention directed to the recruiting of her navy, ſhe could not, in many years, rival that of Great Britain, and were hoſtilities to be renewed in ſeven, eight, or ten years, we ſhould enter into them with more advantages than we did into the late conteſt.

"I have one queſtion," Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid in concluding, "to put to every man who hears "me, and that is, whether peace "could be made upon ſafer and "more honourable terms? His "Majeſty's miniſters accepted "their ſituations when the country "was involved in war with almoſt "every power of Europe; with "France, Spain, Ruſſia, and the "reſt of the Northern powers. "The convention concluded with "them, will I truſt, be conſidered "as a fair acknowledgment of our "maritime rights, and with that "acknowledgment it is ardently "to be hoped, that the complete "reſtoration of peace and harmony "will take place. Since that "event, a peace with France has "been effected. I do not wiſh to "affirm that it has been brought "about by any extraordinary "means; but I can ſay with confidence, for my colleagues and "myſelf, that nothing has been "neglected, nothing left undone "on our part, in exertion, in perſeverance, and in moderation, to "give to the country that bleſſing "of which it was ſo much in want, "and for which it is ſo eminently "indebted to its own admirable "ſpirit and patriotiſm, and to the "zeal and gallantry of its ſoldiers "and ſailors. We have been engaged in a moſt tremendous conteſt: but we have come out of it "with honour and advantage. "The ſituation of Europe, and that "of Great Britain, may ſtill appear "critical; yet I hope that in a "ſound ſyſtem of policy, conſiſting of a mixture of firmneſs and "moderation, will be always found "a counterpoiſe to every danger, "and a remedy for every evil."

The refutation of theſe arguments was undertaken by Mr. Thomas Grenville. He denied that he had ever contended that the reſtoration of the French monarchy ſhould be the *ſine quà non;* but he could not admit, in the unqualified manner in which it had been aſſumed by the gentleman who ſeconded the motion, that one nation had no right to interfere with the internal government of another, for the purpoſe of preventing an enormous aggrandizement, big with danger

danger to ourſelves. But while he diſclaimed the wild notions which had been imputed to him, he hoped he ſhould never be found amongſt thoſe faithleſs watchmen of the ſtate, who ſhould ſeek to lull the people into a falſe ſecurity and a treacherous repoſe; he, and thoſe with whom he acted, were not, as had been ſaid in ſome of the public papers, hoſtile to his majeſty, nor to his miniſters, but he felt it his duty to contend, that both in the preſent treaty, and in the convention with the northern powers, miniſters had aſſumed an humble tone, which would lead to conſequences dangerous to the exiſtence of the country.

The gentlemen who had that night ſupported the peace, had purpoſely diſſembled the real object of the war; which was, in truth, indemnity and ſecurity. The enemy had threatened the exiſtence of our liberties and our conſtitution; to preſerve them, and obtain indemnity for the expences which we had been compelled to incur, and ſecurity for the future, was the real and avowed object of the war. Miniſters ſeemed to have forgotten our victories and conqueſts, but the recollection of them would remain to heighten and aggravate the reflections that muſt ariſe from the contemplation of our ſacrifices: to have been victorious, and yet to have been treated as a vanquiſhed nation, was indeed a galling and a mortifying reflection.

Mr. Grenville then entered into a compariſon of the terms of the preſent treaty with thoſe which were offered at Liſle; endeavouring to ſhew that the latter were far preferable. He diſapproved the epigrammatic obſervation that it was ſuch a peace as every man was glad of, but no man proud of; for if Engliſhmen could rejoice at a bad peace, of which they could not be proud, the national character was totally loſt. The ſupporters of the peace had prudently forborne to inſiſt on its glory, but perſevered in repreſenting it as honourable. It had been truly contended, that time and circumſtances were neceſſary conſiderations in the concluſion of a treaty; but he was at a loſs to perceive the wiſdom of that policy, which would reject better terms in a moment of diſmay, and accede to worſe in the hour of victory and confidence: there might be a ſhew of magnanimity in ſuch conduct, but was it wiſe, was it politic, was it compatible with the real intereſts of the country?

Then examining how far the peace was honourable as it related to our allies, Mr. Grenville ſaid, that the integrity of the Sublime Porte had been ſecured. But was that her opinion? did ſhe feel ſecure? A week after this ſtipulation for her ſecurity, a week after this extraordinary inſtance of our magnanimity had been diſplayed, Turkey preferred the guarantee of her enemy to that of her ally, and choſe to negotiate for herſelf. As we had compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, both the ſecurity of Turkey and our own, required that we ſhould have retained in our poſſeſſion ſome ſtrong fortreſs, garriſoned by Britiſh troops. Without this precaution, what was there to prevent the French from returning to Egypt? At the very moment when we magnanimouſly ſtipulated for the evacuation of that country, there was not a French ſoldier remaining in it, (thanks to General Hutchinſon) who was not

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a prisoner to our gallant, persevering, and victorious army. The integrity of Naples, was as insecure as Turkey; for the French might return to it, especially as they retained possession of the Cisalpine republic, and the distance was not more than sixty miles. In casting our eyes over the map of Europe, we should look in vain for the kingdom of Sardinia; in the Mediterranean, the king had only the little island of Sardinia left, for the security of which he was solely indebted to the protection of our fleet; a protection which he would lose the moment the definitive treaty was signed. He next adverted to the treaty of Badajos, and to the cession of a portion of the Portuguese territory in the Brazils; and asked whether it was to be understood that our treaty with France sanctioned that cession? Portugal, like Naples, had been secured by us in the integrity of her possessions; and our magnanimity on this occasion had been loudly vaunted, because those two powers had formed separate treaties with the enemy. But were not those treaties the effect of compulsion on the one hand, and the result of conquest on the other? Should we have been justified in declaring war against Portugal and Naples for yielding against their will, to dire necessity? If no blame, then, attached to Portugal, if she ought really to be considered as our ally, as no human being could suspect her of possessing the ability to resist her enemy, there could not be the smallest reason for any diminution of our attachment to her. How had we provided for her security? The preliminary articles would tell. Looking at them, he read these stipulations: "V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, "whose dominions and possessions "shall be secured in their integrity "such as they were before the "war. VI. The territories "and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall also be maintained in their integrity." France, as far as any treaty could bind her, had concluded a peace with Portugal; but had taken from her Olivença and the adjoining territory, and at the same time, took for herself a portion of the Brazils, which gave her the command of the river Amazon and all the adjacent coast. Was this the mode of guarantying the possessions, of securing the integrity of a faithful ally? Not unless integrity and dismemberment were synonymous terms.

The term honourable was absurdly applied to the present treaty. No peace was safe that was not honourable, and no peace honourable which was not safe; but, unfortunately, this peace was neither: nor could any peace be honourable, which gave us territories that did not belong to the power by whom they were given. He was surprised at the expressions of ministers, relative to the acquisitions we had made by the present peace, which had been contrasted with Lord Malmsbury's *projet*. We should have been fully justified in the retention of Ceylon, and the Cape, and Cochin, for the more effectual defence of our eastern empire. His mind was not satisfied with the situation in which the Cape was left by the treaty; we had ceded a port which might become a great annoyance to our trade; and it furnished a military

ſtation of vaſt importance in the event of a ſudden war. The Marquis Cornwallis had ſtrongly preſſed the neceſſity of retaining Cochin, and the Cape; or if only one of them, the Cape in preference. The importance of that ſettlement might be conſidered leſs than was repreſented; and it might be ſaid that our ſhips might touch at the Brazils. The ſettlement which the French had acquired in that quarter, would then become of additional importance. The Cape and Cochin were inſiſted on by Lord Malmeſbury, at Liſle, as points from which we would not recede; and theſe were now given up, from that want of vigour, ſpirit and prudence, which marked our negotiations. An attempt had been made to repreſent the Levant trade as unimportant to this country; but our manufacturers would tell a far different tale. Was Malta too unimportant; that fortreſs which had ſuſtained a blockade of nearly two years? To reſcue Malta and Egypt from France was deemed an object of primary importance; but when it was conſidered expedient to give them up, their importance ſuddenly vaniſhed, and they became trivial and inſignificant. No part of the treaty of peace, nor any thing connected with it, excited ſo much aſtoniſhment in his mind, as our treatment of the Houſe of Orange, except the defence of that treatment. Britain was formally bound by a ſolemn treaty with that Houſe. He underſtood ſome private arrangement was making, between France and Pruſſia; but the Prince of Orange was not to be thrown as an outcaſt on the world, by thoſe for whom he had ſacrificed his all. Where would have been the difficulty in introducing an article in the preliminaries, ſimilar to one which was prepared at the negotiation at Liſle, which ſtipulated for the reſtoration of the whole property of the Houſe of Orange, or its full value in money? There could be no objection; but we wanted the ſpirit, the vigour, the courage to ſupport an ally, who had been ſo unfortunate as to be an enemy to France! Though he did not think the peace of 1783 was either glorious or honourable, it preſented nothing but defeat and humiliation, but the preſent would be found infinitely worſe in itſelf, and infinitely more dangerous in its conſequences. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had indignantly diſclaimed the plea of neceſſity, and no one would contend that we were reduced to the neceſſity of making a peace, diſhonourable to our allies or unſafe to ourſelves. Mr. Grenville then contraſted the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, and that of 1763, with thoſe of the preſent peace; ſhowing the vaſt augmentation of power which France had acquired now, and the conſequent increaſe of danger to ourſelves. In the event of a war, notwithſtanding our ſtipulations, all the ports and fortreſſes in the Mediterranean would be ſeized by France, and ſhut againſt us. She would monopolize its commerce in time of peace, its power in time of war. Acting upon ſuch a principle of negotiation, or rather of ſacrifice, if the definitive treaty were completed, it would place us in a ſtate of war with France in twelve months. Could peace be good if its duration were ſo ſhort? It would reduce us to the neceſſity of diſmantling our navy, and diſbanding our army and our volunteers;

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it had deprived us of all the military points and ſtations; and, notwithſtanding all our exertions of economy, what would be our condition, if France, in the courſe of twelve months, ſhould take us unprepared, and direct her whole power againſt us? Such a war would ſhake our country to the very centre.

Lord Caſtlereagh did not feel any of thoſe fears which ſo much alarmed the laſt ſpeaker. If France thought proper to commence a freſh war, we ſhould be found capable of again repelling her attacks. The peace would try France; and it was fair to give her a trial. If ſhe was ſtill influenced by the ſame inordinate ambition, by which her councils were heretofore directed, but particularly at the commencement of the revolution, ſhe would find the ſame unſhaken firmneſs to contend with in this country. The queſtion for conſideration was, whether, under all circumſtances, England ought to have continued the war? The conteſt was entered into purely for the purpoſe of defence, and though, in all reſpects, it had not anſwered to our wiſhes, yet Great Britain had acted in the moſt diſintereſted manner: ſhe had not only poured forth her blood and treaſure in defence of her own independence and conſtitution, but offered to Europe the means of preſervation. When the confederacy of powers on the continent was diſſolved, it became neceſſary for Great Britain to make peace, if it could be done on terms conſiſtent with ſafety and independence. France had certainly attained a degree of power, which could not but create uneaſineſs in the mind of every thinking man; while Great Britain, with a navy all powerful as it was, could not affect France on the continent, unleſs aſſiſted by a confederacy of continental ſtates. His lordſhip then examined at large the preliminaries, which he contended were as favourable as we could look for; and that Great Britain had not only maintained her own ſecurity, but had, with her uſual generoſity and good faith, ſtipulated for the integrity of her allies.

Earl Temple, although he would prefer even the terms of peace under conſideration, to a farther continuance of the war; could not help diſapproving of the conceſſions which miniſters had made, as dangerous to the ſafety, and degrading to the honour of England; no ſecurity having been retained to counterbalance the immenſe territorial acquiſitions of France. He apprehended much from the exultation with which the tidings of peace ſeemed to have been received by the diſaffected; their hopes appeared to revive; and a party of degenerate Engliſhmen, he ſaw with regret, was to be found, mean enough to drag the coach of General Lauriſton, the bearer of theſe tidings through the ſtreets of London, with cries of "Long live Bonaparte." It was an afflicting proſpect, and augured ill to the country: but it was in ſome degree encouraged by the conduct of miniſters; for he underſtood it to be a fact, if not ſo he ſhould wiſh it to be contradicted, that Lauriſton was accompanied from France by a perſon who had been twice ſent out of this country under the alien act; that on his arrival at Dover, this perſon being recognized by

the proper officer in that part, he refuſed him permiſſion to land; but Lauriſton threatening if he did not, he would return to Paris with the preliminaries, the officer, afraid of taking the reſponſibility upon himſelf, ſuffered him to land and proceed to London, and he was actually in the coach with Citizen Lauriſton, when dragged through the ſtreets. His lordſhip added, he was informed miniſters had not the ſpirit to take notice of the perſon alluded to; an unhappy omen of what this country had to expect from an intimate connexion with France, particularly under ſuch miniſters. He oppoſed them from no factious motive; he thought them undeſerving the confidence of the country, and the preliminaries convinced him they were ſo. He was aware he ſhould not be ſeconded in his objections to the terms of the propoſed peace, by thoſe who were in the habit of oppoſing the conduct of adminiſtration; but he did not wiſh for their ſupport. He who ſhould declare his pleaſure at the peace, becauſe it was glorious to the enemy, was not the connexion he would court; it was a ſentiment which could not dignify the patriot or the Engliſhman; he ſhould ſhrink from it with abhorrence; the man who employed it ſhould be carefully avoided, and his principles guarded againſt. The peace which was ſupported upon ſuch motives, muſt be hollow and ſuſpicious.

Mr. Banks defended the peace as preferable to a prolongation of the war, when there were no hopes of a continental combination againſt France; the terms were better than thoſe demanded at Liſle, and even if by delay, we could have obtained ſome additional ſettlement, as the Cape of Good Hope, it could not have been equivalent to the continuance of the war, even for a month. He relied, not on any terms of treaty, but on the vigour and nerve of the country to ſuſtain itſelf in every ſituation. He wiſhed for peace to be made in the ſpirit of peace; and requeſted the houſe ſeriouſly to conſider, that ſuſpicion on the one ſide could not fail of engendering diſtruſt on the other.

Mr. Pitt regretted that on this occaſion, it muſt be his lot to differ from ſome, with whom he had been happily connected by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip, for the greater part of his life. In conſidering the queſtion, whether theſe terms ſhould be accepted or rejected, one propoſition might be laid down with little danger of contradiction; that now, for ſome time paſt, all rational, all thinking men, had concurred in an opinion, that whatever their wiſhes or hopes might have been at different periods of the conteſt, yet, after the events which had taken place on the continent of Europe, the queſtion of peace or war between Great Britain and France, became a queſtion of terms only; of terms to be obtained for ourſelves, and for thoſe allies who ſtill remained faithful to us, and to their own intereſts. In ſaying this, he wiſhed to be underſtood as being more anxious about the general complexion of the peace, as affecting the character of this country for good faith, honour, and generoſity, than about any particular acquiſition, or ſpecific object to be attained. In conſidering the terms, it would be neceſſary to inquire, in the firſt

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place, what would be the expence of continuing the conteſt, what were the difficulties with which it would be attended, and what hopes could be entertained of its ultimate ſucceſs. It was undoubtedly the duty of every government, in negotiating a treaty of peace, to obtain the beſt poſſible terms, but it was ſometimes difficult to know how far particular points might be preſſed without riſk of breaking off the negotiation. For his own part, he would rather cloſe with an enemy upon terms ſhort even of the fair pretenſions of the country, provided they were not inconſiſtent with its honour and ſecurity, than continue the conteſt for any particular poſſeſſion. He would not aver, that this peace fully anſwered all his wiſhes, but the government had undoubtedly endeavoured to obtain the beſt terms they could, and the difference between them and thoſe of retaining all we had given up, would not have juſtified miniſters in protracting the war. The principle upon which adminiſtration acted, and in which he perfectly concurred with them, was, that in ſelecting theſe acquiſitions to be retained, it was our intereſt not to aim at keeping poſſeſſion of any freſh conqueſt which we did not materially want, but to attempt rather thoſe acquiſitions which, from their ſituation, or from other cauſes, were beſt calculated for confirming and ſecuring our ancient territories. The object which muſt naturally firſt preſent itſelf to every miniſter, muſt be to give additional vigour to our maritime ſtrength, and ſecurity to our colonial poſſeſſions. To them we were indebted for the unparalleled exertions which we had been enabled to make in the courſe of this long and eventful conteſt; by them we were enabled, in the wreck of Europe, not only to effect our own ſecurity, but to hold out to our allies the means of ſafety, if they had been but true to themſelves.

Having eſtabliſhed and explained theſe principles, Mr. Pitt proceeded to diſcuſs, the value of our conqueſts during the war, and the benefit which might have reſulted from retaining, or injury which might ariſe from the reſtitution of them. Theſe conqueſts were all in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and in the Mediterranean, and without attempting to undervalue any of the territories ceded, and ſtill leſs the efforts by which they had been acquired, he agreed that with a view to national ſecurity and proſperity, miniſters had acted wiſely in preferring the poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to thoſe in the Mediterranean. The trade to this latter ſea was of very ſmall importance to England, compared with that which ſhe directed to other regions, and although volumes had formerly been written, and wars undertaken for the ſake of the Levant trade, yet its importance had been exaggerated, even in thoſe days when Great Britain did not poſſeſs the numerous ſources of commercial proſperity which diſcovery and induſtry had ſince opened. In this view, Mr. Pitt examined the value of Malta, and Minorca. It appeared to him conſiſtent with wiſdom and ſound policy, rather to put Malta under the protection of a third power, capable of protecting it, than by retaining it ourſelves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealouſy of the enemy. He regretted however, that circumſtances

cumſtances prevented us from retaining ſo important a place as Malta; and that it was not poſſible for us to have made a more definitive arrangement reſpecting its future fate; but unleſs we had been prepared to ſay we would retain it ourſelves, he did not know any better plan than to make it independent both of England and France. As to Minorca, he perfectly concurred in the opinion of Lord Hawkeſbury; it would always belong to the power who poſſeſſed the greateſt maritime ſtrength; and in time of peace, it was not worth the expence of a garriſon.

In turning his attention to the Eaſt Indies, he acknowledged that the opinion he had been taught to entertain of the value of the Cape of Good Hope, was much higher than that expreſſed by his noble friend; but thinking thus highly of it, he conſidered it far inferior indeed to Ceylon, which he looked upon to be of all the places on the face of the Globe, the one which would add moſt to the ſecurity of our Eaſt India poſſeſſions, and as placing our dominions in that quarter in a greater degree of ſafety, than they had been from the firſt hour we ſet foot on that continent. With reſpect to Cochin, which it was aſſerted Lord Malmeſbury had been inſtructed to inſiſt on retaining; he did not feel at liberty to ſtate how far Lord Malmeſbury was directed to inſiſt on, or recede from certain points contained in that projet, but he believed no man would be inclined to ſay, that it muſt of neceſſity be an *ultimatum*, becauſe it was contained in a *projet*. Indeed, one of the complaints which we had made againſt the French on that occaſion, was, that they wanted us, contrary to every diplomatic form, to give in our ultimatum firſt. But the importance of Cochin at that time, depended upon its being a frontier poſt, to ſecure us from an enemy whom we had ſince completely deſtroyed. It would not ſurely be contended for a moment, that when the power of Tippoo Sultan was intire, and there was a direct road from his dominions into ours, Cochin was not of infinitely more importance than it could be now, when his dominions were in our poſſeſſion. So Berwick upon Tweed was formerly of great importance as a fortified frontier poſt, but ſince the Union of England and Scotland, it was comparatively of little value.

Conſidering our ſituation in the Weſt Indies, he was decidedly of opinion, that of all the iſlands which the fortune of war had put into our hands, Trinidad was the moſt valuable; he ſhould prefer it even to Martinique; to our Leeward Iſlands, it was the better of the two; its value as a poſt from which we might direct our future operations againſt the poſſeſſions of Spain in South America, muſt be felt by every one. He had always been of opinion, that if it came to be a queſtion merely of terms between England and France, we ought to retain poſſeſſion of one great naval ſtation in the Weſt Indies, becauſe that was our great want in that quarter. The four great naval ſtations were Guadaloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Trinidad; of theſe, Trinidad and Martinique were the beſt, and the former the better of the two.

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Mr. Pitt next treated at great length on our conduct to our allies. For the Porte, we had obtained the evacuation of Egypt, and the integrity of her dominions. There was another object which we had obtained, and to which he did not think as much importance had been given as it deserved. He meant the establishment of an infant power, the Republic of the Seven Islands, which would perhaps have otherwise fallen under the dominion of France: this certainly was an acquisition of great importance for this country, not inferior perhaps to the possession of Malta itself. But it was said, there had been a treaty concluded between France and the Porte, by which the evacuation of Egypt was stipulated for; no one could doubt that to the exertions of this country, and the brilliant achievements of our army and navy, the evacuation of Egypt must be attributed; and if France had, by a diplomatic trick, taken the advantage of this in two treaties, that could not derogate from the merit of this country.

For Naples we were not bound to do any thing. She had even desired to be released from her engagements to us, but to this she was compelled by an overruling necessity, and this country had endeavoured to repair her fortunes. It had been argued, that we ought to have guaranteed to Naples her dominions, because, from the contiguity of the Cisalpine republic, the French might, in pursuance of the treaty evacuate their territories one day, and re-enter them the next; but if, from the situation of Europe, the present stipulation could not effect the security of Naples, it must be obvious, that any guaranty would be equally unavailing. With regard to Sardinia, the same observations were applicable, for we were not bound to interfere for her, unless it was to be maintained, that we were to take upon ourselves the task of settling the affairs of the continent. But if we were unable to settle the affairs of that part of the continent, which was in our own neighbourhood, with what effect or propriety could we attempt it in Italy? Could we have procured the restoration of Piedmont, unless we could have disposed of the king of Etruria, annulled the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and driven the French from the mountains of Switzerland?

Of Portugal, every one must lament the misfortunes; but if it was right in her to ask to be released from her engagements to us, and if it was right in us to consent to it, then clearly we were absolved from any obligation to her. The cession of Olivença, certainly was not of any great importance; but much had been said about the territory which France had obtained from Portugal in South America, and a considerable degree of geographical knowledge had been displayed in tracing the course of rivers; but gentlemen should recollect, that a South American, and an European river were materially different, for when you were talking of the banks of a river in South America, it was in fact very often little less than the coasts of an ocean. It had been said, "you affect to guarantee the integrity of Portugal, but it is only after France and Spain have taken every thing they wished for." This however, was

not correct. The treaty of Badajos certainly did not give to France all she desired, because France, by a subsequent treaty, extorts another cession of still greater importance to her. What happens then? Portugal has given up this second portion of her territory by force, when you interfere and cancel the second treaty, and bring them back to the stipulations in the first. To you then, Portugal owes this difference in the limits of her South American empire, and to her you have not only acted with good faith, but with dignified liberality.

The only remaining ally was the Prince of Orange; from our ancient connexions, from our gratitude for the services of the House of Orange at the period of the revolution, from his connexion with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively interest in his fate, and we had shewn it by our conduct; parliament was not to be told of the guaranty of the constitution of Holland, without recalling to recollection, the efforts we had made to defend, the unparalleled exertions we had made to restore the prince of Orange to his dominions. Even on the present occasion, his interests had not been neglected; we did interfere for him, and we were told that his interests were at that time the subject of negotiation, and that he would receive an indemnity. Even if we were to take that upon ourselves, it ought not to stand in the way of a great national arrangement.

But it had been assumed that we ought to have obtained something to balance the great increase of power which France had acquired; that we had given France the means of increasing her maritime strength, and, in short, that we signed the death warrant of the country. Now, in the first place, if we had retained all our conquests, it would not have made any difference to us in point of security, for the retention of all these islands could not have enabled us to counterbalance the power which France had acquired on the continent, they would only give us a little more wealth; but a little more wealth would be badly purchased by a little more war. Our resources, if any case of necessity should arise, or if our honour should require another contest, were far, very far indeed, from being exhausted; they were greater than the enemy, or even the people of this country themselves had an idea of, but they ought to be kept for these purposes, and not lavished away in continuing a contest, with the certainty of enormous expence. We might sit down in a worse relative situation than at present; the object not obtained, our security not effected.

On the general point of balancing powers on the continent; it was undoubtedly right, that if the French had conquered much, we ought also to endeavour to retain much; but in treating with France, we were not to consider what France had got from other countries, but what was the relative situation between us and France. It would be but bad reasoning, if one power was to say to another, you are much too powerful for us, we have not the means of reducing that power by force, and therefore you must cede to us a portion of your territories, in order to make us equal

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in point of ſtrength. Gentlemen might undoubtedly wiſh this, but that which regulated wiſhes would not regulate action, many things might be prayed for, which were hardly to be expected. That we ſhould not have been juſtified in aſking for more, he did not mean to aſſert, but that we ſhould have obtained more, or that we ſhould have continued the war to increaſe our poſſeſſions, was a propoſition to which he could not give his aſſent.

The great object of the war on our part, was defence for ourſelves, and for the reſt of the world, in a war waged againſt moſt of the nations of Europe, but againſt us with particular malignity. Security was our great object. In order to obtain it, we certainly did look for the ſubverſion of that government which was founded upon revolutionary prineiples; but never, at any one period, ſaid, that as a *ſine qua non*, we inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the monarchy of France; though he did not heſitate to acknowledge, that it would have been moſt conſiſtent with the wiſhes of miniſters, and with the intereſts and ſecurity of this country; he had given up his hopes with the greateſt reluctance, and ſhould, to his dying day, lament that there were not, on the part of the other powers of Europe, efforts correſponding to our own for the accompliſhment of that great work. There were periods during the continuance of the war, in which they had hopes of being able to put together the ſcattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice; to have reſtored the exiled nobility of France, to have reſtored a government, certainly not free from defects, but built upon ſober and regular foundations, inſtead of that mad ſyſtem of innovation, which threatened, and nearly accompliſhed, the deſtruction of Europe. When this became unattainable, he gave up his hopes, but we had the ſatisfaction of knowing, that we had ſurvived the violence of the revolutionary fever, that we had ſeen the extent of its principles abated; we had ſeen jacobiniſm deprived of its faſcination; we had ſeen it ſtripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had ſhewn itſelf to be capable only of deſtroying, not of building, and that it muſt neceſſarily end in a military deſpotiſm; and he truſted this important leſſon would not be thrown away upon the world. There were times during the war, in which government hoped to be able to drive France within her ancient limits, and even to make barriers againſt her further incurſions; but in this they were diſappointed; it became then neceſſary, with the change of circumſtances, to change our objects, for he did not know a more fatal error than to look only at one object, and obſtinately to purſue it, when the hope of accompliſhing it no longer remained.

He could not agree with thoſe gentlemen who ſeemed to think that France had grown ſo much ſtronger in proportion to what we had, and theſe gloomy apprehenſions ſeemed to him to be almoſt wholly without foundation. This country always was, and he truſted always would be, able to check the ambitious projects of France, and to give that degree of aſſiſtance to the reſt of Europe, which they had done upon this occaſion, and he wiſhed it had been done with more

more effect. But when the immenſe acquiſitions France had made, were taken into conſideration, on the one hand, it was but fair, on the other, to conſider what ſhe had loſt in population, in commerce, in capital, and in habits of induſtry; the deſolation produced by convulſions ſuch as France had undergone, could not be repaired even by large acquiſitions of territory. Comparing therefore what France had gained, with what ſhe had loſt, this enormous increaſe of power was not quite ſo apparent as ſome gentlemen ſeemed to apprehend. When he took into conſideration the immenſe wealth of this country, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, ſo much ſuperior to the produce of rapacity and plunder, he could not but entertain the hope, founded in juſtice and in nature, of its ſolidity. This hope was ſtrengthened by collateral conſiderations, when he looked to the great increaſe of our maritime power, when he contemplated the additional naval triumphs we had obtained, when he looked to the brilliant victories of our armies gained over the flower of the troops of France, troops which, in the opinion of many, were invincible; when he reflected on theſe glorious achievements, though he could not but lament our diſappointment in ſome objects, he had the ſatisfaction of thinking that we added ſtrength to our ſecurity, and luſtre to our national character. Since the treaty which had taken place at Liſle, we had increaſed in wealth and commerce; but there were two important events which had given the greateſt conſolidation to our ſtrength, he alluded to the deſtruction of the power of Tippoo Sultan in India, who had fallen a victim to his attachment to France, and his perfidy to us. It had frequently been obſerved, that great dangers frequently produced in nations of a manly caſt of mind, great and noble exertions. So when the moſt unparralleled danger threatened the ſiſter kingdom, the feelings of a common cauſe between the people of both countries, had enabled them to overcome prejudices, ſome of them perhaps laudable, and all of them deep rooted, and led to that happy union, which adds more to the power and ſtrength of the Britiſh empire, than all the conqueſts of one and indiviſible France. For proof of the exiſtence of this noble ſpirit in the country, Mr. Pitt referred to the tranſactions of the laſt campaign, on which he made a moſt animated eulogy, predicting, that if the future aim of the firſt conſul was to exerciſe a military deſpotiſm, he would not ſelect this country for the firſt object of his attack; and if we were true to ourſelves, we had little to fear from that attack, let it come when it would. But though he did not entertain apprehenſions, yet he could not concur with thoſe who thought we ought to lay aſide all caution; if ſuch policy were adopted, there would indeed be grounds of moſt ſerious alarms; he hoped every meaſure would be adopted which prudence could ſuggeſt, to do away animoſity between the two countries, and to avoid every ground of irritation, by ſincerity on our part. This, however, on the other hand was not to be done by paying abject court to France; we muſt depend for our ſecurity only upon ourſelves; but

but if the views of France corresponded with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace. He saw some favourable symptoms, but upon this he had no certain knowledge; and he would never rely upon personal character for the security of his country. He was inclined to hope every thing that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise.

Mr. Fox, who followed Mr. Pitt, began by declaring he had never given his support, with greater satisfaction, to any measure, than now. Even the epithet honourable, which with some might have produced differences of opinion, would not have had much weight with him, for the peace must be honourable, or it would not merit to be submitted to a vote at all. For the epithet glorious, he could not contend; no peace could be glorious, unless it followed a glorious war, a description which, in the original principle and final result, could, by no means, be applicable to the present. The great points for consideration would be; first, generally, whether peace on the conditions obtained, was preferable to a continuance of the war; and second, whether better terms could have been procured. We had gained Ceylon and Trinidad; nor did he regret the Cape, as from its destination, we should, without expence, insure all the benefits it is calculated to afford. Perhaps, if any part of the cessions should be regretted, it was Malta, because a place of such strength and importance in the Mediterranean, must have been highly beneficial to our interests in any future war; but as we could produce no pressure upon France, perhaps it was better not to risk the rupture of the negotiation, by insisting on an advantageous article which the pride or prejudices of the enemy would have led him to refuse. Much as the unsatisfactory state of the continent was to be regretted, it was such as there were no hopes of changing for the better, and France and England could not produce any considerable effect on each other. In Europe we could not touch her, in her colonies we had done every thing we could effect; and happily the present ministers had not founded any hopes on the financial circumstances of France. They had not built their expectations on the idle jargon so often repeated, that France was in the gulph of Bankruptcy. In such a situation, to conclude peace on these terms was to consult the dignity of the nation, because to have attached too much importance to trifling interests, might have risked the calamity of another year of war. He agreed that the resources of the country were not exhausted; the income tax, already mortgaged for fifty five millions, might be pledged for fifty five millions more; but these resources ought to be reserved, should it be necessary, for the defence of honour and independence. Even those who were the most prejudiced against the peace, in the stile of oratorical exaggeration calling it a capitulation, would not go so far as to say, that the war ought to have been continued another year, rather than submit to the present terms. Let gentlemen consider, not merely the financial loss, the lives sacrificed, but the misery to which

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for two years the people had been reduced. Let them consider the horrible evil of the bulk of the people subsisting on charity, all ranks levelled by the most dangerous equality, an equality of claims to be fed, claims destroying true charity, and subversive of character, honesty and independence. It was better therefore, that the bulk of the people should be able to purchase, by their labour, that subsistence which the war had placed beyond their reach, than we should retain Malta and the Cape, even if they had been to be gained at such a price.

Some regretted that the peace was glorious to France. Men's feelings on that subject must depend on their conception of the war. The object, not indeed as a *sine qua non*, was the restoration of the accursed House of Bourbon; and to him it was a recommendation of the peace, that this object had failed. Had that object succeeded, it must have been attended with the most fatal effects to the general liberties of mankind. It would have been followed by quarrels among princes, not of their estates, but the mutual oppression of their subjects. To the people of this country, it must have been followed with the most deplorable consequences. Had such coalitions been carried on successfully in former times, could any man think that in the last century, the liberties of England could have been preserved against the House of Stuart? Could any man think that Hampden could have rescued the people from illegal ship money, or that, in a word, the revolution could have been brought about. The restoration of the Bourbons, therefore, had it been effected by a successful coalition, would have been the greatest misfortune that ever threatened this country.

Mr. Fox reviewed the origin of the war, contending that it had been one of aggression on the part of this country, because ministers took no steps to procure reparation or disavowal for any acts of which they complained. He condemned the insulting language used by the then ministry before war was declared, and while they pretended to cultivate the strictest neutrality. He ridiculed the system of the war, in which, although the restoration of the Bourbons was avowedly the first object, there was a second best, with which they were to put up in case of necessity. But what was that second, that succedaneum for money, for religion, for social order? Was it Ceylon and Trinidad? Or, how were they satisfied now, when every argument for abandoning Naples, and Portugal, without sufficient guaranties, argues the impossibility of doing any thing against France on the continent? Respecting the terms and tone of the treaty, he agreed with the noble secretary; but with respect to the time, he was convinced, that even before the war, had it been advisable to accept cessions, better terms could have been procured than now. At that period, satisfaction might have been obtained for Holland and Flanders. At every period since, better terms than the present were always in our power. The negotiation at Paris, broke off upon the extravagant pretensions of ministers, and on the failure of that of Lisle, Mr. Pitt had candidly confessed, that he trembled lest it should succeed,

ſucceed, and employed it merely to facilitate the adoption of his ſolid ſyſtem of finance. Much better terms might have been attained in 1800, and Egypt might have been ours by the capitulation of El Ariſh. But it was ſaid at that moment, that we were to pauſe! We did pauſe, and the pauſe coſt us ſeventy-three millions of money, beſides the lives of thouſands. That fatal pauſe coſt ſeventy-three millions, a ſum which exceeded the national debt from the revolution, to the beginning of the year 1755. Thus Mr. Pitt's pauſe had coſt more money than all the Duke of Marlborough's victories, and thoſe of King William beſides.

But it had been ſaid, the danger of French principles was extinct, and that we had only to dread the power of the republic. No man felt more ſtrongly than he the misfortune to England and to Europe, from the unſatisfactory ſtate of the continent; but it was not the peace but the war, that produced ſo fatal an aggrandizement. It was the meaſures of the Right Honourable Gentleman, which had excited an irreſiſtible ſpirit in France, a ſpirit of proud independence. The injuſtice of the attack lent extraordinary vigour to France. All men were fired with devotion to their country, and the thoughts of independence inſpired an energy that nothing could ſubdue. With reſpect to the future, he was of opinion, that to enjoy the bleſſings of peace, ſmall eſtabliſhments were neceſſary. It was in commercial reſources, that we were to compenſate the aggrandizement of France. To cope with France in expenſive armies and navies, would be the ſureſt way to unnerve our exertions, and to reduce us from a great people into a ſubordination to France. He was not ſanguine enough to calculate on a ſeventy years' peace, but he entertained a pretty ſanguine hope, that the new order of things would cheriſh diſpoſitions mutually pacific, and that the reſtleſs and hoſtile ſpirit which had actuated the Bourbons againſt us for ſo long a period, would be changed. God forbid that he ſhould inſult that family in their misfortunes! But, when the intereſts of the country were at ſtake, he could not but animadvert on the little ſecurity we could have for repoſe, were that family replaced upon the throne. The trade of France had ſuffered much; but the interior of that country was improved, and it derived great benefits from the ſyſtem of equal taxation; but Britiſh commerce, although at the beginning of the peace, it might be in ſome degree checked, would finally increaſe; and if it ſhould be ſaid that debts and taxes would diſable us to compete, the only reply was, that another year of war would have rendered that cauſe ſtill more fatal and deſtructive. He conſidered the power of France moſt alarming to an Engliſhman; but if principles were firſt to be dreaded, were principles to be aſſailed with guns, and pikes, and cannon? Theſe inſtruments were not calculated to oppoſe principles, though when the occaſion was favourable, they were the means by which power might ſometimes be retrenched. The French revolution was calculated to direct men's attentions more eagerly to the queſtion of liberty. But was

that to be oppoſed by the ſword? Defeat and overthrow might have tended to weaken it in the opinion of men, but glory and ſucceſs only gave it more credit with the multitude. After animadverting with ſeverity on ſome expreſſions importing that Ireland had been managed with a delicate hand, and deſcanting on the conflagrations, whippings and maſſacres which had taken place in that country, Mr. Fox obſerved, that among the promiſed good effects of the peace had been mentioned, that it might enable government to indulge us with a greater portion of liberty. It was melancholy to hear the liberties of the country ſpoken of in a tone ſo little worthy of them. If, however, the common law was reſtored, in room of martial law; if the Habeas Corpus Act was put in force, he ſhould rejoice. But there were times in which theſe were conſidered as ſacred pillars of the conſtitution, not as indulgences; and if they were reſtored to vigour, he ſhould receive them as a right; he could not be grateful for them as a boon.

Lord Folkſtone, Mr. Windham and Doctor Laurence, having made ſome obſervations, the ſubſtance of which is not preſerved, the debate was cloſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſaid, it had always appeared to him, as well as to many others, that the duty of negotiation commenced, when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France were at an end. His predeceſſors had been of this opinion, and had twice ſought a negotiation, though their efforts had been unſucceſsful. The preſent adminiſtration, immediately on their appointment, had followed the example, making it the leading feature of their firſt endeavours, to efface that angry aſpect and tone which had been apparent not only towards the government of France, but alſo to other countries of Europe; and at the ſame time to unite firmneſs with conciliation. The effects of this ſyſtem were ſoon felt, and had been productive of the moſt ineſtimable advantages to this country; but the ſtruggle had been an arduous one, and its ſucceſs had been doubly owing to perſeverance.

The treaty had been cenſured as not providing ſufficiently for the integrity of Portugal, but he could ſtate from indiſputable authority, that the government of Portugal was not apprehenſive that the boundary allotted to France in Guyana, would be productive of any injury. The ſecurity of Naples, had been treated with levity; but if the honourable gentleman who had ridiculed this ſubject, would take the trouble to inquire of the worthy and able repreſentative of that ſovereign in this country, he would find that his maſter was well ſatisfied that miniſters had done their beſt, and that the efforts they had made, were as great as circumſtances afforded the opportunity of making.

When the exertions of the continent had ceaſed, the continuance of the war could only have driven this country into ſuch an extremity of danger, and want of means, that if France ſhould at any future period, take advantage of her powers, and attempt to renew her views of aggrandizement, or ſeek to diſturb the repoſe of her neighbours; and ſhould the continent be again diſpoſed to enter into

into a new war to check her preponderance, Great Britain would find herſelf in ſuch a ſtate of debility, as not to be able to give aſſiſtance to ſuch efforts. Since the negotiation at Liſle, the country had expended one-hundred and fifty millions. He for himſelf did not wiſh that France ſhould be deprived either of diſtant colonies, or of her proportion of commerce; and acting upon this fair and honourable principle, France knowing the maritime ſtrength and power of this country, it would be the beſt ſecurity for her continuing at peace. We had cloſed the preſent conteſt by cementing the Union with Ireland; we had increaſed our capital, ſecured our liberties; had multiplied our reſources, poſſeſſed all the former integrity of our dominions, and had added to them moſt important acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The peace that had been honeſtly made ſhould be faithfully regarded; nor would it be ſuffered, that any communication ſhould be kept up with perſons of any deſcription, who, however laudable they might think their own opinions, had nevertheleſs the object of overturning the preſent form of government in France. The miniſter concluded by deſcribing the courſe intended to be purſued for rendering the peace beneficial, and the nation reſpectable and ſecure. The preſervation of internal ſecurity, and the defence of our coaſts would be a principal object, and many others would be equally attended to; but the meaſures to be employed, ſhould not carry with them a diſpoſition to uſeleſs patronage, they ſhould only diſplay a juſt jealouſy to ſupport our conſtitutional rights, and provide for the ſecurity of the country.

The motion was carried without a diviſion.

CHAP. V.

Debate renewed in the Houſe of Commons on bringing up the Report of the addreſs; Queſtion by Earl Temple; obſervations of Mr. Laſcelles; ſpeech of Mr. Windham againſt the Preliminaries; Anſwer of Mr. Wilberforce; obſervations of Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Eliot; Reply of the Secretary at War; obſervations of the Iriſh members; the debate cloſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

BY the long and ſtrenuous debates already noticed, it might have been ſuppoſed, that the diſcuſſion of the merits of the preliminary treaty was exhauſted, and that no further topics of inveſtigation remained; but on the enſuing day, when Nov. 4. the report of the addreſs was brought up, the debate in the Houſe of Commons was renewed with unexpected vigour.

The addreſs having been read, Lord Temple queſtioned the miniſters reſpecting the ratification of the treaty of Badajos, and Mr. Laſcelles qualified his vote of the preceding day in favour of the addreſs, by obſerving, that, although he truſted the peace would be

be beneficial to the country, he could not rejoice at the preliminaries; he felt great anxiety and apprehenſion, and truſted miniſters would take ſuch ſteps as would prevent the growth of principles inimical to the conſtitution of the country, and happineſs of the people.

Mr. Windham then addreſſed to the chair a ſolemn and energetic appeal againſt the peace. His preſent obſervations, he ſaid, were founded in a great meaſure, on the arguments uſed the preceding night.

All that I heard, and all that I ſaw on that occaſion, he proceeded, tends only to confirm more and more the deep deſpair in which I am plunged, in contemplating the probable conſequences of the preſent treaty. Notwithſtanding ſome lofty talk which we heard, of dignity and firmneſs, and which I ſhall be glad to ſee realized; and a happy quotation, expreſſive of the ſame ſentiments, from my right honourable friend, not now preſent; (Mr. Pitt), the real amount of what was ſaid, ſeems to be little more than this:—that France has, to be ſure, the power of deſtroying us, but that we hope ſhe will not have the inclination; that we are under the paw of the Lion, but that he may happen not to be hungry, and, inſtead of making a meal of us, may turn round in his den, and go to ſleep. That I ſhould have lived to ſee the day, when ſuch arguments could be uſed in a Britiſh houſe of Commons!—that I ſhould have lived to ſee a Houſe of Commons, where ſuch arguments could be heard with patience, and even with complacency!—The ſubſtance of the ſtatement is this: We make peace, not from any neceſſity actually exiſting, but becauſe we foreſee a period, at no great diſtance, when ſuch a neceſſity muſt ariſe; and we think it right, that proviſion for ſuch a caſe ſhould be made in time. We treat, or, to take at once the more appropriate term, we capitulate, while we have yet ſome ammunition left. Thoſe who ſtand in ſuch circumſtances, be they generals or be they nations, are, to all intents and purpoſes conquered. I know not what other definition we want of being conquered, than that a country can ſay to us, "we can hold out, and you cannot; make peace, or we will ruin you:" and that you, in conſequence, make peace upon terms which muſt render a renewal of hoſtilities, under any provocation, more certainly fatal than a continuance of that war, which you already declared yourſelf unable to bear. If ſuch be the fact, we may amuſe ourſelves with talking what language we pleaſe; but we are a conquered people. Bonaparte is as much our maſter, as he is of Spain or Pruſſia, or any other of thoſe countries, which, though ſtill permitted to call themſelves independent, are, as every one knows, as completely in his power, as if the name of department was already written upon their foreheads. There are but two queſtions,—Is the relation between the countries ſuch, that France can ruin us by continuing the war? And will that relation in ſubſtance remain the ſame, or rather will it not be rendered infinitely worſe, by peace, upon the terms now propoſed. If both theſe queſtions are anſwered in the affirmative,

mative, the whole is decided, and we live, henceforward, by ſufferance from France.

Turning then to the arguments uſed in defence of the peace, Mr. Windham agreed, that the queſtion was not whether it were good or bad, honourable or diſhonourable, adequate or inadequate; whether it placed us in a ſituation better or worſe, than we had reaſon to expect, or than we were in before the war; but whether the peace now propoſed, ſuch as it is, was better, or not, than a continuation of hoſtilities? In eſtimating the terms of peace, it was neceſſary, not merely to conſider the phyſical force, or pecuniary value, of the objects concerned, but alſo the effect which peace, made in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, was likely to have on the character and eſtimation of the country; a ſpecies of poſſeſſion, which, though neither tangible nor viſible, is as much a part of national ſtrength, and has a value as real as any thing that can be turned into pounds and ſhillings, that can be ſold by the ſcore or hundred, or weighed out by avoirdupoiſe. To prove that this mode of eſtimating the motives of peace and war was neither new nor refined, Mr. Windham cited the inſtances of the Falkland Iſlands and Nootka. Was it the value of theſe objects, he ſaid, that we were going to war for? The one was a barren rock, an object of competition for nothing but ſeals and ſea-gulls: the other a point of land in a wilderneſs, where ſome obſcure, though ſpirited, adventurers had hoped that they might in time eſtabliſh a trade with the ſavages for furs. Were theſe objects to involve nations in wars? If there was a queſtion of their doing ſo, it was becauſe conſiderations of a far different kind were attached to them, conſiderations of national honour and dignity; between which and the objects themſelves, there may be often no more proportion, than between the picture of a great maſter, and the canvas on which it is painted. Were authorities neceſſary, he would cite a ſentiment which Mr. Fox had uttered on a former occaſion, and recurred to on the preſent, and which was true in the main, although marked by ſomewhat of paradoxical exaggeration, namely, that wars for points of honour are really the only rational and prudential wars in which a country can engage. Junius too, ſpeaking what were once the feelings of Engliſhmen, and chooſing ſuch topics as would recommend him to the people, had ſaid, that to depart, in the minuteſt article, from the nicety and ſtrictneſs of punctilio, is as dangerous to national honour, as it is to female virtue. The woman who admits of one familiarity, ſeldom knows where to ſtop, or what to refuſe; and when the counſels of a great country give way in a ſingle inſtance, when they are once inclined to ſubmiſſion, every ſtep accelerates the rapidity of their deſcent.

"It muſt be a weighty danger," Mr. Windham continued, "that in the ſcales of a great country, can be allowed to balance the loſs of any part of its dignity. What then ſhall we ſay of a country, which, abandoning from the outſet every conſideration of this ſort, will not wait till it becomes inſecure by ceaſing to be reſpectable,

able, but becomes unreſpectable by ceaſing to be ſecure? Which drops at once at the feet of its rival? Which begins by a complete ſurrender of its ſecurity; and ſuffers fame, character, dignity, and every thing elſe, to go along with it? Whether ſuch is the ſituation of this country, we ſhall judge better by taking a ſhort view of the terms of the propoſed peace. The deſcription of theſe is ſimple and eaſy:—France gives nothing, and, excepting Trinidad and Ceylon, England gives every thing. If it were of any conſequence to ſtate what in diplomatic language was the baſis of this treaty, we muſt ſay, that it had no one baſis; but that it was the *ſtatus quo*, on the part of England, with the two exceptions in its favour, of Ceylon and Trinidad; and the *uti poſſidetis*, with the addition of all the other Engliſh conqueſts, on the part of France. But what may be the technical deſcription of treaty, is, comparatively, of little importance. It is the reſult that is material, and the extent of power and territory, now, by whatever means, actually remaining in the hands of France. The enumeration of this, liable indeed in part to be diſputed, but upon the whole ſufficiently correct, may be made as follows.

In Europe.—France poſſeſſes the whole of the continent, with the exception of Ruſſia and Auſtria. If it be ſaid, that parts of Germany, and the northern courts of Denmark and Sweden are not fairly deſcribed as being immediately under the controul of France, we muſt balance this conſideration by remarking, the influence which France poſſeſſes in theſe governments, and the commanding poſition which ſhe occupies with reſpect to Auſtria, by the poſſeſſion of Switzerland and Mantua, and thoſe countries which have been conſidered always, and twice in the courſe of the preſent war, have proved to be the direct inlet into the heart of her dominions.

In Aſia.—Pondicherry, Mahé, Cochin, Negapatam, the Spice Iſlands.

In Africa,—the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, Senegal.

In the ſea that is incloſed by theſe three continents, which connects them all, and furniſhes to us in many reſpects our beſt and ſureſt communication with them,—the Mediterranean,—every port and poſt, except Gibraltar, from one end of it to the other, including the impregnable and invaluable port of Malta, ſo as to exclude us from a ſea, which it had ever before been the anxious policy of Great Britain to keep in her hands, and to render it now, truly and properly, what it was once idly called, the Sea of France.

In the Weſt Indies, St. Domingo, both the French and Spaniſh parts, Martinico, St. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curacao.

In North America, St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a right to the fiſheries in the fulleſt extent to which they were ever claimed; Louiſiana, (ſo it is ſuppoſed,) a word dreadful to be pronounced, to all who conſider the conſequences with which that ceſſion is pregnant, whether as it acts northward, by its effects on the United States, or ſouthward, as opening a direct paſſage into the Spaniſh ſettlements in America.

In South America,—Surinam, Demerary, Berbice, Eſſequibo, taken

taken by us and now ceded; Guiana, and by the effect of the treaty fraudulently signed by France with Portugal, just before the signature of these preliminaries, a tract of country extending to the river Amazon, and giving to France the command of the entrance into that river. Whether by any secret article, the evils of this cession will prove to have been done away, time will discover. In fact, (be that as it may,) France may be said to possess the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements upon that continent. For who shall say, that she has not the command of those settlements, when she has the command of the countries to which they belong; *cum custodit ipsos custodes?* She has in truth, whatever part of the continent of South America she chooses to occupy; and as far as relates to the Spanish part, without even the necessity, a necessity that probably would not cost her much, of infringing any part of the present treaty.

Such is the grand and comprehensive circle to which the new Roman empire may be soon expected to spread, now that peace has removed all obstacles, and opened to her a safe and easy passage into the three remaining quarters of the globe. Such is the power, which we are required to contemplate without dismay! Under the shade of whose greatness, we are invited to lie down with perfect tranquillity and composure! I should be glad to know, what our ancestors would have thought and felt in this situation? What those weak and deluded men, so inferior to the politicians of the present day, the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Somers, the King Williams, all those who viewed with such apprehension the power of Louis XIV.; what they would say to a peace, which not only confirms to France the possession of nearly the whole of Europe, but extends her empire over every other part of the globe. Is there a man of them, who would not turn in his coffin, could he be sensible to a twentieth part of that which is passing, as perfect matter of course, in the politics of the present moment."

To the mighty dangers to which England was exposed from this enormous power, ministers opposed as a great security, our wealth; but wealth abstracted from certain means of using it, carried with it no powers of protection, either for itself or others. Riches are strength, in the same manner, only as they are food. They may be the means of procuring both. But we should fall into as great a folly, as Midas in the fable, if we supposed that when we had laid down our arms, and surrendered our fortresses, our wealth, alone, could afford us any protection. Even our commerce would not be left to its natural course. "This game," Mr. Windham said, "will not be fairly played. Bonaparte is a player, who, if the game is going against him, will be apt to pick a quarrel, and ask us, if we can draw our swords? And here, perhaps, it is time to remark the singular fallacy, which has run through all the reasonings of gentlemen on the other side; that, namely, of supposing that in discussing the present question, the peace, such as it is, is the state which is to be contrasted with the

continuance of the war. They forget, or chooſe that we ſhould forget, that this peace may, at any moment, at the mere pleaſure of the enemy, be converted into a new war; differing only from the other, by the ground which we in the mean while ſhall have loſt, and the numerous advantages which the enemy will have acquired. There is not the leaſt reaſon why this treaty, if the enemy ſhould ſo pleaſe, ſhould be any thing more than a mere piece of legerdemain, by which they ſhall have got poſſeſſion of Malta, have eſtabliſhed themſelves in all their new colonies, have perhaps re-entered Egypt, have received back twenty or thirty thouſand ſeamen, and have otherwiſe put themſelves into a ſituation to re-commence the war, with new and deciſive advantages. If they do not immediately take this courſe, it will be, ſimply, becauſe they will hope to ſucceed as well without it; or, becauſe they chooſe to defer it till a more convenient opportunity; the means will, at every moment, be in their power."

Mr. Windham then treated on the degraded ſtate of this country, which in conſequence of the peace, could not venture to reſent any aggreſſion, or reſiſt any incroachment of France. She would be under no neceſſity of going to war with us; and nothing but her own intemperance and inſolence, and an opinion of our endurance and weakneſs, beyond even what they might be found to deſerve, could force upon us that extremity. She had much ſurer and ſafer means of going to work, means, at the ſame time, ſufficiently quick in their operation to ſatisfy any ordinary ambition:—ſhe had nothing to do but to truſt to the progreſs of her own power in peace, quickened as often as ſhe ſhould ſee occaſion, by a ſmart threat of war. A peace, ſuch as France had now made, mixed with proper proportions of a ſeaſonable menace of war, would be a ſpecific, for the undoing of a rival country, which ſeemed impoſſible to fail. This obſervation was applied in detail to various countries in different parts of the world, till at length all the objects of intereſt and ambition which France could have in view, would lie open before her, to be taken poſſeſſion of whenever ſhe pleaſed, and without a ſtruggle: without any treaty, or any act which could be deemed a ſtruggle: her eſtabliſhments would accumulate around us, till we ſhould be loſt and buried in them; her power would grow over us, till, like the figures in ſome of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, we ſhould find all our faculties of life and motion gradually failing and deſerting us:

——*Torpor grăvis alligat artus;*
Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro:

If, in this laſt extremity, we ſhould make any deſperate efforts and plunges, that might threaten to become troubleſome, and give us a chance of extricating ourſelves, ſhe would call in the aid of her arms, and with one blow put an end at once to our ſufferings, and our exiſtence.

In ſuch circumſtances, was it poſſible to recur for conſolation to the ſuppoſition that the progreſs of the French revolution would ſtop, and that Bonaparte, like another Pyrrhus, or rather like that adviſer of Pyrrhus, whoſe advice was not taken,—inſtead of proceeding to the conqueſt of new worlds, would

be

be willing to ſit down contented in the enjoyment of thoſe which he had already. This, he contended, was repugnant to the general nature of ambition, to the nature of French ambition, to the nature of French revolutionary ambition.

Another hope was founded on the diſſenſions which might prevail in France. There had been nothing but diſſenſions from the beginning. La Vendée had coſt the country 600,000 men, without ever occaſioning her efforts on the frontiers or the proſecution of plans for the overthrow of other countries to relax. As for changes of government, they had been in a continued courſe of them. Since the beginning of the revolution, the government had been overturned at leaſt half a dozen times. They had turned over in the air, as in ſport, like tumbler pigeons; but had they ever in conſequence ceaſed their flight? The internal ſtate of the country had been in the moſt violent commotion. The ſhip had been in mutiny; there had been fighting in the waiſt, and on the forecaſtle; but in the midſt of the confuſion ſomebody had always been found to attend the helm, and to trim the ſails; the veſſel had held her courſe. For one, therefore, he had no great confidence in the effect of theſe internal commotions; which would every day become leſs and leſs likely, in proportion as the power of the preſent government would become more confirmed, and as the people of France would become more and more bound together by the common feeling of national glory, and by the deſire of conſolidating the empire which they had ſeen eſtabliſhed. But, even if ſuch changes were now to take place, they could produce to us no benefit. In peace, all that fortune could do for us, would fall dead and ſtill-born. Nobody ready, no body would be authorized to move a ſtep, or ſtretch forth a hand, to rear and foſter thoſe chances, however promiſing, which time and accident might bring forth.

But there was another hope, founded on rather a contrary ſuppoſition, namely, that Bonaparte, being a king himſelf; and a king he was, ſo far as power can make one, would no longer be an encourager of thoſe abſurd and miſchievous doctrines, which, however they might have helped him to the throne, would be as little pleaſing to him, when fairly ſeated there, as to any the moſt legitimate monarch. "I agree," ſaid Mr. Windham, "that Bonaparte, like other demagogues and *friends of the people*, having deluded and gulled the people ſufficiently to make them anſwer his purpoſe, will be ready enough to teach them a different leſſon, and to forbid the uſe of that language towards himſelf, which he had before inſtructed them in, as perfectly proper towards others. Never was there any one, to be ſure, who uſed leſs management in that reſpect, or who left all the admirers of the French revolution, within and without, all who admired it as a ſyſtem of liberty, in a more whimſical and laughable ſituation. Every opinion for which they have been contending, is now completely trodden down, and trampled upon, or held out in France to the greateſt poſſible contempt and deriſion. The honourable gentlemen on the oppoſition benches have really great reaſon to complain of having been ſo completely left in the lurch. There

is not even a decent retreat provided for them. But though such is the treatment, which the principles of "the Rights of Man," and of the "Holy Duty of Insurrection," meet with in France, and on the part of him who should be their natural protector, it is by no means the same, with respect to the encouragement which he may choose to give them in other countries. Though they use none of these goods in France, for home consumption, they have always a large assortment by them, ready for foreign markets. Their jacobin orators are not to be looked for in the clubs at Paris, but in the clubs of London. There they may talk of cashiering kings, with other language of that sort: but should any orator more flippant than the rest choose to hold forth in that strain, in the city where the great consul resides, in the metropolis of liberty, he would soon put him to silence, in the way we see adopted in the sign of the silent woman. Bonaparte, being invested, in virtue of the rights of man, with despotic power, can afford to sanction the preaching of those doctrines in other countries, of which he will not suffer the least whisper in his own. While he is at the head of an absolute monarchy in France, he may be the promoter and champion of jacobin insurrection every where else. The object, as well as wicked nature of jacobinism in this country, which, while it would rebel against the lawful authority of its own government, is willing to enslave itself to France, finds no difficulty in allowing to him these two opposite characters: and I know no reason why we should suppose him disinclined to accept them."

If it ever could have been believed, in spite of all probability, that there was any remission of that purpose, which has never yet ceased for an instant,—the purpose of destroying this country; such belief, however produced, must be instantly done away by a view of the conduct of France, in the settlement of this very treaty. Every line of it, either directly pointed to the destruction of this country, or, by a course a little circuitous, but not less certain, equally tended to the same object. What could France want with any of the possessions which she had compelled us to surrender, but with a view of rivalling our power, or of subverting it, or of removing out of our hands the means of controlling her further projects of ambition? Of the first sort were all her stipulations for settlements in South America and the West Indies: of the second, her demand of the Cape and Cochin; and of the last, that most marked and disgraceful condition on our part, the surrender of Malta. The delivery of it to the order was a mere pretence, wholly insufficient, either to conceal our shame, or to disguise the purpose of the French in making this demand: much the greater part of the order were now living in the dominions of Bonaparte, and many of them actually serving in his armies.

The circumstances of the negotiation, not less than the treaty resulting from it, would shew, in another way, the folly of those hopes, which were founded on the supposed intentions or characters of the persons with whom it was made. It did not augur very favourably for the intentions of a party in any transaction, that there appeared

appeared, in every ſtage of it, the cleareſt proofs of duplicity and fraud.—What could we think of the artifice, which ſigned a treaty with us, guaranteeing the integrity of Portugal; but previouſly to that, at a period ſo late, as to make it ſure that the knowledge of the tranſaction ſhould not reach this country in time, ſigned another treaty, totally altering the nature of that guaranty? What ſhould we think of the candour and fairneſs, which in a treaty with us, propoſed, as a joint ſtipulation, the evacuation of Egypt, at a time when the propoſers knew, though we did not, that every ſoldier of theirs in Egypt was actually a priſoner to our troops? Where was their good faith to the Turks, when, in the ſame circumſtances, they knowing the fact and the Turks not, they took credit from the Turks for this very evacuation? It was a fraud upon a level with any of thoſe practiſed at a lottery office. They inſure the ticket, at the moment when they know it to be drawn.

But, in anſwer to theſe objections, it would be aſked, was the war to be eternal? and what proſpect had we of reaching a period, when it might be terminated in circumſtances upon the whole more favourable than the preſent! The war would depend neither upon conventions to be entered into between the two governments, nor upon acts of hoſtility which might be committed between the two people, by land or on the high ſeas; but on the exiſtence or non-exiſtence of that fixed, rooted, determined purpoſe, which France has hitherto had, and which we had no reaſon whatever to think ſhe had relinquiſhed—of accompliſhing the final overthrow of this country. That purpoſe would be promoted by France in peace as well as in war, and Great Britain, like Carthage, which France choſe to conſider as her prototype, would be reduced by repeated attacks, after ſucceſſive and alternate proceſſes of war and peace. "When I look," ſaid Mr. Windham, "at the conduct of the French revolutionary rulers, as compared with that of their opponents; when I ſee the grandeur of their deſigns; the wiſdom of their plans; the ſteadineſs of their execution; their boldneſs in acting, their conſtancy in enduring; their contempt of all ſmall obſtacles and temporary embarraſſments; their inflexible determination to perform ſuch and ſuch things; and the powers which they have diſplayed, in acting up to that determination; when I contraſt theſe with the narrow views, the paltry intereſts, the occaſional expedients, the deſultory, wavering conduct, the want of all right feeling and juſt conception, that characterize ſo generally the governments and nations oppoſed to them; I confeſs I ſink down in deſpondency, and am fain to admit, that if they ſhall have conquered the world, it will be by qualities by which they deſerve to conquer it."

In this view of the ſubject he inſiſted that we were ſtill, in effect, at war, and the only queſtion was, whether the war, that would hence-forward proceed under the name of peace, was likely to prove leſs operative and fatal, than that which had hitherto appeared in its natural and ordinary ſhape. We were in a ſtate of armed truce; and then the only queſtions would be, at what price we purchaſed this truce; what our condition would be while it ſhould

laſt; and in what ſtate it was likely to leave us, ſhould it terminate otherwiſe than we were willing to ſuppoſe.

In detailing his opinion on this head, he adverted to the evils of war, as comprizing the loſs of lives and conſequent affliction brought upon friends and families; the loſs of money, meaning, by that, money expended in a way not to be beneficial to the country that raiſes it; and the loſs of money in another ſenſe, that is to ſay, money not got; by which he meant the interruption of national induſtry, and the diminution of the productions thence ariſing, either by the number of hands withdrawn from uſeful labour, (which is probably however but little material), or by the embarraſſments and reſtraints which in a ſtate of war impede and clog the operations of commerce. In reviewing each of theſe particulars he ſhewed that the preſent peace, far from averting, had increaſed our danger with reſpect to commerce; that our ſyſtem of warfare and powerful navy rendered the loſs of lives inconſiderable; and our ſavings in peace would be prevented by the neceſſity of maintaining a large eſtabliſhment for the ſake of ſecurity. On this ſubject Mr. Windham intimated the poſſibility of effecting many ſavings in the military eſtabliſhment, which could be better effected in war than in peace, and which would maintain the nation in a high ſtate of defence. But ſhould it happen, (and who would ſay that it would not?) that our commerce, inſtead of increaſing, or remaining where it is, ſhould fall off; that our manufactures ſhould decline; that, from theſe and other cauſes,—ſuch as a great emigration, and conſiderable transfers of commercial property; and above all from the great loſs of territorial revenue, the income of the ſtate ſhould be leſſened, to a degree equal only to this propoſed ſaving, then we ſhould have incurred all the dreadful difference to be found in our ſituation in caſe of the renewal of war, and all the no leſs ſerious dangers during the continuance of peace, abſolutely for nothing.

Having diſcuſſed theſe dangers at length, he would treat of one, directly produced by the peace itſelf, and now firſt commencing; a danger which might be conveyed in one ſingle word, but a word of great importance — intercourſe. "From this moment," he ſaid, "the whole of the principles and morals of France ruſh into this country without let or hindrance, with nothing to limit their extent, or to control their influence. While the war continued, not only the communication was little, or nothing, but whatever contagion might be brought in by that communication, found the country leſs in a ſtate to receive it. The very heat and irritation of the war was a preſervative againſt the infection. But now that this infection is to come upon us in the ſoft hour of peace; that it is to mix with our food; that we are to take it into our arms; that it is to be diffuſed in the very air we breathe: what hope, can we ſuppoſe, remains to us of eſcaping its effects. With reſpect, indeed, to one part of the danger, the principles of France, meaning by that the political principles—we are told, that all danger of that ſort is at an end; that in this country, as every where elſe, the folly of the revolutionary princi-

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ples is so thoroughly understood, that none can now be found to support them. Jacobinism is, as it were, extinct: or, should it still exist, we shall have as our best ally against it, Bonaparte himself." This he treated as an idle hope. Jacobinism remained either as an instrument to be used by France, should her occasions require it, or as a principle never to be eradicated out of any community in which it once took root. "However true it may be," he said "that the example of France ought to serve as the strongest antidote to its poison, and that it does so in fact, in the minds of many; yet it is equally true, that, in another view, and to many other persons, it operates in a directly contrary way, not as a warning, but as an incitement. What I am now speaking of, is, however, not the danger of the political principles of France, but the still surer and more dreadful danger of its morals. What are we to think of a country, that having struck out of mens' minds, as far as it has the power to do so, all sense of religion, and all belief of a future life; has struck out of its system of civil polity, the institution of marriage? That has formally, professedly, and by law, established the connexion of the sexes, upon the footing of an unrestrained concubinage? That has turned the whole country into one universal brothel? That leaves to every man to take, and to get rid of a wife, (the fact, I believe, continues to be so,) and a wife, in like manner to get rid of her husband, upon a less notice than you can, in this country, of a ready furnished lodging? What are we to think of uniting with a country, in which such things have happened, and where, for generations, the effects must continue, whatever formal and superficial changes, prudence, and policy may find it expedient to introduce in the things themselves. Do we suppose it possible, that, with an intercourse subsisting, such as, we know, will take place between Great Britain and France, the morals of this country should continue what they have been? Do we suppose that when this *Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*, when that revolutionary stream, the Seine, charged with all the colluvies of Paris, with all the filth and blood of that polluted city, shall have turned its current into the Thames, that the waters of our fair domestic flood can remain pure and wholesome, as before? Do we suppose these things can happen? Or is it, that we are indifferent, whether they happen or not: and that the morals of the country are no longer any object of our concern? The very scenes that we shall witness, even in the course of the present winter, will give us a sufficient foretaste of what we may expect hereafter; and show, how little the morals of the country will be protected by those who should be their natural guardians, the higher and fashionable orders of society. In what crowds shall we see flocking to the hotel of a regicide embassador, however deep in all the guilt and horror of his time, those, whose doors have hitherto been shut inflexibly against every Frenchman; whom no feeling for honourable distress, no respect for suffering loyalty, no sympathy with fallen grandeur, no desire of useful example, and in some instances, I fear, no gratitude for former services or civilities, have ever been able to excite

excite to ſhow the leaſt mark of kindneſs or attention to an emigrant of any deſcription; though in that claſs are to be numbered men, who in every circumſtance of birth, of fortune, of rank, of talents, of acquirements of every ſpecies, are fully their equals; and whom the virtue that has made them emigrants, has, ſo far forth, rendered their ſuperiors! A ſuite of richly furniſhed apartments, and a ball and ſupper, is a trial, I fear, too hard for the virtue of London. It is to this ſide, that I look with greateſt apprehenſion. The plague with which we are threatened, will not begin, like that of Homer, with inferior animals, among dogs and mules, but in the faireſt and choiceſt part of the creation; with thoſe, whoſe fineneſs of texture makes them weak; whoſe ſuſceptibility moſt expoſes them to contagion; whoſe natures, being moſt excellent, are, for that very reaſon, capable of becoming moſt depraved; who, being formed to promote the happineſs of the world, may, when "ſtrained from that fair uſe," prove its bane and deſtruction; retaining, as they will ſtill do, much of that empire which nature intended for them, over the minds and faculties of the other half of the ſpecies. "The woman tempted me, "and I did eat," will be to be ſaid, I fear, of this ſecond fall of man, as it was of the firſt."

It was not the true reſult of this argument that we ſhould never make peace with France at all, until the monarchy ſhould be reſtored. That no kind of peace with France would be ſafe till then, he was not in the leaſt diſpoſed to deny: but the nature of human affairs did not admit of our getting always what we might think moſt admirable. The misfortune of the country had been, that it had never ſeen, and felt, fully, the extent of its danger. The country, ſpeaking of it in general, and not with a view to particular places, or claſſes of people, upon whom the preſſure of the war had borne with peculiar ſeverity, had been ſo rich, ſo proſperous, ſo happy; men had enjoyed here in ſo ſuperior a degree, and with ſuch perfect freedom from moleſtation, all the bleſſings and comforts of life, that they had never been able to perſuade themſelves, that any real harm could befal them. Even thoſe, who had clamoured moſt loudly about the dangers of the country, had given at times, the moſt exaggerated repreſentations of them, had really, and when their opinions came to be examined, never deſcribed this danger as any thing truly alarming. For their danger had always been a proviſional and hypothetical danger, ſuch as we ſhould be liable to, if we did not conform to ſuch and ſuch conditions: but as theſe conditions were always in our power, and were now actually reſorted to, our real and abſolute danger was, in fact, none at all. "You will be "ruined if you continue the war; "but, make peace, and you are "ſafe." There were undoubtedly dangers and evils in war, but there were evils and dangers, not leſs real and certain, in peace, particularly in a peace, made on ſuch terms as the preſent. Theſe dangers were augmented a hundred-fold by terms at once ſo degrading and injurious, as thoſe to which we had ſubmitted.

"One only topic remains," Mr. Windham proceeded, "a moſt important

portant one indeed, but which I ſhould have been induced, perhaps, on the preſent occaſion, to paſs over in ſilence, if in one part of it I did not feel myſelf called upon, by ſomething of a more than ordinary duty.

When a great military monarch of our time was at the loweſt ebb of his fortunes, and had ſuſtained a defeat, that ſeemed to extinguiſh all his remaining hopes, the terms of his letter, written from the field of battle, were—"We have loſt "every thing, but our honour." Would to God, that the ſame conſolation, in circumſtances liable to become in time, not leſs diſaſtrous, remained to Great Britain! I ſhould feel a far leſs painful load of depreſſion upon my mind, than weighs upon it at this moment. But is our honour ſaved in this tranſaction? Is it in a better plight than thoſe two other objects of our conſideration, which I have before touched upon, our dignity and our ſecurity? I fear not. I fear that we have contrived to combine in this proceeding, all that is at once ruinous and diſgraceful; all that is calculated to undo us, in reputation as well as in fortune, and to deprive us of thoſe reſources, which high fame and unſullied character may create, "even under the ribs of "death," when all ordinary means of relief and ſafety ſeem to be at an end. I am ſpeaking here, not of the general diſcredit that attaches to this precipitate retreat and flight out of the cauſe of Europe, and of all mankind; but of the ſituation in which we ſtand with reſpect to thoſe allies, to whom we were bound by diſtinct and ſpecific engagements. I muſt be very ſlow to admit that conſtruction, which conſiders as a breach of treaty any thing done by a contracting power, under a clear, *bonâ fide*, neceſſity, ſuch as the other party itſelf does not pretend to diſpute. If an abſolute conqueſt of one of the parties to an alliance does not abſolve the other from the obligation which it has contracted, ſo neither can a timely ſubmiſſion, made in order to avert ſuch conqueſt, when the remaining party itſelf ſhall not be able to deſcribe that ſubmiſſion as injurious either to her own intereſt, or to that of the common cauſe. If we were not in a ſtate to ſay to Sardinia, that it was better for us that ſhe ſhould continue her reſiſtance, rather than accept the terms offered her; then, I ſay, we are not in a ſtate to conſider her ſubmiſſion as a forfeiture of the claims which ſhe had upon us. We have left Sardinia, however, without an attempt to relieve her, without even an helping hand ſtretched out to ſupport or to cheer her, under that ruin which ſhe has brought upon herſelf, with no fault on her part, while adhering faithfully to her treaty with us. I muſt call that adherence faithful, which has continued as long as we ourſelves could ſay, that it was of any uſe. The caſe of Sardinia is, with no great variation, the caſe of Holland alſo. Both powers were our allies; both are ruined, while adhering to that alliance; both are left to their fate. But Sardinia and Holland are two only of our allies; and placed in circumſtances of peculiar difficulty. There were others, it may be ſaid, more capable of being aſſiſted, for whoſe ſecurity and protection every thing has been done, that the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity, could require. Naples, Portugal, and Turkey, will

will atteſt, to the end of time, the good faith of Great Britain; and ſhow to the world that ſhe is not a power, who ever ſeeks her own ſafety by abandoning thoſe with whom ſhe has embarked in a common cauſe. The protection which we yield to theſe unfortunate powers, is much of the ſame ſort with that which Don Quixote gives to the poor boy, whom he releaſes from the tree; when he retires with perfect complacency and ſatisfaction, aſſuring him, that he has nothing more to fear, as his maſter is bound by the moſt ſolemn promiſe not to attempt to exerciſe againſt him any further ſeverity. We know what reſpect was paid to this promiſe, as ſoon as the knight was out of ſight: and it is not difficult to foretell, what reſpect will be paid by Bonaparte, (without waiting even, I am afraid, till my honourable friends ſhall be out of ſight), to this ſolemn ſtipulation and pledge, by which we have provided ſo effectually for the ſecurity of the dominions of our good and faithful allies."

But there was another body of allies, not ranked indeed among the European powers, nor poſſeſſing much, perhaps, of a corporate capacity, but who, as men, acting either ſeparately or together, were equally capable of becoming objects of good faith, and in fact had ſo become, though by means different in point of form, from thoſe which engaged the faith of the country, in any of the inſtances above alluded to.—Theſe perſons were, the royaliſts of France, wherefoever diſperſed, but particularly that vaſt body of them which ſo long maintained a conteſt againſt the republic, in the weſt; where they formed the maſs of the inhabitants of four or five great provinces, far exceeding, both in extent and population, the kingdom of Ireland. He mentioned theſe particulars of their force and numbers, not becauſe they were material to the preſent purpoſe, but becauſe they ſerved to obviate that deluſion of the underſtanding, by which things, ſmall in bulk, and filling but little ſpace in the imagination, are apt to loſe their hold on our intereſts and affections. The royaliſts were, however, a great, numerous, and ſubſtantive body, capable of maintaining againſt the republic a war, confeſſed by the republicans themſelves to have been more formidable and bloody, than moſt of thoſe in which they had been engaged; and of terminating that war by a peace, which ſhowed ſufficiently what the war had been, and what the fears were, which the republic entertained, of its poſſible final ſucceſs. But let the numbers and powers of the royaliſts have been what they might; had their affairs been ſtill leſs conſidered; had they been more diſowned, diſcountenanced, and betrayed, than in many inſtances they were; had more ſuch garriſons as thoſe of Mentz and Valenciennes been ſuffered to be ſent againſt them; had they been leſs the real, primary defenders and repreſentatives of that cauſe, which the allies profeſſed to ſupport; ſtill there were our formal proclamations, iſſued at various periods, not expreſsly engaging indeed to make ſtipulations for them in caſe of a peace, but calling generally for their exertions, and promiſing ſuccour and protection, to all thoſe who ſhould declare themſelves in favour of the ancient order of things, and of their hereditary and right-

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ful monarch. Had we acted up to the ſpirits, or even the letter, of our own proclamations? or to the ſpirit of that relation, in which the nature of the war itſelf, independent of any proclamations, placed us with reſpect to theſe people? He was compelled to ſay, though with great reluctance, as well as with great grief, he feared we had done no ſuch thing. He feared, that a ſtain was left upon our annals, far deeper than that, which in former times, many were ſo laudably anxious to waſh away, in reſpect to the conduct of this country towards the Catalans.

"By what purgations, by what ablutions," he exclaimed, "ſhall we cleanſe ourſelves from this far deeper, and fouler blot, of having left to periſh under the knives of their enemies, without even an effort to ſave them, every man of thoſe whom we have affected, as it muſt now appear, to call our friends and allies; with whom we were bound, by intereſts of far higher import than thoſe of a diſputed ſucceſſion; who were the aſſertors with us of the common morality of the world; who were the true depoſitaries of that ſacred cauſe, the very prieſts of that holy faith; with whom we had joined, as it were, in a ſolemn ſacrament; and who, on all theſe grounds, but chiefly for the ſin of having held communion with us, are now, as might be expected, doomed by the fanatics of rebellion, to be the objects of never ceaſing hoſtility, to be purſued as offenders, whoſe crimes can only be expiated by their deſtruction?"

Mr. Windham concluded by declaring he had ſtated as he thought it his duty to do, what his apprehenſions were, as to the nature and conſequences of the preſent peace. If the evils which he imputed were not to be found, if the dangers which he apprehended ſhould not come to paſs, no one would more rejoice in the error than himſelf: thoſe who differed from him, would have nothing to complain of; he ſhould have alarmed himſelf; he ſhould not, probably, even have to reproach himſelf with having ſucceeded in alarming them. But if any there ſhould be, who ſhould ſay, that his fears were not imaginary; that they thought of this peace as he did; that they apprehended it would ruin the country; but they hoped the country might laſt long enough to ſerve their turn; that being traders they thought the trade of the country might be loſt; that, being manfacturers, they believed its manufactures might decline; but that for this they cared but little, provided the peace in the mean time ſhould prove advantageous to them; to all ſuch, if any there could be, there muſt be but one anſwer, that they were a diſgrace to their country and to their ſpecies; and that he muſt be as bad as they, who, upon ſuch terms, could ſeek to merit their good opinion, or could ſolicit their favour.

In anſwer to this moſt able harangue, Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, it was natural that the people ſhould have expreſſed a general joy on hearing the news of peace, even before they knew what the terms were. He felt the ſame pleaſure, even before he knew the terms; becauſe he was well convinced that miniſters would act to the beſt of their power for the intereſts of their country; but when the terms were known, the joy of the people was not leſs than before. Unleſs it was con-

contended that we ought not to make peace at all with France, the whole difference between the funeral and the feſtival alluded to by the Right Honourable Gentleman, was, that we conſented to give up to France certain poſſeſſions, which he thought we ought to retain. Dangers ariſing from a communication with France, and from her moral character, were undoubtedly to be apprehended; but it did not follow that, on that account, the war ſhould go on. If he even thought that France, within a very early period after the concluſion of peace, would renew the war, ſtill peace ought to be made. It was the anxious wiſh of the people; by making it, the miniſters had the hearts of the people with them; and they could call on them again with confidence if it ſhould be neceſſary. Of all the confederates we had in the war, not one remained; and ſome of them had become our enemies. The great politicians in the time of King William, never thought of being able to prevail againſt France, without a powerful co-operation on the part of the continental powers, and he did not ſee how the dangers to be apprehended to our morals from our communication with France, could be leſſened by perſevering in the war; or by retaining more iſlands in the Weſt Indies than we poſſeſſed already. Never was there an aſſertion more unfounded or miſapplied, than that of our being thrown upon the mercy of France. He was ſure that the hiſtorian of future times, looking back to the arduous ſtruggle this country had ſo long maintained, ſeeing her deſerted by her confederates, at one time almoſt ruined in her finances, and ſubjected to the ſevereſt diſpenſations of providence, with regard to ſcarcity; if, after all this, he ſhould behold her in the zenith of her glory, concluding a ſecure and advantageous peace, he would ſay that Great Britain was a country uncommonly great and powerful.

Mr. Wilberforce then maintained that we had retained colonies ſufficient for our commercial proſperity; he diſapproved a ſuppoſed ſtipulation by England and France to defend the territories of the Grand Seignor againſt the attacks of other powers, as tending to involve us in a war with Ruſſia, and he diſapproved the poſſeſſion of Trinidad, becauſe the land ſtill remaining to be ſettled and cleared, would require a million of ſlaves, and thus England would become inſtrumental in promoting the ſlave trade to an extent far beyond what it was ever before. This was a coſt of human miſery, which no man could contemplate without anxiety and ſorrow.

When he conſidered the ſtate of this country with regard to France, he was ſure we ſhould be expoſed to dangers, great beyond all compariſon—dangers that depended on moral cauſes, and which were ſure in their operation; but which, as he before obſerved, would not be leſſened by continuing the war with France. The principles of France had taken root more deeply in the human mind than many gentlemen imagined. They had ſhaken thoſe political and moral obligations, which were the greateſt ſupport of civil ſociety. The luxury and relaxation of religious principles that prevailed in France, were great and alarming; and according to Machiavel, who was no bigot, the

country where they prevailed was in the high road to ruin. When therefore he considered the intercourse that was shortly about to take place between Englishmen and the inhabitants of a great, ingenious, and luxurious nation;—When he considered the number of people who might crowd from this country to France, allured by her pleasures and her arts, he could not but think the danger great to our own country; and he sincerely wished this subject might be considered, and some provision made against the effects of that which could not be considered so much a political as a moral disease. It was a disease to which all political writers and philosophers attributed the ruin of nations; and it was the duty of the legislature to bear the subject in mind, and give effect to that practical line of conduct which this reasoning should point out to them. If this was done, nothing was to be feared from France. But if we should suffer the tree to be contaminated, the least puff of wind would blow it down, notwithstanding the beauty and extent of its branches.

Dr. Laurence, in analyzing the preliminaries, condemned the vague manner in which they were drawn up. As we never, by any treaty made such sacrifices, so never, by any treaty was there left such room for altercation. He once thought he might have done some service by pointing out these omissions and inaccuracies, but the errors of ministers were now irremediable. Marquis Cornwallis was sent to Amiens, bound hand and foot. The French had been told we were so eager for peace, or rather that peace was so necessary to us, that there were no sacrifices which we would not make to obtain it. The treaty of Utrecht was intitled to the highest praise, and it was not without astonishment he had heard it quoted on this occasion. Excellent as it was, the ministers who concluded it had been impeached; but he could have been contented to see it brought "to point a moral, or "adorn a tale," had not all its principles, which procured us near a century of prosperity, been now completely abolished. He could not hear, without indignation, the language used by some gentlemen, ascribing to ministers moderation and magnanimity, inasmuch as in the hour of success they had consented to terms, perhaps rather lower than they had a right to demand. Necessity was the only plea they could urge, and when they abandoned that, they laid themselves open to the most serious charge of misconduct. To prove these charges, Dr. Laurence reviewed the history of the French revolution, and explained the views of the different parties who directed the war, exhibiting an alarming view of the acquisitions of France, and of the deplorable situation in which we were left by the peace. The subjects of quarrel, he said, were immense, and we had no security, but the Chief Consul might employ some one of them as soon as he had stripped us of our conquests. We could never begin a new war in such favourable circumstances as those in which we ended the present. He could hope little from our commerce. When a philosopher was shewn by an Eastern monarch his immense treasures in gold, he replied that the possessors of iron would soon wrest them from him. The embassy

baſſy of the Marquis Cornwallis might illuſtrate this ſtill better. He and his ſuite appeared in the utmoſt magnificence of dreſs and equipage, while they were received on the road, by not the moſt ſuperbly clothed, but the moſt military looking, corps in France. It was a well-known fact, that thoſe troops who eſcorted him from ſtage to ſtage, were all picked grenadiers. In as far as concerned our allies, the treaty was diſgraceful in the extreme; and the caſe of the Prince of Orange peculiarly diſhonourable. Who could have expected, he aſked, that almoſt upon the anniverſary of the landing of King William to free us from ſlavery, his repreſentative ſhould be betrayed by us, and ruined, for no other reaſon than becauſe he had adhered to our cauſe with unſhaken conſtancy? For a leſſon of fidelity to their allies, he deſired miniſters to look to the French. Never once had they been driven from any city or country without expreſsly ſtipulating for the protection and ſafety of thoſe who had befriended them. Cooped up in Alexandria, Menou had refuſed to capitulate unleſs the Engliſh undertook for the ſecurity, in their perſons and property of Cophts and Egyptians, Mahometans and Chriſtians, Jacobites and Jacobins. (By Jacobites, he ſaid, he meant a religious ſect known by that name.) Henceforth it would come to paſs, that when the ſmaller ſtates were obliged to chooſe a powerful ally, they would look to France. There they might expect protection, but from us only ingratitude and dereliction. He concluded by ſaying, he was far from wiſhing to carry on the war for ever, but he did wiſh to ſee it carried on till we could have peace. That ſtate did not deſerve the name which required us to remain in arms and to ſubmit to an abridgment of our liberties.

Mr. Eliot enforced the obſervations of the preceding ſpeaker. His mind, he ſaid, was filled with the moſt gloomy and deſponding apprehenſions. He looked upon the peace as abſolute and unqualified ruin. All the objects for which the war had been undertaken were at once given up, and we were now ſurrounded by accumulated danger. The treaty abrogated the public law of Europe, and went to abolish the title of ſovereigns to their crowns. It was a waſteful and unneceſſary ſacrifice of our honour and our intereſts, to procure a deluſive and ſhort lived tranquillity.

To theſe arguments the Secretary at War replied, by reſtating ſeveral of the topics adduced by Lord Hawkeſbury and the miniſterial ſpeakers, confeſſing the alarm which might be juſtly entertained from the accumulated power of France, but inſiſting that, without a continental alliance, it would be fruitleſs for Great Britain to perſevere in the conteſt, and that this country could beſt attain ſecurity by the ſyſtem adverted to in the preceding day's debate; by one of mixed conciliation and firmneſs.

The reſidue of the debate was merely a diſplay of the reaſons which influenced particular members in ſupporting or diſapproving the peace, in which little occurred that had not been ſtated before. Mr. Wynne was in oppoſition to the meaſure, while it was applauded by a great number of members who had acted with the late government and the old oppoſition. Two repreſentatives of places in Ireland,

Mr.

Mr. Dawſon and Mr. Ogle, teſtified the approbation with which the peace was received in that part of the united kingdom; every loyal man received the tidings with joy and ſatisfaction, and on the contrary, there was not a rebel or a diſaffected individual who did not hear them with diſapprobation and regret.

The debate was cloſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, proceeding on the aſſertion of Mr. Ogle, which he had no reaſon to doubt, obſerved that thoſe gentlemen who ſo highly diſapproved of the peace, were countenanced in that diſapprobation by the feelings and opinions of the diſaffected, and their feelings, unexpectedly no doubt by them, were in uniſon with thoſe of the united Iriſh. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Windham) ſeemed to think peace could not be ſincerely made on both ſides, or firmly eſtabliſhed with France, until, not only the government and political principles of France were changed, but even, until the morals and manners of her people were radically reformed. With reſpect to theſe meaſures he ſhould obſerve, that an anſwer to them all was compriſed in a queſtion aſked by that Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf:—"Are we "never to be at peace?" He had the higheſt reſpect for the character of his Right Honourable Friend. He well knew the uprightneſs and firmneſs of his principles, and the ardour and ſincerity of his patriotiſm. His regret at differing from him in points of ſuch incalculable importance, was therefore the more conſiderable. Adverting to the national reſources, he would not pronounce them inexhauſtible, but they were far from being in that ſituation which ſome gentlemen in the courſe of debate ſeemed to conſider them; and it was in the contemplation of their being further removed from ſuch a ſtate, that he rejoiced that the ſovereign had yielded to the advice of his confidential ſervants, in conſenting to thoſe preliminaries of peace which had ſo decidedly met the cordial approbation of Parliament. He juſtified the compariſons which had been drawn between the preſent treaty, and the *projet* at Liſle, ſtill contending that they who had approved that meaſure could not with juſtice, cenſure the preſent. It had been ſaid, that the continental power of France was not abridged, and that Britain was confeſſedly unable to conteſt that power. It was never meant to ſay, that the power of Great Britain was not ſuch, that, if properly uſed, it might, with every deſirable effect, be placed in the ſcale oppoſite to that of France; he did not mean hoſtilely oppoſed, but in the way of compariſon of their political power and influence. He muſt revolt at the idea, that becauſe France had made conſiderable acquiſitions, England could not raiſe its head; far from it, and in proof he had only to deſire thoſe who doubted, to look at the ſtate of our armies and navy, and conſider their achievements—to contemplate our national commerce, reſources, and wealth, and, above all, our ineſtimable conſtitution. He ſhould not omit, in a ſtatement of this kind, the extent of our dominions, and poſſeſſions, as well at home as abroad: added to this, let the national character of both countries be thrown into the ſcale of

conſideration, and then compare the whole with all that France poſſeſſed, and he had no heſitation in putting the queſtion; let any wiſe and candid man put his hand on his heart, and ſay on which ſide lay the advantage.

The Houſe received the Report of the addreſs.

CHAP. VI.

Reaſons why the preceding debates are of peculiar importance. The oppoſition not factious; the miniſtry moderate and forbearing. View of the treaty. The great ends of the war not apparently attained by the war; yet the conteſt neceſſary and not without glory to Great Britain; and her ſituation at the concluſion of peace, far more glorious and advantageous than that of any other country affected by the French Revolution; the deſtruction of the Britiſh Conſtitution and power the conſtant aim of the French during the revolution; glorious reſiſtance of England; and honourable termination of the conteſt. Statement of the Negotiation afterward publiſhed by France. Circumſtances attending that Negotiation. Note from Lord Hawkeſbury to M. Otto in April 1801; *terms then propoſed; rejected by France; the Negotiation aſſumes an official form; affairs of Portugal introduced; propoſition of a ſpecies of ſtatus quo ante bellum; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury; further correſpondence; propoſals of France; anſwer of the Britiſh government; conference; the treaty concluded; obſervations on the poſſeſſion of Malta; on the ceſſions made by Portugal; on the Prince of Orange; the King of Sardinia; and the French Royaliſts; general obſervations; ſtrength and reſpectability of the new oppoſition in Parliament.*

THE length and minuteneſs with which the arguments on the preliminaries of peace have been detailed, although unuſual, will not be deemed exceſſive by thoſe who duly conſider their importance. The concluſion of peace with the French republic, formed a great epoch, in the domeſtic, as well as the foreign concerns of Great Britain. On this point, a violent difference of opinion was manifeſted among individuals who had been ſo long connected by the ſtrongeſt ties of political aſſociation, that they were generally conſidered as inſeparable, and, on the other hand, the removal of thoſe grounds of diſpute which were moſt frequently traverſed in the early periods of the French revolution, afforded means, ſure though not immediate, for the re-union of thoſe whom that great political convulſion had ſeparated, or whom the violence of its agitation, had kept more widely apart than they could have been kept by the uſual courſe of parliamentary diſcuſſion. For theſe reaſons, it has appeared proper, inſtead of ſelecting the principal arguments of the ſpeakers on each ſide in the way of a general ſummary, to exhibit the moſt prominent ſentiments of each member in both houſes, ſince, on ſo great and ſingular an occaſion, the ſpecific reaſons, and even the very form

form of ſpeech may be conſidered intereſting.

The attacks on the peace, although not ſupported by numbers, were diſtinguiſhed for vigour and ability, and their impreſſion was the greater, becauſe it was known that the individuals who made them, were not animated by zeal for the cauſe of the enemy, but deplored, with ſincerity, that which they, from no ſlight or ſuperficial view of the ſubject, deemed ruinous and diſgraceful to the country. The miniſtry, on the other hand, defended their cauſe with arguments of great cogency, urged without ſpleen. Their expreſſions of confidence in the ſtrength and reſources of the country were unmixed with inſulting compariſons, even with the moſt humble of our enemies, and, although the treaty of peace was univerſally popular, they did not endeavour to irritate the public againſt thoſe who oppoſed the meaſure.

In conſidering the circumſtances under which the peace was concluded, ſome things evidently demand notice, and ſome arguments require a ſlight examination. In whatever view Great Britain entered into the war, it might be affirmed, that none of the great ends of the conteſt had been anſwered. Miniſters had always denied, that the reſtoration of the Bourbon family to their rightful throne was their object, but even in 1800, that reſtoration had been recommended to France in the moſt public manner; of that, however, ſo far as relates to human agency, no hopes were at this time to be diſcerned. Security was an object of the war; but that had not apparently reſulted from it. The force of France was infinitely more calculated to injure Great Britain, than it had been at the beginning of the conteſt. The principles now profeſſed in France, were not, indeed, ſo hoſtile to a regular government, as thoſe of the national convention in 1792, but the revival of thoſe principles depended intirely on the caprice of the individuals who had hitherto guided the courſe of the revolution, and if the ſame ſyſtem was not publicly avowed, there was, on the other hand, nothing in their character or conduct to juſtify a belief that it was entirely abandoned. But, even if France had gone to the utmoſt extremity of condeſcenſion, in endeavouring to remove every feeling of jealouſy from the nations around her, ſtill the example of her revolution was of the moſt fearful import. Not to mention the gratification which it afforded to every unworthy principle and malignant paſſion, by the overthrow of hereditary greatneſs and conſecrated eſtabliſhment, it exhibited the alarming view of crime ſanctioned by ſucceſs, and vice, aided by fortune, receiving the homage ſuppoſed to be reſerved for greatneſs and virtue alone. The ſtate of things exiſting in France, encouraged the hopes of rebels and revolutionary projectors, by ſhewing, that the uſurpation of property, authority, and even ſovereign right, might, if ſuſtained by force, be acknowledged with as much reſpectful reverence, as the beſt founded and moſt honourable titles. This was not, however, to be imputed to the exiſting adminiſtration; the firſt acknowledgement of the French republic

by Great Britain, had precluded every right to take exceptions in future, and, when once it had been admitted, that it was proper to treat with the government of that country, no queſtion remained for deciſion but that of terms.

But if it is allowed, that the great objects of the war had not ſucceeded, it muſt not be inferred that Great Britain ought, even if ſhe could have done ſo, to have avoided the conteſt, or that it had been conducted without glory, or terminated without honour or advantage. The greateſt object of the war was that undertaken in conjunction with the great powers of the continent, to prevent the overthrow of all governments by the operation of French influence and French revolutionary principles. In the attainment of this end, each nation had a ſeparate and peculiar, as well as a ſhare in the general intereſt; but unfortunately, in all the coalitions which were formed, every nation, except Great Britain, kept principally in view objects unconnected with the great cauſe, and to petty jealouſies, private anxieties, and corrupt deſires of indirect aggrandizement, ſacrificed the more important and extenſive objects of the alliance. Some nations which originally entered into the war, had been cajoled or terrified into peace and alliance with France; theſe had been blotted from the liſt of nations, or degraded to the loweſt and moſt hopeleſs ſtate of vaſſalage. Pruſſia formed an exception, and even the ſituation of that country, was neither reſpectable nor enviable. Some nations had endeavoured to preſerve themſelves, by obſerving, from the beginning of hoſtilities, a timid neutrality, which ſome commended as wiſe. They had been always ſubjected to the convenience of the encroaching republic, and doomed to plunder, to internal agitation, to change of government, to diſmemberment, or to annihilation as independent States, according to the intereſt or caprice of France. The potentates which had ſtruggled with her in war, had ſuffered in different degrees, except Ruſſia, which was too remote to be materially injured, but not one had gained any adequate ſatisfaction, or compenſation for its loſſes. Even Ruſſia, after the ſplendid campaign of 1799, and the retreat of the Emperor Paul from the grand alliance, could boaſt of nothing in the nature of indemnity, and was obliged to be ſatisfied with the reflection, that, if ſhe had not acquired any territorial advantages, ſhe had ſuſtained no loſs but that of men and treaſure.

Againſt Great Britain, the earlieſt efforts of the revolutioniſts had been directed. In their pretended, but treacherous, admiration of the free principles on which her government was founded, they imperfectly concealed a zealous deſire to excite a deluſive predilection for that part of the conſtitution, which ſecures to the people their moſt invaluable rights, but which, if an undue preponderance were aſſigned to it, would deprive every other branch of every ſemblance of authority, and, in the end, ſubvert and deſtroy the beſt rights of the people. While peace favoured the efforts of the French reformers, this ſyſtem was purſued without intermiſſion, and to an alarming extent, but when the

the nation was at length compelled to take up arms, the affectation of good-will or eſteem was no longer preſerved, and not only the throne, the peerage and the church were aſſailed, as repugnant to the ſyſtem tolerated in France; but the whole nation was devoted to execration, as a compound of meanneſs and arrogance, a baſe ſhop-keeping race, too cowardly and inexpert for war, but by the donation of ill acquired gold, urging other countries to tear one another in hoſtilities which did not ariſe out of their true intereſts. When France had ſucceeded in concluding deluſive treaties of peace with ſome nations, the language of menace was loudly ſounded, and woe was denounced againſt the country which ſhould perſevere the longeſt in hoſtilities, for on her the whole vengeance of the republic ſhould fall. The determination to deſtroy Great Britain, had been profeſſed by all who had ruled in France, and even the grand ſcheme combined in the preceding year, was avowedly framed for that purpoſe.

In the midſt of theſe efforts and threats, Great Britain had not only preſerved her conſtitution againſt all efforts directed againſt it, but had made the moſt formidable diſplay of military and financial reſources which had ever been exhibited. Of every alliance formed againſt France, England was the ſoul and centre; and, although her contributions on theſe occaſions were ſo magnificent as to aſtoniſh both her allies and enemies, yet ſhe found abundant means, not only to protect her own poſſeſſions, but to occupy the colonies, deſtroy the fleets, and annihilate the commerce of her enemy.

Great Britain was the laſt power which continued in arms againſt France, yet, far from feeling the threatened thunder of her vengeance, Great Britain alone of all the countries which had ſucceſſively engaged in the great conteſt for the liberties of Europe, came out of it with an encreaſe of territory, and without having had a ſingle foot of her original dominions wreſted from her, in all the changes and fluctuations of a long and moſt eventful war.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo honourable to the country, formed the principal baſis of the objections to the peace. As the miniſters who concluded it, declared themſelves to be neither proſtrate through feebleneſs, nor palſied by pecuniary embarraſſment, it was conſidered that they ought, out of ſo many conqueſts to have retained more, as well for the increaſe of wealth and proſperity to this nation, as for the purpoſe of preventing France and her allies from ſuſtaining by commerce, the immenſe military and territorial preponderance they had already acquired. This objection was juſtly anſwered by miniſters, as far as regards general principles; they had retained enough, it was ſaid, for ſafety, commerce, and honour; to have inſiſted on more might have prevented the accompliſhment of the treaty, and even had they ſucceeded in obtaining much more, the enemy, incenſed at the hardſhip and degradation impoſed on him by ſuch terms of peace, would have deemed himſelf juſtified in regarding it merely as a temporary arrangement, to be broken whenever opportunity ſhould offer of meliorating his ſituation, or retrieving his loſſes.

But the defect of this reasoning is, that the fact is assumed. It is taken for granted, that after having declared "a remote island more or less not to be a sufficient reason for prolonging the distress of the world," the French Government would have ventured to break off the negociation on that very account; and that for England to have carried this point, would have been felt as such a hardship and degradation by France, as to have risked a renewal of the war, for the sake of an object, which was not thought worth the continuance of the war. In truth, it is now well known, that the Ministry would have obtained much more, if they could. A part of the proceedings on this occasion, was afterwards published by the French Government, and as no complaint has ever been made of any partiality in selecting the documents there produced, it must be presumed to give a fair view of the subject. It is highly curious, and demands something of a detailed examination, before it is possible rightly to appreciate the conduct of our negociators.

The first overture was made on the 21st of March, by Lord Hawkesbury, and he communicated his Majesty's disposition not only to enter immediately into negociations, but to send to Paris, or any other commodious place, a Minister fully authorized to give every necessary explanation, and to *conclude* as well as to treat; thereby waving some points which had before given rise to adverse discussion. The French Government, however, proposed the choice of an armistice, or an unofficial understanding on the basis of a treaty to be settled here by M. Otto. The Ministry adopted the latter branch of the alternative, and as early as April, in his second conference, Lord Hawkesbury delivered to M. Otto a note in writing, of the terms on which his Majesty was willing to conclude a treaty. The conditions were, that the French should evacuate Egypt, and give it up to the Porte. His Majesty would then restore to France and its allies the following conquests: Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Mahé, Negapatam, Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Cochin, St. Marcou, the Cape of Good Hope, on condition that it should be a free port, Gorée, Surinam, Curaçao, St. Lucia, the Saints, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and Minorca. If authentic information should be received, previous to the signature of the preliminaries, of the evacuation of Egypt by the French troops, or a convention concluded to that effect, his Majesty would not hold himself bound to subscribe to the above conditions in all their extent. This proposition was rejected as unworthy of serious consideration. There was some difference, the French Government observed, between the fifth and the ninth years of the republic; the first consul would consent only to an honourable peace, founded on a just equilibrium of the different parts of the world; and that, with such a view of things, he could not leave, in the hands of England, countries and establishments of such immense weight in the balance of Europe, as those which she demanded.

When the discussions on this proposal had continued upwards of two months, the French Government, still appearing to desire peace, required

required that the negotiation ſhould take an official form, and that requeſt being complied with, began to introduce the affairs of Portugal, and to preſs them on the conſideration of miniſters. In a note delivered the 18th of June, M. Otto, purſuant to his inſtructions, acknowledged that the great events which had happened in Europe, and the changes that had taken place in the boundaries of the great ſtates of the continent, might authorize a part of the demands of the Britiſh government; but how, he aſks, can it demand, as an ultimatum the keeping of Malta, of Ceylon, of all the countries conquered from Tippoo Saib, of Trinidad, Martinique, &c.? He therefore demanded of Lord Hawkeſbury, whether in caſe the French government ſhould accede to the arrangements propoſed for the Eaſt Indies by England, and ſhould adopt the *ſtatus ante bellum* for Portugal, his Britannic majeſty would conſent that the *ſtatus ante bellum* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the Mediterranean and America?

June 25. On the propoſition of a *ſtatus quo ante bellum* in the Mediterranean, Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, he underſtood the French government to wiſh not only that Egypt ſhould be reſtored to the Grand Seignior, but that the integrity of the Ottoman empire ſhould be ſecured. This propoſition, extenſive as it was, could not, in any way, produce the reſults it announced, nor re-eſtabliſh the two nations in the *ſtatus ante bellum* in the Mediterranean. It would alſo be neceſſary that the French government ſhould evacuate the country of Nice, and all the States of the king of Sardinia; that the Grand Duke of Tuſcany ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and that the reſt of Europe ſhould recover its independence. If that could not be, and France was to preſerve a part of the influence which ſhe had lately acquired in Italy, his majeſty was legitimately authorized to keep the iſland of Malta, to protect the commerce of his ſubjects, and to watch at leaſt over the intereſt of Great Britain in that part of the world.

With reſpect to a compenſation in America for the reſtitution to Portugal, Lord Hawkeſbury noticed the impropriety of requiring his majeſty, for the ſake of his allies, to make ſacrifices incompatible with the ſecurity of his kingdoms. Nor could the *ſtatus ante bellum* for Portugal, be an equivalent for America. His majeſty had made very important conqueſts, in that part of the world, not only from France, but Spain and Holland. It could not, therefore, be expected that his majeſty would reſtore all the conqueſts that his arms had made from ſeveral powers in America, as a compenſation for the *ſtatus ante bellum* in Portugal alone; beſides, it muſt be obſerved, that the *ſtatus ante bellum* in America could not be produced by the reſtitution of the conqueſts which his majeſty had made there, without calling for a compenſation to Great Britain, for the acquiſition that France had made of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo. His majeſty did not mean to avail himſelf of the inconteſtible right, which he could claim from treaties, of bringing into diſcuſſion this conceſſion of Spain to France; but he could not allow that it ſhould paſs unnoticed, in regulating

the conditions of peace. His majesty however offered, if the French government would accede to the propositions already made by him respecting the East Indies and the Mediterranean; and if it would consent also that he should keep in America, Martinique, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; he would add to what he had already granted, the *status ante bellum* for Spain, in consideration for the *status ante bellum* for Portugal.

To this proposal, an answer was returned, expressive of the grief felt by the first consul at seeing the negotiation assume a retrograde character, and referring to some supposed explanation which had taken place about the 6th of June, when the British ministers required only Ceylon, with Martinique or Trinidad, and the neutrality of Malta. Now that France and Spain had made great acquisitions at the expence of Portugal, Great Britain, instead of moderating her pretensions, rather advanced them.

Whether M. Otto had reported that in the course of conversation, he had thrown out some such project of a peace, and fancied, or pretended to fancy, that Lord Hawkesbury had seemed inclined to acquiesce in it; or whether it was a mere fiction of the French government for the purpose of feeling the pulse of the British Cabinet on the terms so suggested, we have no sufficient clue to guide us in determining. Yet it looks rather like an after-thought of the latter description. For M. Otto's note of the 18th of June, which professes to be an answer to that of the 6th from Lord Hawkesbury, is utterly irreconcilable to the notion of any such explanation, as may be instantly seen above: and the next letter of the English minister after the pretended explanation was hinted, casts a direct suspicion on the fact, for it recapitulates all that had passed in the negotiation, without even mentioning this, while, in a subsequent note, he expressly denies that any new pretensions were advanced, but requires that the French government would mention some conditions on which peace might be concluded.

In answer, M. Otto, on the 26th of July, expressed himself in these terms. The question is divided into three points: The Mediterranean, India, and America. Egypt shall be restored to the Porte. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged. All the ports of the Adriatic and Mediterranean which have been occupied by French troops, shall be restored to the king of Naples and the Pope. Mahon shall be given back to Spain. Malta shall be restored to the order; and if the king of England thinks it conformable to his interests, as a preponderating power on the seas, to raze the fortifications, this clause shall be admitted. In India, England shall keep Ceylon. The other establishments, comprehending the Cape of Good Hope, shall be restored to the allies. In America every thing shall be restored to its ancient possessors. Portugal shall be preserved in all its integrity. Such are the conditions the French government is ready to sign.

The next stage of the correspondence fixed the future condition of Malta, so far as to decide that it should belong neither to England

England nor France, and the French having profeſſed themſelves inflexible on the ſubject of Martinique, Lord Hawkeſbury offered to ſurrender it on one of two conditions. 1ſt. To keep Trinidad and Tobago; and Demerara, Eſſequibo, and Berbice to be free ports; or 2dly. to retain, St. Lucia, Tobago, Demerara, Eſſequibo and Berbice, giving up both Trinidad and Martinique.

To this correſpondence ſucceeded a conference, which took place on the 7th of September. In it, among other things, it was propoſed on the part of France, but abſolutely rejected by the Engliſh miniſtry, that the reſtitutions to be made to France and her allies ſhould appear on the face of the preliminaries, but that the poſſeſſions to be retained by England ſhould be contained in a ſecret treaty. At this conference too, all the articles propoſed to form a part of the treaty were amply diſcuſſed, and ſome were definitively arranged. Finally, after ſome further correſpondence and new conferences, in which Lord Hawkeſbury relinquiſhed or compromiſed all the points in diſpute, but the publick recital of the exceptions to reſtitution, as well as of the reſtitutions themſelves, the treaty was concluded and ſigned.

At firſt ſight it may appear ſingular, that the principal terms of the preliminaries were exactly thoſe of the ſuppoſed explanation of the 6th of June, ſilently paſſed over, as that was, by both parties. But this, on conſideration, ſeems rather to confirm the opinion, that it was an artful experiment of the French government on the temper of the Britiſh cabinet. They were met, indeed, on that occaſion with becoming firmneſs; and it took all the ſkill and addreſs of M. Otto and his employers more than three months to reduce our demand down to that level. Yet it cannot be diſſembled, that the manner in which the negotiation commenced on our part, had a natural tendency to encourage ſuch an attempt. He who begins by ſeeking peace without regard to thoſe forms, which have been invented to aſſert and protect the equality of the adverſe ſtates in ſuch proceedings, and who opens his treaty with a voluntary offer of ſurrendering ſeventeen or eighteen valuable ſettlements, colonies, and iſlands, without the ſlighteſt reference to either of the known baſes of negotiation, the ſtate of preſent poſſeſſion, or the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, ſhould recollect, that the manifeſtation of an over-haſty eagerneſs for the attainment of any object, muſt put the perſon ſo acting at the mercy of him, in whoſe power it is to give or withhold it. Too undiſguiſed a facility of gratuitous ceſſion can, in ordinary caſes, convey to an adverſary no other appearance than that of weakneſs incapable of reſiſtance. It is only a ſtrong government, in a ſituation of unqueſtionable ſuperiority, which, by ſuch a courſe, can take to itſelf the credit of moderation and magnanimity; a government able and reſolved to adhere to the conditions ſo propoſed, or at leaſt to ſuffer no eſſential departure from them. Otherwiſe, where ſo very much is ſacrificed at the outſet as the mere price of peace, it is obvious that point after point is liable to be extorted, as happened in this very inſtance, becauſe no one is of ſufficient

sufficient importance to be put in competition with that good, which has already been estimated as worth so much more. Neither was the new basis introduced by our ministers such as could supply the loss of the old. It was, "that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisition of territory made by France upon the Continent." The whole, in the view of a real statesman, would have formed no adequate compensation; and to call by that name the little, which it was proposed to reserve, much less what was actually reserved, was too plainly to use the language of self-delusion, meant only to throw a false splendour around conscious inferiority and humiliation.

With respect to Malta, the whole subject certainly presented only a choice of difficulties. The importance which France attached to the possession, and her continual anxiety concerning it, shewed the necessity of rescuing it, if possible, for ever, from her, and not the jealousy of France alone, but that of other powers, and the claims which had been advanced by the late emperor of Russia, made it improper for England to insist too strenuously on retaining it; especially as on Russia we must hope principally to rely for co-operating in the maintenance of the new Republic of the Seven Islands, as a barrier against France on that side of the Mediterranean. Each Government perceived the embarrassment of the other, and neither chose to risk extremities, where each was most likely to be firm. The final arrangement, therefore, of the question of Malta, was left open to the Definitive Treaty.

The objection against the peace, that England deserted her allies, is far more serious than any other. The Porte and Naples, it is generally allowed, had no right to complain, but much kindness to acknowledge. Portugal by treaties of her own, extorted from her indeed, but not through the fault of England, yielded up some of her possessions in Europe and America. It cannot be doubted that England would, if possible, have obtained the restitution of these portions of territory, but Portugal, who had a minister in England apprized of the course of the negociation, was content, that the point should not be insisted on. Had the British ministry refused to sign the treaty on this account, hostilities must have been renewed between Portugal and France, or have commenced between Portugal and England. In either case, Portugal must have been a severe sufferer, and England must also have experienced a large share of calamity and obloquy.

Of the King of Sardinia it should be remembered that he was originally attacked not on our quarrel, but his own, and had ceased to be an ally before the conclusion of the war.

The Prince of Orange had evidently not been overlooked in this negotiation, for in the first minute delivered by Lord Hawkesbury in April, it was required that the Batavian republic should grant to the House of that Prince an entire indemnity for the loss of its property. The papers published do not disclose what further arrangements were attempted on this head; but, it is possible, that by a private understanding it was reserved for the Definitive Treaty, when the Dutch Ambassador

Ambaſſador might be a party to the proceeding, as it was then reſumed.

For the Royaliſts and others in the Weſt Indies, who had aſſiſted in putting the colonies into our hands, ſome inadequate protection was provided. Though they were not allowed to remove with their property, as were any republican inhabitants of the iſlands which remained to us, yet it was ſtipulated, that none of them ſhould be moleſted under any pretext, on account of their political conduct or opinions, antecedent to the definitive treaty. But no ſimilar mention was made of our unfortunate allies in France. When we had negotiated before indeed, we had given them notice, that they might make the beſt terms practicable for themſelves. And a pacification had conſequently taken place, which many of their leaders diſliking, had already ſought refuge in England. This was, perhaps, too little for their ſecurity, but it was enough to furniſh a ſpecious anſwer to any application on our part.

The truth is, that the imperfections and omiſſions in the articles ultimately adopted, ought not to be conſidered ſeparately, but ſhould be referred all together to the ſituation of miniſters, which did not leave them maſters of their own actions. They had no ſubſtantive ſtrength of their own from family connexions, great landed property, or pre-eminent talents. In parliament they were vehemently urged on the one ſide, and more gently encouraged on the other, to loſe no opportunity of making peace; and if the people leſs audibly expreſſed their deſire for it, it was perhaps becauſe they more generally expected it from the change of their rulers. The lofty tone in which their predeceſſors had declined the early advances of the Firſt Conſul, however juſtified by all the circumſtances of that juncture, had ſunk into a vain attempt at conciliation through Auſtria, which, after the treaty of Luneville, now naturally led to freſh overtures from new men. In the terms originally offered, they had for a guide what had formerly been propoſed at Liſle. Their new baſis of compenſation differed little, except in words, from the old objects of indemnity and ſecurity; and on ſome points, where they were diſpoſed to make a ſtand, they gave way only to the authority of Mr. Pitt, who might adviſe, what, committed as he perſonally was, he could not himſelf have done. But above all, there was an imperious neceſſity which could not be ſafely avowed. The nation was opulent, and capable of bearing whatever burdens might ſtill be required to maintain its honour; but the public finances were in the greateſt confuſion. The deficiencies of the civil liſt could no longer be concealed; the accumulated arrear of debt, for which the income-tax was pledged, could no longer remain unfunded. With the depreſſion of the ſtocks from a continuance of war, and the addition of the ſinking-fund created with every loan, which could not in that caſe have been changed without danger to public credit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer muſt have found taxes in perpetuity to the annual amount of between five and ſix millions. Theſe facts were but little and imperfectly, if at all, known to his opponents, and could not then be declared to the world in his defence. No experience in our

our hiſtory affords the leaſt ground of conjecturing what effects might have been produced on the temper of the people, had they been called upon to commence a new career of war under ſuch an enormous load, unprepared, and without being ſatisfied, that there was no juſt and honourable alternative. Mr. Pitt did not venture on the income-tax till the ſudden diſmiſſion of our ambaſſador from Liſle had ſhewn peace to be unattainable.

The debates in parliament on this ſubject exhibited in a more clear light than it had appeared before, the formation of a new and unexpected oppoſition, calculated to infuſe alarm. The names of the principal perſons among them in the Houſe of Commons have been given. The ten peers who divided againſt the addreſs were, the Marquis of Buckingham; Earls Pembroke, Warwick, Fitzwilliam, Radnor, Spencer, and Caernarvon; Lords Grenville and Gwydir; and the Biſhop of Rocheſter. Such a band, however ſmall in number at their firſt appearance, could not fail to become formidable from their abilities, their family connexions, and the general reſpect in which they were held. Many of them poſſeſſed the great advantage of having been long, and till lately, in office, ſo that to them the courſe of public buſineſs was perfectly known, and their general knowledge would be aſſiſted by that preciſion and perfect acquaintance with details which are not always at the command of oppoſition, but which muſt enable them to give ſo much more annoyance to a miniſtry. Some appeared to think, and at times miniſters ſpoke and acted as if they were willing to believe, that no general or ſyſtematic oppoſition was intended, but that the preliminaries of peace formed the only ground of difference between them and their late friends; but it was not poſſible that a difference on a point ſo important and extenſive in its effects ſhould be limited to any ſingle object.

CHAP. VII.

Debates on the Northern Convention; addreſs moved in the Upper Houſe by Lord Darnley; ſeconded by Lord Cathcart; oppoſed by Lord Grenville; ſupported by the Lord Chancellor; obſervations of ſeveral other Lords; the Addreſs carried without a diviſion. Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons on the ſame ſubject; addreſs moved by Lord Francis Oſborne; ſeconded by the honourable Mr. Ryder; the treaty diſapproved by Mr. Grey, and Lord Temple; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury; objections of Dr. Laurence; anſwered by Lord Glenbervie, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Erſkine, Sir William Scott, and Mr. Tierney; the addreſs voted without a diviſion. Naval and military eſtimates voted; explanations given by the Secretary at War. Thanks to Sir James Saumarez, moved by Earl St. Vincent; ſeconded by Lord Nelſon; thanks to Captains Hood and Keates, and other officers, moved by Earl St. Vincent; ſeconded by the Duke of Clarence; ſimilar thanks voted in the Houſe of Commons. Thanks to Sir John Hely Hutchinſon and the Britiſh army in Egypt, moved by Lord Hobart, who beſtows high

high commendation on the Marquis of Wellesley; the motion supported by Lords Nelson and Pelham and the Duke of Clarence; Thanks also voted to Lord Keith; Rear Admiral Blankett; Sir Richard Bickerton, and Sir John Borlase Warren. Christmas Recess.

IN discussing the convention which terminated the dispute with the northern powers, the ministry were again exposed to the censures of the new opposition. After various postponements, this compact was examined in both houses of parliament on the same day.

Nov. 13.

The Earl of Darnley, who moved the address to his majesty, began by expressing his satisfaction in having occasion to appeal to the House, on grounds so distinct and different from those on which he had, in the course of the last session, found it his duty to offer his sentiments, and to propose an enquiry into the state of public affairs, with a view to a vote of censure on the government of that day. He now meant to propose a vote of approbation of the conduct of his majesty's present ministers. He could not but give his testimony in praise of their conduct since they came into office, contrasted with that of their predecessors, whose servile imitators they had proved themselves not to be, as he had expected. The convention on the table he considered as a striking instance. It was evident from that important document, that they had not continued to bully and insult the powers of Europe; but, by a judicious mixture of firmness and moderation, they had induced them to relinquish their unjust pretensions, and had finally established, upon an equitable and permanent basis, the maritime law of nations. That code of law was not a novel institution; it was as ancient as the introduction and practice of navigation and commerce, and had been clearly and explicitly laid down by the ablest ministers of different countries at different periods, and uniformly admitted and coincided in by all the states of Europe, because it was founded on truth, justice, and the general convenience of all nations. Yet, however clear and beneficial this law, the supposed interests of belligerent powers made them sometimes endeavour to supersede it, for the purpose of embroiling their adversaries in new quarrels, and adding to their difficulties. Such had been the origin of the famous armed neutrality in 1780, which, if its principles had been established, would have inflicted a fatal blow on our commercial prosperity and naval greatness. Their lordships knew how the danger of 1780 was averted, but considering the glorious successes of this country by sea, and the unparalleled extension of navigation and commerce which we had attained during the war just terminated, it was not to be wondered at, that a jealousy of our superior prosperity should be excited in other powers by the intrigue of one of the belligerent states, and their envy and selfishness awakened, by the expectation of gaining some advantages while they imagined us to be exhausted and enfeebled by the enormous expence and continued exertions of a nine years' war. Far from being exhausted, we had entered with courage on this new contest, and he thanked God, the firmness and energy of ministers

ters had reſorted to the beſt means of terminating the pretenſions of their opponents.

Entering then on a conſideration of the treaty, his lordſhip obſerved that the firſt and moſt important particular preſented to their attention was the abandonment of that falſe and dangerous propoſition, *that free ſhips made free goods.* The next point of importance, was *the right of ſearch of ſhips under convoy;* which was clearly aſcertained and admitted, but with the limitation of excluding privateers from the exerciſe of the right in queſtion. With regard to *contraband of war*, in the enumeration of what was to be conſidered ſo in future, with reſpect to Ruſſia, military warlike ſtores alone were to be found. He had no objection to confining that enumeration to Ruſſia only, becauſe naval ſtores were not the chief produce of Ruſſia, and the imperfect ſtate of her marine, added to the circumſtance of her ſeas and rivers being rendered impaſſable, and locked from navigation during ſix or eight months of the year by the froſt, made it a point of no great importance. The matter ſtood on a different ground with Denmark and Sweden. By the ninth article, theſe countries were to be immediately invited by his imperial majeſty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the preſent convention, and, at the ſame time, to renew and confirm their reſpective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majeſty. By the treaty with Denmark of 1670, as explained by a ſubſequent treaty concluded in 1780, and by that of 1661 concluded with Sweden, naval ſtores are deemed contraband of war, and are conſidered as ſuch by the law of nations, in reſpect to all other countries who are not protected by the ſpecial conditions of a treaty. The fourth important matter to be found in the treaty, was the definition of the character of a *blockaded port;* the terms of which extended beyond the aſſumption of the armed neutrality, and placed the queſtion, on an explicit and ſatisfactory ground. The firſt paragraph of the third article provided that the ſhips of the neutral power may navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coaſts of nations at war. Conſiderable ſtreſs was to be laid on the words "to "the ports" as contradiſtinguiſhed from the words "from port to "port," which had been the language of the claim of the armed neutrality. The difference of expreſſion ſecured an effectual prevention of the neutral from carrying the coaſting trade of the belligerent powers during war, and it was manifeſt, that the ſhips of neutrals were only to be regarded as free ſhips, when they had, *bonâ fide*, neither enemy's property, nor contraband on board. Admitting that the treaty bore evident marks of haſte, and that the wording was open in ſome places to cavil, his lordſhip required of thoſe who ſhould be diſpoſed to object to it, to conſider the circumſtances under which it was made; the difficulties under which the preſent miniſters came into office; the ſituation of unprecedented danger and apprehenſion in which the country ſtood when the rupture with the northern ſtates broke out; the unjuſtifiable combination entered into againſt the maritime power and importance of Great Britain; the perilous and expenſive war in which the country

was

was engaged; the preſſure of the public burthens, and various other circumſtances, which combined, rendered the part which miniſters had to act, with reſpect to the northern confederacy, extremely arduous and delicate. It was a ſtrong argument in favour of this treaty, that it had facilitated the peace with France; a peace which, if not glorious, was evidently neceſſary; and which might have been better, but for the miſconduct of the former adminiſtration.

Lord Cathcart, in ſeconding the addreſs, recapitulated many of the arguments, and repeated many of the facts adduced by the mover, and joined with him in paying a merited tribute of applauſe to the valour and judgment of Lord Nelſon, who had ſo happily extricated the country from a ſituation ſo full of peril and difficulty. The miniſtry were equally to be commended for their courage and firmneſs: in fact it was hardly poſſible, a few months ago, to ſuppoſe that the country would ſo ſoon ſtand on the proud eminence on which ſhe was now placed. A glorious naval victory terminated the conteſt with the northern powers, in a manner highly advantageous and honourable to this country. By the convention on the table, the principle that free bottoms made free goods, and the exemptions claimed by our late opponents, were happily reſiſted, and theſe queſtions, which had, in ſeveral wars, contributed to embarraſs our government, were completely decided.

Lord Grenville expreſſed his diſapprobation of the treaty in a long and able ſpeech. If the convention, he ſaid, offered to us any proſpect of thoſe advantages, which had been ſo liberally aſcribed to it by the zeal of its ſupporters, they would be well juſtified in having claimed for it from Parliament an unqualified and unanimous approbation. The ultimate eſtabliſhment and recognition of thoſe principles, for which Great Britain fought and conquered at Copenhagen, would undoubtedly offer an occaſion gladly to be embraced, for juſt congratulation to his majeſty: and, far from oppoſing ſuch a motion, he ſhould think himſelf peculiarly called upon to concur in the praiſes of any ſtateſmen, who had really (in the words of the addreſs) ſecured thoſe eſſential rights, for which we had contended, and which were inſeparably connected with the exiſtence of our naval power. Having, for many years, allotted a large portion of his thoughts and labours to the ſubject of the treaty, and entertaining a high ſenſe of its importance to the intereſts of the country, he felt obliged to declare a full conviction, that, ſhould its ſtipulations remain unaltered, our ſyſtem of maritime law, inſtead of having been confirmed by the iſſue of a ſucceſsful conteſt, would be found to have been, in all its parts, eſſentially impaired; its principles ſhaken, its exerciſe embarraſſed, and its cleareſt regulations made matter of eternal diſſention and conteſt.

It was conſolatory, that the taſk of inveſtigating this treaty was very different from diſcuſſing the preliminaries of peace. In the preſent inſtance, we had treated, not with an enemy, but with an old and natural ally: not with the government of an uſurper, who was ſtill manifeſtly looking for his ſecurity in our dangers, and for his glory in our humiliations; but with a lawful

ful ſovereign, who had no real intereſt oppoſed to ours, and who had ſhewn a decided attachment to the ancient ſyſtem of connexion, ſo long eſtabliſhed between the two countries. Even if the errors of this convention, while they threatened the ſubverſion of the Britiſh naval power, did promiſe ſome commercial advantages to Ruſſia, we muſt believe that an enlarged and liberal policy, duly appreciating the permanent and ſolid intereſt of Ruſſia herſelf, would reject the benefits to be purchaſed by ſuch a ſacrifice; but much more, if it ſhould appear, that, even theſe imaginary advantages were, in fact, injurious to the very intereſts they were ſuppoſed to promote, and that the whole ſyſtem againſt which Great Britain had contended was mutually dangerous to both empires, and could be profitable only to their common enemies and rivals. There could be little doubt, on theſe grounds, that the Emperor of Ruſſia would readily conſent to any reaſonable propoſal for the explanation, or amendment, of this convention. But, it was not ſo much for the acknowledged conceſſions, as for the dangerous uncertainty of theſe ſtipulations, that we were deeply concerned to provide an immediate and effectual remedy; and, in this reſpect, at leaſt, we might confidently hope to find at Peterſburgh diſpoſitions completely favourable.

His Lordſhip then briefly reviewed the origin of this conteſt from the time when, in the laſt years of the American war, the weak and temporizing policy of Great Britain toward the powers of the Baltic, had encouraged and augmented their inadmiſſible pretenſions; ſtated the renunciation of thoſe claims at the commencement of the laſt war; and aſcribed the confederacy to caprice and groundleſs diſguſt exiſting at Peterſburgh. The confederacy was, however, far more formidable in appearance than in reality. It was, indeed, well adapted, if we ſhrunk from the conteſt, to dictate to us the moſt diſgraceful and ruinous conceſſions; but little was to be feared from its hoſtility, if it was only met with fortitude, and repelled with energy. The marine of France and Spain, crippled by conſtant defeat, during a war of unparalleled ſucceſs to England, was leſs able, than it may perhaps be found at any future period, to ſupport the exertions of a northern league. The union of the Baltic powers was neither cemented by common intereſt, nor by mutual confidence. And even the untoward circumſtances of perſonal diſpoſition and character, with which we had to contend at Peterſburgh, juſtified the expectation, that the reſolutions adopted in that quarter would be found no leſs unſteady and fluctuating, than they were raſh and violent. On theſe grounds his majeſty's then miniſters commenced their reſiſtance, and the conteſt was decided by the victory at Copenhagen. The ſucceeding events were ſtill more favourable. At the very moment when the Baltic powers had incurred the penalty of their own precipitation, when their colonies were already in our poſſeſſion, when their commerce was annihilated, the defences of their own ports deſtroyed, and the productions of their territories accumulating at home without purchaſers, and therefore without value; and when their revenues, ſinking under this total ſtagnation of trade,

trade, were unequal even to their ordinary peace expenditure, much more to the exertions of a war againſt Great Britain. In this critical and deciſive moment, a change took place at Peterſburgh, which removed every obſtacle to the reſtoration, not only of peace, but of friendſhip and alliance with that court. In this ſituation the negotiation began, and circumſtances more favourable never offered themſelves to negotiators. As therefore no ill deſign or diſpoſition could be attributed to either party, if this charter of our future ſtrength, this warrant of aſſurance for the undiſturbed enjoyment of rights eſſential to our naval power, ſhould be ſtill found deficient in that preciſion and certainty, which could alone conſtitute its value, it would behove us to purſue with earneſtneſs the means of full and ſatisfactory explanation, now, while the circumſtances were ſtill propitious, while the opportunity was ſtill ſuch as the moſt ſanguine hopes could hardly have anticipated. Such, he had no doubt, was the conduct which the king's government was actually purſuing, and far from implying a cenſure, he wiſhed to expreſs the fulleſt approbation of this endeavour. It was, however, inconvenient and unexampled to call on the Houſe for approbation of the meaſure, before the terms of the acceſſion of Sweden and Denmark were known. The Houſe was now deſired to pronounce upon the merits of a treaty, of which they knew not what the conditions might ultimately be; and to declare thoſe ſtipulations to be complete and ſatisfactory, which their authors themſelves conſidered as requiring farther explanations, additions or amendments.

In examining the tenor and effect of the articles, and in ſtating the ſenſe, which might hereafter be affixed to them by neutral powers, it was not his wiſh to perſuade the Houſe, that ſuch were the only interpretations of which the expreſſions themſelves might poſſibly be ſuſceptible; nor even that they were, in every inſtance, thoſe which, on the reſult of a doubtful balance, might be adopted by an impartial arbitration. It would be more than enough, for every purpoſe of his ſtatement, if it ſhould appear that theſe articles are, in fact, ambiguous, and that they would fairly admit of contrary conſtructions. The ſubject required the utmoſt preciſion; and correction, while the minds of the parties remained the ſame, and the intentions of both were freſh in their recollection, would be not only practicable, but eaſy; but if, from any real, or any affected indifference to theſe great national intereſts, from any falſe ſecurity, or any miſtaken pride, this favourable opportunity were ſuffered to paſs away, the public miſchief might be ſuch, as no future diligence, or ability could retrieve.

His lordſhip then directed the attention of the Houſe to a compariſon of the preſent convention with the correſponding proviſions in the hoſtile conventions of 1780 and 1800, ſhewing, that in the form and wording of the articles, the two hoſtile conventions of armed neutrality had been followed with a ſcrupulous and ſervile exactneſs, wherever they could

be made to apply. We ſtood therefore, in the face of Europe, no longer as reſiſting, but as acceding to the treaties of armed neutrality; with modifications indeed, and changes in ſome important points; but, ſanctioning, by this conceſſion, the general weight and authority of tranſactions, which we had hitherto conſidered as groſs violations of public law, as manifeſt indications of hoſtile purpoſe, and as ſufficient grounds to juſtify, on our part, the extremities of war itſelf.

Under this impreſſion, it would be neceſſary to examine the conceſſions of the preſent convention, and compare them with thoſe claims for which this country wiſely determined, at the commencement of the preſent year, that it was neceſſary, even under all the difficulties of that moment, to incur the additional dangers of a northern war.

Theſe propoſitions as explained in both Houſes were:

I. That it is not lawful to neutral nations to carry on, in time of war, for the advantage, or on the behalf, of one of the belligerent powers, thoſe branches of its commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace.

II. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies, wherever it ſhall be met with on the high ſeas; and may, for that purpoſe, detain and bring into port neutral veſſels laden wholly, or in part, with any ſuch property.

III. That under the deſcription of *contraband of war*, which neutrals are prohibited from carrying to the belligerent powers, the law of nations (if not reſtrained by ſpecial treaty) includes all naval as well as military ſtores; and generally all articles ſerving principally, according to the circumſtances of the war, to afford to one belligerent power, the inſtruments and means of annoyance to be uſed againſt the other.

IV. That it is lawful to naval powers, when engaged in war, to block the ports of their enemies, by cruizing ſquadrons, bonâ fide allotted to that ſervice, and fairly competent to its execution. That ſuch blockade is valid and legitimate, although there be no deſign to attack, or to reduce by force, the port, fortreſs, or arſenal to which it is applied. And that the fact of the blockade, coupled with due notice given thereof to the neutral powers, ſhall affect not only veſſels actually intercepted in the attempt to enter the blockaded port, but thoſe ſhips alſo which ſhall elſewhere be met with, and ſhall be found to have been deſtined to ſuch port, under the circumſtances of the fact and notice of its blockade.

V. That the right of viſiting and examining neutral veſſels, is a neceſſary conſequence of theſe principles. And that, by the law of nations, (when unreſtrained by treaty) this right is not in any manner affected, by the preſence of a neutral ſhip of war, having under its convoy merchant ſhips, either of its own nation, or of any other country.

In examining how far the treaty had eſtabliſhed the firſt of theſe principles, relating to the commerce of neutrals with powers at war, Lord Grenville exhibited the

reaſons

reaſons which made the French nation endeavour to obtain a relaxation of this rule, when they were preſſed by our naval ſuperiority, and unable to conduct their own commerce in their own bottoms. He contended that the terms in the treaty did not, in a manner, ſufficiently explicit, prevent neutrals from undertaking, even the French or any other coaſting trade in time of war, and preſſed his objection with the more earneſtneſs as the clauſe was copied from the hoſtile treaty of 1780. But if any doubt could be entertained of our having given up the coaſting trade, none could poſſibly prevail with reſpect to colonial commerce, on which point the treaty was unfortunately too explicit; that claim was indiſputably and unequivocally conceded by Great Britain. After citing the orders of council on this ſubject, which had been iſſued, his lordſhip made a ſtrong appeal to the Lord Chancellor, as a perſon to whoſe opinions he always liſtened with unfeigned reſpect: whether, in determining a queſtion of property between individuals, any earthly conſideration could induce him to aſſert, that a neutral ſhip carrying on the trade of the French colonies with Europe, (but not having on board either enemy's property, or contraband of war,) had violated any one of thoſe conditions, ſubject to which alone this convention had expreſsly guaranteed an unlimited freedom to neutral navigation. Before he ſhould anſwer the queſtion, let him look to the ſecond ſection of this third article of the treaty; and he would find it diſtinctly provided, that "all effects embarked on board neutral ſhips ſhall be free," with no other exception than thoſe of contraband of war, and of enemy's property. "But I have much more ſatisfaction," Lord Grenville ſaid, "in looking to the means of rectifying the omiſſion, than in examining its origin, or in tracing its conſequences. I am therefore happy to remark, upon this, and upon almoſt every other conceſſion of this treaty, that they are all points ſtill ſuſceptible of amendment; points on which Ruſſia, diſpoſed as ſhe now is towards Great Britain, can have had no real intereſt to inſiſt." Very great advantage would certainly reſult to other neutral powers from this particular conceſſion; and its value to France might be almoſt beyond calculation; but to the Ruſſian empire, it could produce no benefit whatever.

On the ſecond propoſition, which oppoſes the pretenſions, that free bottoms make free goods, his lordſhip declared without reſerve, that, as to Ruſſia, the preſent convention ſeemed to have obtained a ſufficient recognition of the juſt and eſtabliſhed principle aſſerted by Great Britain, and with reſpect to Sweden and Denmark, as far as the public faith of nations could be conſidered as binding, this ſtipulation was already contained in our treaties with both theſe powers.

On the third point, relative to contraband of war, Lord Grenville lamented, that we were not left by the reſult of this negotiation on a like footing of advantage and ſecurity to Great Britain. It involved perhaps the moſt valuable of all the intereſts for which we had contended. In diſcuſſing this ſubject, he adverted firſt to the more obvious and avowed con-

ceſſions which were contained in the treaty. By a commercial treaty with Ruſſia renewed in 1797, for a period of ten years, we had, by a temporary ſtipulation, admitted the ſubjects of the Ruſſian empire to carry, in their own ſhips, naval ſtores to the ports of our enemies. This permiſſion was now made perpetual, and if, as no one could aſſert the contrary, the marine of Ruſſia ſhould become ſufficiently powerful, it might be exerciſed to an extent highly prejudicial to the moſt important intereſts of the Britiſh empire. But even if this were certain we had by another part of the convention, materially facilitated to our enemies the means of carrying on with Ruſſia, even in her preſent ſtate, an extenſive commerce in naval ſtores. By the ſeventh article of this treaty, (copied with ſo many other of its ſtipulations from the hoſtile convention of the northern league) it was provided, that the privileges of neutrality ſhould be allowed to ſuch veſſels only as had on board a captain and one half their crew, compoſed of the ſubjects of the power, whoſe flag they bear. By the rule which is now generally received in Europe, not one half, but one third only of hoſtile ſeamen are permitted to navigate a neutral veſſel; but by this treaty, a direct commerce during war was authorized between the French and Ruſſian ports, in veſſels indeed bearing the Ruſſian flag, but which would be navigated by a crew, one half of whom would be French, and who would conſequently have much greater opportunities than any which ſubſiſted previouſly, of fraudulently diſguiſing the real property of the veſſel, and of controling the conduct of the remainder of the crew. Beſides theſe objections, his lordſhip dwelt at great length on the ambiguity introduced into the tranſaction by the ſtipulation in the third clauſe, that this compact ſhould not prejudice the particular treaties of the contracting parties with other powers. If no other objection exiſted to this part of the treaty, except its extraordinary inaccuracy, this alone would make it abſolutely neceſſary to reſort to ſome farther negotiations on the ſubject. It was not poſſible that the future intereſts of this country, on theſe eſſential points, ſhould be left to reſt on the unſteady foundation of this precipitate tranſaction. In illuſtration of this cenſure, he entered into the hiſtory of the firſt treaty of armed neutrality, and reviewed in various circumſtances, the injuries which would reſult to Great Britain from this too ample conceſſion.

Coming next to the fourth queſtion, that of blockaded ports, Lord Grenville deſcribed the ſtipulations as being tranſcribed, with the variation only of a ſingle word, from the correſponding articles of the two conventions of armed neutrality. Thoſe articles had declared, in ſubſtance, that no parts ſhould be conſidered as blockaded, unleſs where the power attacking it ſhould maintain a ſquadron conſtantly ſtationed before it; *and* ſufficiently near to create an evident danger of entering. In the preſent treaty the contracting parties had ſubſtituted, "*or* ſufficiently near," intending, no doubt, by this minute change, trifling and unimportant as it was, to eſtabliſh, in their full extent, the principles which

which Great Britain had maintained on this great queſtion of maritime blockade, and which the article, in its original ſtate, as it ſtood in the two neutral conventions, was intended completely to ſubvert. To this arrangement his lordſhip made ſeveral objections; he diſapproved of the adherence to the form of the hoſtile treaties; the article by mentioning attacks on the port, ſeemed to ſanction an unfounded opinion, that the power which blockaded a port by ſea, muſt, like a land force, have ſome view of reducing it to ſubjection; and the ſtipulation, as expreſſed, ſeemed to imply that a blockade was underſtood to continue ſo long only as that danger actually exiſted, and was, on the other hand, to be conſidered as being raiſed as often as the danger ceaſed, even for the ſhorteſt interval; a propoſition tending to the utmoſt confuſion. Even were the fulleſt weight given to that minute verbal change, on which ſo much was made to depend, a ſtrict adherence to the letter of this ſtipulation, in its preſent form, muſt utterly deſtroy our whole ſyſtem of blockade by cruizing ſquadrons.

With reſpect to the right of ſearch, his lordſhip obſerved, that if it were not for the confident hope which he entertained of ſeeing the other deficiencies of the convention ſupplied by the reſult of the negotiations depending, he ſhould conſider all that regarded this laſt point as being comparatively of very little moment. The privilege of viſiting, or of ſearching a neutral ſhip, could be uſeful only as it facilitated the exerciſe of other rights; as it led to the detection of frauds, and the prevention of unlawful commerce; and as it afforded the means of aſcertaining thoſe facts which would juſtify detention, ſeizure, and confiſcation. If, therefore, we were henceforth to continue to neutrals the advantages which this convention guaranteed to them, our right of viſitation, or of ſearch, could be of little value. When we had opened to them the coaſting and colonial trade of our enemies, what ſhould we gain by acquiring the utmoſt certainty that they do in fact avail themſelves largely of that permiſſion? When we had declared naval ſtores not to be contraband, what would it profit us, if we ſhould examine every cargo of that deſcription which is carried to the ports of our enemies? Or, when we had admitted that a port, blockaded only by a cruiſing ſquadron, is open to the trade of neutrals, what purpoſe would it anſwer to aſcertain the name of every veſſel ſailing with ſuch a deſtination? But if, on the contrary, that code of naval law which Great Britain had hitherto aſſerted, had in this negotiation been ſteadily maintained, and unequivocally confirmed, nothing could have been more important than to have crowned that great work, by placing beyond diſpute the means of exerciſing thoſe principles, the juſtice of which had finally been recogniſed. Subject to theſe remarks, Lord Grenville entered into a vindication of the right of ſearch, which was indeed ſo manifeſt, that except ſome idle declamation from the ſchools of French philoſophy, he believed it had never yet been ſeriouſly queſtioned. The right of ſearching veſſels under convoy, which was denied

by the convention of armed neutrality, was indeed recogniſed by this treaty. But to what purpoſe, muſt be learnt by an examination of the ſubſequent proviſions, which limited the exerciſe of a right, the juſtice of which has been thus openly acknowledged. It was in the firſt place refuſed, now for the firſt time, to all privateers; a circumſtance to which he was not diſpoſed to object. But it was of more conſequence to conſider the ſtipulations of this article, as they reſpected the future practice of the Britiſh navy. The claim of the neutral league of 1800, confined this examination to a bare peruſal of the papers of the neutral ſhips: which papers were for that purpoſe, to be communicated to the belligerent by the neutral officer, on board his own veſſel. Exactly the ſame proceeding was here ſtipulated; and it was added in this treaty, as in the former, that if the papers ſo communicated ſhall be found to be regular, no farther ſearch ſhall take place. An exception, however, was here ſubjoined, which conſtituted the only practical difference on this ſubject between the two conventions. It was not, as before, laid down abſolutely, that no farther ſearch ſhould in any caſe take place, but that none ſhould ſo take place, "unleſs ſome valid motive of ſuſpicion ſhould exiſt." What could be a more wretched policy than to hold in reſerve for periods of embarraſſment and danger, doubtful pretenſions, which now, in the ſecurity of victory, and in the confidence of friendſhip, we had been afraid to avow? In the preſent practice, the commanding officer going on board a ſhip examined the papers, the appearance of the ſhip, crew, and cargo, and queſtioned the men; and if he ſaw from this inquiry a reaſonable preſumption of unlawful conduct, detained the ſhip, but by the preſent treaty, the ſuſpicion muſt precede the inquiry. What was there in the appearance of a ſhip to create ſuſpicion in an officer, who had never been on board, but viewed her through a teleſcope, out of the diſtance of cannon ſhot? Her ſails, her maſts, the faſhion of her rigging, and her hull, theſe he poſſibly might diſtinguiſh. Would theſe inform him whether the property of the ſhip, or of all the goods, or of any part of them, were hoſtile or neutral? Whether the cargo were hoſtile or innocent? Of what nations the crew was compoſed, and in what proportions? Whether the object of the voyage were conformable to ſuch ſpecial treaties as might apply to it, or whether it were conſonant with the general law of nations? Could he even conjecture at that diſtance, what concealed articles the ſhip might carry? What oſtenſible, and what real papers? What falſe paſſports; granted perhaps in blank in Europe, and filled up in the Eaſt Indies, with the name of any ſhip, whoſe owner was content to pay the regulated tariff of ſuch frauds? Would he, in ſuch a ſituation, acquire the knowledge of thoſe details with which the crew might be willing to ſupply him? Or, could he even ſatisfy his own judgment, whether the ſhip were ſufficiently victualled and ſtored for the voyage which her papers indicated? Not one of all theſe, although theſe comprize all the principal grounds of ſuſpicion which

which had hitherto led our officers to the detention of neutral veſſels. Every one of theſe was now abandoned. On theſe points, Lord Grenville referred to ſome of thoſe noble perſons then preſent, the memory of whoſe victories, obtained in ſupport of their country's rights, would ever warm the hearts of Engliſhmen: whoſe ſplendid actions would live in our grateful remembrance, even although that fatal period ſhould already have arrived, when their effects muſt ceaſe to operate: even although we ſhould be found to have renounced, by theſe ſtipulations, the very claims which their exertions had eſtabliſhed; and to have abdicated at the ſame time, by an involuntary ſurrender to an inveterate enemy, that high pre-eminence of dignity and ſafety, in which it was their glory to have placed us; and which no human power but our own, could ever have impaired. It was, he contended, but too manifeſt, that while we had in words eſtabliſhed the right of viſiting ſhips under neutral convoy, we had, in fact, ſo limited and circumſcribed the practice, as utterly to renounce every beneficial purpoſe to which it ever could, by any poſſibility, be applied.

One general remark remained to be made. In every tranſaction, relating to ſubjects of this nature, but more eſpecially in thoſe in which we limit by new ſtipulations the exerciſe of our ancient rights, it ought to be the object of our particular attention to prevent, by the moſt explicit declarations, all poſſibility of converting our ſpecial engagements into general rules, applicable alike to all countries. But this point was obviouſly of peculiar importance at a moment when we were about to ſtand, with reſpect to ſo many great commercial ſtates, on the footing of the general law of nations, not modified by any ſpecial contract. By ſome fatality it had happened that we had now done preciſely the reverſe of this. We had not even left it as a doubtful queſtion, whether theſe ſtipulations ſhould extend to other countries. We had adopted, in this treaty, the very ſame clauſe which was inſerted in the conventions of armed neutrality, expreſsly for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the principles there promulgated, not only as a rule for all tranſactions between the contracting parties, but as an univerſal law, applicable to every civilized ſtate. We had declared, that all the ſtipulations to which we had now acceded, "ſhould be regarded as permanent, and ſhould ſerve as a conſtant rule to the contracting powers, in matters of commerce and navigation." If, therefore, there were no other reaſons than that furniſhed by this ſingle article, this alone would abundantly prove the indiſpenſable neceſſity of proceeding, by farther negotiation, to explain the ambiguities, and correct the errors, with which every part of this treaty unfortunately abounded. In the preſent caſe, one ſentiment alone could prevail both in Great Britain and in Ruſſia. The deſire of every friend of peace, and every lover of juſtice, throughout the world, muſt be the ſame. All muſt concur in wiſhing that a preciſe and unequivocal arrangement on all the matters to which this treaty had relation, might confirm

and ſtrengthen the diſpoſitions of friendſhip, between thoſe to whom Europe ſtill looked for its preſervation, and might ſtifle the ſeeds of every poſſible difference which could either interrupt their preſent harmony, or embarraſs their future exertions. By looſe and uncertain ſtipulations on theſe important concerns, no intereſt was promoted, no right aſſerted, no principle finally eſtabliſhed. From ambiguity and doubt, confuſion and diſcord only could ariſe.

In anſwer to theſe objections, the Lord Chancellor began by requeſting the Houſe to be on their guard againſt what he ſhould ſay, as he had been a party to the preſent tranſaction; had given his advice as to its adoption; and therefore muſt be intereſted in ſupporting it. He muſt tell the noble lord, that the words of the treaty did not, in any manner, bear the interpretation which he put upon them. The rights for which this country contended were now completely admitted; and, what ſtamped an ineſtimable value on the preſent treaty, and made it the moſt valuable ever entered into was, that even the violation of it on our part could not be reſiſted by violence on the part of the neutrals; but the matter was to be peaceably ſettled before the competent tribunals of the country. The ſettlement had been made on a great, liberal baſis, which ſhewed to the world, that Great Britain was not intolerant in her power, and that ſhe did not wiſh to ſtand on trivial points and nice diſtinctions. The nation had gained the great objects for which they contended, namely, that free bottoms did not make free goods; that ſhips of war had the right of ſearch; that the blockade of ports ſhould be recognized as legitimate; that the exerciſe of theſe rights ſhould be regulated upon clear, intelligible and liberal rules; and, what was of more conſequence than all, that any caſual violation of them ſhould not be a cauſe of quarrel, but ſhould be the ſubject of amicable adjuſtment. As to ſlight objections from the wording of particular clauſes, he muſt think they were not to interpret this paper as they would an indictment. When the noble Lord ſaid he objected to particular expreſſions, becauſe they were taken from the convention of the neutral powers, with ſome variation; he would anſwer, that he liked them the better for being ſo taken. The variation ſhewed that we did not recognize the doctrine as there aſſumed. Thus, in regard to the words, "free navigation *to the ports and upon the coaſts*," it was manifeſt, that we did not mean that they ſhould enjoy free navigation *to and from the ports* of an enemy. And in the ſame way, the *or* in the article recognizing the right of blockading ports, was all that we could deſire, ſince it eſtabliſhed the doctrine, that if our ſquadron was ſtationary off a port, or ſufficiently near to make an evident danger of entering, ſuch port was to be conſidered in a ſtate of blockade.

He denied that a neutral power could ſet up any ſuch pretenſion as that of carrying on the coaſting trade in time of war; the meaning and clear underſtanding between the parties was, that when a Ruſſian ſhip ſhould happen to take in a cargo, part of which was to be delivered at one port in the enemy's country,

country, and part in another port, ſuch ſhip ſhould be at liberty to put in at the ſeveral ports where ſhe was to deliver the ſeveral parts of her cargo. But if at any of thoſe places it ſhould appear, that ſhe took in any part of the enemy's property, for the purpoſe of conveying it to other ports, if, in ſhort, ſhe ſhould attempt to carry on a coaſting trade for the enemy, that cargo ſhould be liable to ſearch and confiſcation.

With reſpect to colonial trade, were he to decide judicially on this part of the treaty, he would put a conſtruction on it very different from that of the noble lord. He would aſk, whether, if it had been intended to give up a right of ſuch eſſential value as the one in queſtion, ſome notice would not have been taken of it in the treaty? He had no doubt but the clear underſtanding was, that the right ſhould not be given up; and a farther explanation might ſtill be had on the ſubject. The French had, during the late war, endeavoured to eſtabliſh the monſtrous principle that they had a right to confiſcate property in neutral countries, becauſe it had once been Britiſh; the principle in the preſent treaty was totally different, and it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that, becauſe we were not to prevent neutral nations from acquiring the colonial produce of the enemy, we were to enable them to carry on the colonial trade.

The interpretation of the treaty by Lord Grenville on the ſubject of contraband trade, he contended, was not correct. In conſtruing treaties, it was neceſſary to advert to the intentions of the parties. It was affirmed, that this would lay the foundation for a contraband trade, which all other neutral nations would think they had a right to carry on; but this was only a ſpecific treaty with one nation, which could not bind any other power, and had nothing to do with any treaty that might be entered into with Denmark or Sweden; and which could never hereafter give either Holland or America the right of carrying on a contraband trade. The treaty was confined to Ruſſia alone; and we had no quarrel, nor were we at war with Ruſſia. It contained a complete renunciation of the coaſting trade: a clear, unequivocal admiſſion of the right of ſearch; and he would aſk, on the whole, if the country had not eſtabliſhed the right for which ſhe contended?

His lordſhip could have wiſhed to ſee the right of ſearch exerciſed by privateers as well as by King's ſhips, as theſe veſſels formed a great part of the naval power of the country. As, however, the right of ſearch by privateers might be reſiſted, and could not be exerciſed in ſome inſtances, without a declaration of war on one ſide or the other, he thought it better to give it up altogether. The objection made by the noble lord, as to the right of ſearch on the part of Great Britain, applied not to the right itſelf; but to an undue detention after the ſearch was made. The captain of the belligerent power, would have the right to go on board the ſhip that guarded the convoy. If then he had no motive for ſuſpicion, he might go away, without making any ſearch; but if he had a ſufficient motive, he was not bound to declare what it was; but might proceed to

to his ſearch. If, after the ſearch, it appeared that there had been no juſtifiable motive for the detention of the veſſel, then he was reſponſible to no power for what he had done, except his own country. He contended that notwithſtanding what the noble lord had ſaid, a ſearch might ſtill be made; and there would be as little danger of neutral veſſels, containing contraband goods now as formerly. From the nature of the thing itſelf, the ground of ſuſpicion muſt depend upon the diſcretion of the officer; and he was to determine from other circumſtances, beſides the examination of papers, whether he had not a good cauſe to make a ſearch.

Theſe were the principal arguments uſed on this occaſion. Lord Holland concurred in the addreſs, although he did not think the rights contended for, ſo valuable as they were deſcribed to be by Lord Grenville, nor agree in the explanation given by the Lord Chancellor. Lord Mulgrave would alſo vote for the addreſs; but conſidered the rights claſſed under five heads by Lord Grenville, of the utmoſt conſequence, and feared that miniſters, in the joy of making peace, had, through inadvertency, made ſome omiſſions in the treaty; and Lord Nelſon highly approved of the convention, which he conſidered juſt and ſatisfactory.

The addreſs was agreed to without a diviſion.

Nov. 13. The debate in the Houſe of Commons did not differ materially from that in the Houſe of Lords. The addreſs was moved by Lord Francis Oſborne, and ſeconded by the Honourable Mr. Ryder, after the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in anſwer to a queſtion by Lord Temple, had informed the Houſe, that miniſters had received the moſt poſitive aſſurances of the willingneſs of Sweden to accede to the convention, and though not actually in poſſeſſion of an official copy of her acceſſion, they daily expected to receive it.

The treaty was attacked by Mr. Grey, who, in anſwer to an obſervation made by Mr. Ryder, ſaid, that whatever reaſon the noble lord, who had moved the addreſs, and the honourable gentleman who ſeconded it, might think they had to congratulate the Houſe on this treaty, and that the Houſe had not followed the advice he had offered, yet he could ſafely ſay, that he, at preſent, felt no reaſon to regret the advice which he had then given, from a conviction, that the conduct he pointed out, was that which the intereſt of the country then clearly dictated. He conſidered it extraordinary, that the Houſe ſhould be called upon to agree to an addreſs to his majeſty, at a time when they had no official notification of the acceſſion of the Swediſh and Daniſh courts, to the terms of the treaty, except the aſſertion of the noble ſecretary. The treaty itſelf, he conſidered merely as a judicious compromiſe, and compared the conduct of miniſters, to that of a man who boaſted, that by his will he left room for a fine law-ſuit. He made many obſervations on the uncertainty and want of preciſion in certain articles of the convention, but he did not extend his diſapprobation ſo far as to refuſe his vote to the addreſs.

The objections of Lord Temple were more deciſive of his conduct.

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He maintained that the treaty inflicted a ſevere blow on the beſt intereſts of the country. All the grounds on which the Houſe had pledged itſelf in the addreſs to his majeſty laſt ſeſſion of parliament, were, partially or intirely, given up. In deſcribing theſe grounds he divided them, like Lord Grenville, into five heads, and deſcanted on the treaty as applying to each in the ſame ſenſe, though not ſo copiouſly as his lordſhip. He concluded by obſerving, that the merits of the framers of a treaty, did not abſolutely depend upon what it gained or conceded; perhaps miniſters could aſſign reaſons which compelled them to deſert the principles, which their predeceſſors had declared they never would abandon. This was the firſt act of their adminiſtration, and perhaps they might be able to ſhew that it augured an adminiſtration, long, firm, vigorous, dignified and ſucceſsful. They might be juſtified by neceſſity; but neceſſity could alone juſtify them. They had ſtruck that flag, which an honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had eloquently declared, ought never to diſappear till the nation itſelf was overwhelmed.

Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered Mr. Grey's principal objection, by ſtating, that the readineſs of Sweden and Denmark to accede to the treaty, did not reſt only on the information given that day; it had been declared by his majeſty in his ſpeech from the throne. Beſides, the Houſe was called upon now to conſider merely the convention with the court of Ruſſia, and if there ſhould be any thing objectionable in the treaty concluded with Denmark and Sweden, there would ſtill be room for cenſure and condemnation.

He defended the treaty as juſt, expedient, equitable, and wiſe. It was not a compromiſe, nor had we given up what we had been contending for. We had maintained in full force our maritime rights, as far as it was our intereſt, and even as far as it ought to be our deſire. We had gained all we were intitled to demand, and all it was our wiſh to procure. The honourable gentleman in complaining that we ſtood exactly where we were before we engaged in the ſtruggle, did not take a juſt view of the queſtion. The powers of the north had confederated to dictate a new code of maritime law to Europe. We went to war to diſſolve this confederacy, and to defeat its purpoſes. He would not dwell on the importance of the rights for which we had contended, but obſerve that there was one point of view, however, in which he thought it had not been ſufficiently conſidered. To her maritime greatneſs this country owed her happy iſſue from the late awful ſtruggle, and to the maritime greatneſs of England, the continent of Europe owed whatever it retained of independence. This power had attained its preſent ſtupendous pitch, from a ſyſtem of policy begun in the earlieſt times of our hiſtory, and brought to perfection in the time of the commonwealth, by the enactment of the navigation laws. The principle then eſtabliſhed, was, to limit the commerce of Great Britain to her navigation, wherever the two claſhed to prefer navigation, and to ſacrifice commerce. The trade of Britain was thus all confined

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to Britiſh ſhips, and this regulation was extended even to the time of war, with one ſingle qualification, that a larger proportion of foreign ſeamen was then allowed. The conſequence of thoſe ſalutary laws was, that, upon the principles laid down by the confederacy, we had nothing to gain, but every thing to loſe. We allowed no neutral navigation, and the more it was freed from reſtrictions, we ſuffered the more. France, on the other hand, had long found her navigation too ſmall for her commerce. In peace, ſhe merely laid a ſmall tonnage upon foreign ſhipping entering her ports, and in time of war, ſhe gave it every poſſible encouragement. Her ſyſtem then was, to throw her commerce into the hands of neutrals, that ſhe might add to the ſtrength of her military marine. Thus, the principles we contended for, were, not only abſtractedly right, as between all countries, but of the moſt eſſential conſequence to us, in our individual circumſtances. Yet, he ſaid, he would fairly allow that he thought we ſhould make the exerciſe of theſe rights as little vexatious as poſſible. It was wiſe not to puſh them too far; by ſeeming to recede, we might prop them more effectually. He had read almoſt every thing that had been written in defence of the claims of neutrals, and he declared he had never found any reaſoning to ſhew that they had right upon their ſide. However, one ſtrong argument was drawn from convenience. It was ſaid, that our principle, though juſt, was liable to abuſe, and that theirs, though erroneous, might, in practice, be found leſs inconvenient. With a view to the preſervation of our privileges, a thing he conſidered of the firſt importance, that foundation on which this argument againſt them reſts, ſhould be for ever taken away.

Having inforced theſe introductory obſervations, Lord Hawkeſbury ſupported the ſpecific terms of the treaty by arguments ſimilar to thoſe of the Lord Chancellor, and having finiſhed this part of the ſubject, concluded with obſerving:—it was ſaid, the treaty was ambiguous; but he ſhould like to be told, what treaty ever was framed which did not leave room for the cavilling of the diſcontented and quarrelſome. As to the queſtion, whether more could have been gained, he truſted that miniſters would receive credit for having uſed their utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſts of their country; but in this caſe, if no more was gained, it was becauſe no more was wiſhed. The treaty did enough; it contained an ample recognition of all that is eſſential to us as the firſt maritime power on the Globe. He knew there were ſome who ſaw no policy, but in violence. For his part, if he could obtain what he conſidered ſubſtantial juſtice, he would not only let off his enemy without blows, but would help him to eſcape. We had gained by this treaty all that juſtice, all that policy required; and he did not ſee where would have been the dignity in preſſing ſeverely upon ſtates, becauſe when compared to us, they were weak and feeble. A petty conceſſion was not to be compared to the rancour, and ill-will produced by extorting it. When the northern powers were con-

confederated againſt us, and threatened to inforce their pretenſions with the ſword, we ſhewed true magnanimity in uſing force to chaſtiſe their temerity; but we ſhewed equal magnanimity in ſeizing upon the firſt ſymptoms of returning moderation, to bring about an amicable arrangement. We thus proved, that we would neither recede from our rights, nor puſh the exerciſe of them beyond the bounds of reaſon and juſtice.

Dr. Laurence did not conſider the preceding ſpeaker juſtified in adopting ſo triumphant a manner in delivering his ſentiments. It was argued that we had eſtabliſhed the right of preventing free ſhips from making free goods; yet that right had been previouſly acknowledged, and he would go further, and ſay, he had information, as a matter of fact, that the northern powers never ſeriouſly wiſhed to contend with us for it. They had merely contended againſt our right in that inſtance, with a view of withdrawing their pretenſions, in order to induce us to make conceſſions of importance in other reſpects. As to the right of ſearch, it had never been diſputed, when the circumſtances of public affairs rendered the attempts of the northern powers more likely to ſucceed; when our ſhips were doubled in number by thoſe of the enemy, and when (he mentioned it, for it was a ſubject of univerſal notoriety) our fleet was driven up the Channel by a very ſuperior force. Yet, placed as the country was, in that alarming and dangerous ſituation, no attempt had been made to deprive us of the right of ſearch. In the article reſpecting contraband trade, nothing of moment had been gained by the convention. And as to blockade the definition of that article was ſo variable, that no certain ſtandard or preciſe rule could be found in the admiralty laws; the definition had already been changed ſix or ſeven times. After ſome obſervations on the right of convoy, Dr. Laurence cenſured the conſtruction of the treaty on the baſis of the armed neutrality; he would not have built this veſſel on that keel.

All the remaining ſpeakers ſupported the convention. Lord Glenbervie denied the matter of fact to be as ſtated by Dr. Laurence; and referred to the inſtructions under which the Swediſh captain had acted, when by force he reſiſted the right of ſearch.

Mr. Sturges grounded his hope, that the treaty would be permanent, on the glorious manner in which we aſſerted our rights, and the moderation with which our victory had been followed. The northern powers had learnt that the Sound was not impaſſable, and if it were, rendered impaſſable, the paſſage of the Belt would be ſtill open; a paſſage, the diſcovery of which was reſerved for the conſummate ſkill and daring ſpirit of the Britiſh Navy.

Mr. Erſkine, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, highly applauded the treaty. In anſwer to thoſe who cenſured it as a compromiſe, he quoted the words of Mr. Burke. "Almoſt every human benefit is founded on compromiſe, and it is better we ſhould give and take, than be rigid with each

other; for if we could be wise, we would not endeavour to be subtle disputants."

Sir William Scott expressed intire approbation of these sentiments, but made some observations on the censure which seemed to be levelled at privateers, and shewed the utility of that mode of warfare

Mr. Tierney said, the present ministers, when they came into office, pledged themselves to use their honest endeavours to obtain peace, and to use their power with justice and moderation. They had fulfilled their pledge, and he felt himself bound to discharge his, which was to give them an honest support, if, in his conscience, he thought they deserved it. He was sensible of the difficulties under which the country laboured, but he saw no cause for despair. He thought he perceived a ray of Hope, and trusted, that ministers were determined to act upon the only system by which the nation, after its struggles and sacrifices, could be restored to its former splendour and greatness. With these sentiments, he should not only give them no opposition, but contribute every exertion to aid them in the work.

The address was voted, as in the House of Lords, without a division.

The expectation of peace did not supersede the precautions necessary for the security of the nation, if, contrary to all reasonable hope, its definitive ratification should not take place.

Nov. 3. Early in the session, the Chancellor of Exchequer obtained an order, that the proper officers should lay before the House, the estimates for ordinary and extraordinary services in the navy, army, ordnance, and other warlike services, for three months, commencing first of January, 1802.

The naval and military strength which it was judged expedient to retain, consisted of 130,000 seamen, including marines; and for Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney, 58,718 land troops, including 7,175 invalids, and for Ireland 18,660 troops including 661 invalids. The militia, till the peace, were to be 34,500, and it was proposed to offer to the consideration of Parliament, some general regulations respecting that portion of the military force. The naval part of the services was not the subject of any animadversion; but the military estimates were objected to by Mr. Robson, who made an attack on the cavalry, and required Nov. 9. that the estimate should be printed. Failing in this, he renewed his efforts in the Nov. 13. committee, and expressed great disapprobation of the large number of cavalry.

The Secretary at war explained those parts of the estimates which he considered to require elucidation. In the present situation of public affairs, the committee could not, he conceived, consistently with their duty, object to make such provision for the public service, as would effectually secure the country against danger, if, beyond all expectation, the definitive treaty should be broken off. On the other hand, they would feel it equally incumbent on them to look forward to arrangements for reducing the army from its present high complement of numbers, when fortunately

nately the ſtate of the country ſhould admit of a peace eſtabliſhment. This, beſides being moſt reaſonable in itſelf, was the mode adopted in 1783, when, in the firſt inſtance, the full war eſtabliſhment was voted for four months, and ſubſequently, to that, mixed eſtimates were formed for two months, by which one part of the army was kept on the full complement, and the other reduced to the force judged to be ſufficient for the purpoſes of the ſervice during peace. After eſtabliſhing this principle, he noticed the conſiderable increaſe in the eſtimates, which aroſe from the change which had been made in the mode of paying twelve Weſt India regiments; the expence incurred by re-embodying the ſupplementary militia, and the additional charge of the volunteer corps. But while the eſtimates in theſe points of view had increaſed, in other reſpects the public expence had experienced a very conſiderable decreaſe. In the article of clothing the militia there would be a conſiderable diminution of the public expenditure, and every meaſure had been adopted to diminiſh the burdens of the country. By the authority of his Royal Highneſs the Commander in Chief, orders had been iſſued for diſcontinuing the recruiting ſervice, both for the cavalry and infantry, and no time would be loſt in carrying economical regulations into every part of the ſervice, as far as theſe regulations were conſiſtent with the public ſafety.

If any difference of opinion could be ſaid to prevail with reſpect to the amount and payment of the forces, no ſuch difference exiſted in conſidering their paſt ſervices. On the ſecond day of the ſeſſion, Lord Hobart apologized for deferring a motion of thanks to Sir John Hely Hutchinſon, and Admiral Lord Keith and the forces ſerving under them in Egypt, on account of the want of an official diſpatch, after which Earl St. Vincent moved the thanks of the Houſe to Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, for his ſpirited conduct in the action with the United fleets of France and Spain, off Gibraltar. This gallant achievement, he declared, ſurpaſſed every thing he had met with in his reading, or ſervice, and when the news of it arrived, the whole Board, at which he had the honour to preſide, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment to find that Sir James Saumarez, in ſo very ſhort a time after the affair off the Bay of Algeſiras, had been able, with a few ſhips only, and ſome of them diſabled, eſpecially his own, to come up with the enemy, and, with unparalleled bravery, to attack them, and obtain a victory highly honourable to himſelf, and eſſentially conducive to the national glory. Oct. 30.

Lord Nelſon in ſeconding this motion, expreſſed himſelf in terms of warm applauſe on the conduct of the officer in queſtion; but he was not ſurpriſed at the matchleſs intrepidity and ſkill of his gallant friend, when he conſidered the profeſſional ſchool in which he had been bred, viz. under the late Lord Howe, Lord Hood, Lord Bridport, and his noble friend the Earl St. Vincent.

The firſt Lord of the Admiralty then moved ſimilar thanks to Captains Hood and Keates, and the

the other officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the engagement.

This propoſition was ſeconded by the Duke of Clarence, who ſaid, he ſhould have riſen before, but when he ſaw his intimate friend about to riſe, he felt that it did not become him to take the lead of the hero of the Nile. He roſe now as a profeſſional man, to expreſs his intire concurrence with every ſyllable that had fallen from his two noble friends, in commendation of the gallant Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, and to declare the ſatisfaction he felt in the thanks of the Houſe having been moved to thoſe brave officers, Captain Hood and Captain Keates, for their diſtinguiſhed conduct in the two engagements. They were both as deſerving officers as any in his Majeſty's ſervice, but he could ſpeak more particularly to the merit of Captain Keates, having ſerved under him for four years and a half, during a former war, as a midſhipman in the ſame watch. He was perſuaded, whenever the country ſhould be engaged in another war, Captain Keates would eminently diſtinguiſh himſelf.

A ſimilar apology and motion were made in the lower Houſe on the ſame day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the votes in both Houſes were unanimous.

Nov. 12. The thanks to the deliverers of Egypt from the French, were moved in the Houſe of Lords by Lord Hobart, and beſides Sir John Hely Hutchinſon, included by name the ſeveral officers of higheſt rank, and in general terms, the non-commiſſioned officers and privates. After noticing in appropriate terms, the exploits of the conqueror of the Nile, and Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Ralph Abercromby, and his ſucceſſor, Lord Hobart ſaid, he could not ſuffer the opportunity to eſcape him of calling their lordſhips attention to the merit of the Marquis Welleſley, whoſe foreſight and wiſdom had not only been manifeſted in regard of the moſt glorious achievement of the war in India, but had led him to conceive that the moſt beneficial ſervices might be rendered to his country, by his detaching five thouſand of the troops who ſerved at the ſiege of Seringapatam, under the command of one of their moſt gallant generals on that important ſervice, and embarking them by the way of the Red Sea, to co-operate with our army in Egypt. His lordſhip ſaid, ſufficient praiſe could hardly be given to the Marquis Welleſley for this well concerted plan of ſending auxiliary ſupport to our European army in that quarter, becauſe it muſt be evident, that if the French had ſucceeded in their project of obtaining and keeping poſſeſſion of Egypt, their views would have been next directed to India, which might, to ſay the leaſt, have put our territories in that part of the Globe to ſome hazard, inconvenience, and danger.

The motion of Lord Hobart was ſeconded by Lord Nelſon in terms of liberal eulogium; ſupported by Lord Pelham and the Duke of Clarence, and carried without a diſſentient voice.

A ſimilar unanimity prevailed when the ſame acknowledgments were moved to Lord Keith, Rear Admiral Blankett, Sir Richard Bickerton, Sir John Borlaſe Warren,

men, and the Captains and officers, ſeamen and marines acting under them.

On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Houſe of Commons paſſed votes to the ſame effect on the ſame day, and without any diverſity of opinion.

Before the period uſually termed the Chriſtmas Receſs, ſome other buſineſs was begun, which will require notice in ſubſequent chapters, but as it is now neceſſary to advert to ſome events which took place out of parliament, the account of the proceedings of that body will be for a while ſuſpended, obſerving firſt, that on the 14th of December both Houſes adjourned for a week, and on the 21ſt again adjourned for the like period.

CHAP. VIII.

Tranſactions on the Continent of Europe; magnificence of the Marquis Cornwallis; he ſails for Calais; is joyfully received; proceeds to Paris; has an audience of the Firſt Conſul. Feſtival at Paris in celebration of the peace; compliments to Bonaparte; his proclamation; obſervations of French writers on recent tranſactions; Reſpect ſhewn to the Marquis Cornwallis; he departs for Amiens. State of Martinique; of Guadaloupe; inſurrection there; ſquadron diſpatched in 1801; La Croſſe appointed governor; his unfitneſs for the office; his proclamation; his exertions to reſtore order; their effects doubtful; ſentiments of the French government on the ſubject. State of Saint Domingo; the chief command in the hands of Touſſaint L'Ouverture; decline of produce, trade and population; character of Touſſaint; he convokes an aſſembly; who form a conſtitution; its principal articles; Touſſaint accepts the government, and tranſmits the conſtitution to France; ſuppreſſes a dangerous inſurrection; his narrative and proclamation. Senſation occaſioned in France by theſe events; a fleet and army prepared in France; ſpeculations on this ſubject in England; ſtrength of the ſquadron; it ſails from various ports of France. The ſubject mentioned in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville; anſwer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; obſervations in the upper Houſe by the Earl of Carliſle; anſwer of Lord Pelham; Mr. Elliot makes further inquiries in the Houſe of Commons; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury; obſervations of Dr. Laurence; and other members; a Britiſh ſquadron ſails for the Weſt Indies; Mutiny among the ſailors ſuppreſſed; the ringleaders puniſhed.

BEFORE the proceedings in the Britiſh parliament are reſumed, and thoſe events treated on which particularly affected the internal ſtate of the nation, it becomes neceſſary to relate ſome incidents which took place on the continent, and to notice the proceedings of the French government.

Amiens was fixed on as the place for negotiating the definitive treaty of peace; and the Marquis Cornwallis being deputed, as was mentioned in the laſt volume to repreſent the Nov. 7.

Britiſh nation, on this grand occaſion, he diſplayed in the execution of his miſſion, a magnificence which correſponded with the fame of his own character, and the dignity and rank of the kingdom, whoſe honour and intereſts were confided to his hands. His equipage which was ſent before him to Calais, was extremely ſplendid, his train very numerous, and his travelling carriage was eſcorted by eight outriders. Had the curioſity of individuals in England, to witneſs the feſtivities in Paris on the return of peace been accommodated, the attendants on the noble Marquis would have been numerous beyond all example, but a rigid refuſal of paſſports prevented this great evil, and his lordſhip was accompanied only by his ſon Lord Viſcount Broome, his ſon-in-law, Mr. Singleton, Colonels Littlehales and Nightingale, and Mr. Moore of the Secretary of State's office for foreign affairs, brother of the brave general, who was with the army in Egypt.

Nov. 3. The embaſſador ſailed for Calais in a ſtorm of wind and a deluge of rain, which occaſioned many apprehenſions for his ſafety; and it was not till after a paſſage of eighteen hours that he reached the port. Notwithſtanding the late time at which he landed, two hours after midnight, and the unfavourable ſtate of the weather, he was received by the civil and military authorities with all marks of attention and honour; curioſity and joy, no leſs than civility occaſioned theſe obſervances, for the party who eſcorted the Marquis to his inn, was not compoſed of military and municipal officers alone, but of the greater part of the inhabitants of the town.

Againſt his excellency's departure for Paris, Nov. 4. which took place in about twelve hours after his arrival, an eſcort of twenty dragoons was prepared, and relays of horſes were poſted at proper intervals. At one ſtage from the capital, which the Marquis reached on the 7th, he was met by a detachment of honour, compoſed of 150 of the fineſt huſſars of the conſular guard, who attended him to the hotel prepared for his reception. On the following day, he had an audience of Talleyrand, and with the principal perſons of his ſuite, dined at the Houſe of that miniſter.

The day next but one Nov. 9. to the arrival of the Marquis in Paris, had been fixed for the celebration of the rejoicings on the return of peace. On that morning his excellency had a private audience of the Firſt Conſul, and occupied his time till dinner in viewing the repoſitories of literature and art. After dinner, he repaired to the reſidence of the third conſul, where apartments were prepared, in a good ſituation, for him and his ſuite to view the exhibitions of the day. As a mark of peculiar diſtinction, the carriages of Lord Cornwallis were exempted from the general regulation which prohibited the paſſing of all vehicles, for that day, in the principal ſtreets of the city.

The feſtival prepared by the French government, was a mixture of grand deſigns and paltry foppe-ries; a moment of delight was ſucceeded by hours of diſguſt, and, on the whole, the French writers them-

themſelves characterized it as inſupportably wearifome. Its chief effect was, to produce ſome vain glorious boaſts, ſome abject flatteries to Bonaparte, and ſome harſh expreſſions reſpecting the Britiſh nation, which did not portend the return of mutual good-will with the renewal of peace. The day was cloudy and foggy, but at the moment when the ſhow was to begin, the air cleared. This was converted into an occaſion of flattery: "Bonaparte," ſaid one of the French writers, "is not only the favourite, but the maſter of Fortune; the winds obey him; he willed it, and the clouds diſperſed, and the ſun broke forth to illumine his feſtival. One would have ſaid, that the cannon of the republic diſperſed the clouds with the ſame eaſe that they diſperſed the enemy."

The pomp of the day conſiſted in various devices: there were, firſt, a federal and triumphal proceſſion in honour of commerce, in which a flotilla of boats on the Seine was loaded with perſons dreſſed to repreſent the inhabitants of all the countries in Europe; they made a ſhort voyage, landed, and joined the populace, with whom they ſang and danced. Second, a Balloon, adorned with the flags of all the nations reunited by the peace, and carrying four perſons in its boat or car. Third, a concert executed by the conſervatory of muſic. Fourth, a pantomime, diſplaying the horrors of war, in the bombardment and burning of cities, and the return of peace, by the opening of temples dedicated to the goddeſs of concord. Fifth, a fire-work, which was promiſed to be very ſplendid, but diſappointed expectation; and, laſt, a general illumination, and protracted dance, in which the populace were engaged during the whole night. The illumination was principally diſtinguiſhed by a triumphal arch, diſplaying the name of the Firſt Conſul in letters of fire. This was, in courſe, converted into an occaſion for adulation to him, and he publiſhed a proclamation, at once arrogant and inſidious; boaſting the greatneſs and happy effects of his own government, and propoſing to the people, a mode of conduct to render them famous and happy in peace; to make every foreigner, whom curioſity ſhould bring among them, remain attached by the charm of their manners, the ſight of their union and their induſtry, and the attraction of their enjoyments; and afterward depart, more than ever a friend of the French nation, wiſer and better. "If there ſtill remain," the proclamation proceeded, "men tormented by the neceſſity of hating their fellow-citizens, or foured by the memory of their loſſes, immenſe countries lie open to them; there let them adventure in ſearch of wealth, and ſtrive to forget their misfortunes and ſufferings."

This proclamation, as well as many other acts of government, ſhewed the active operation of two great paſſions, ambition and fear. It was evident that the honours of the moment did not ſatisfy Bonaparte, but that, by the perpetual repetition of his great deſervings, the public mind was to be prepared for ſome freſh claims, and it was alſo apparent, that the emigrants, however reduced in fortune, numbers, and

hopes, were ſtill ſufficient to create uneaſineſs in the ruler of France, however triumphant in arms, ſucceſsful in treaty, and inveſted with power already uncontrolled, and daily becoming more permanent and extenſive.

Even among the oſtentatious civilities ſhewn to the Britiſh embaſſador, the writers in the employ of the French government, and acting by its immediate direction, indulged in reflections on recent events, little calculated to tranquillize the ſpirit of animoſity, or cauſe the return of mutual eſteem. In a profeſſed review of the ſtate of the nation, during the ſecond year of the conſulate of Bonaparte, the military and naval operations of the late campaign were deſcribed in a manner moſt flattering to France, and diſadvantageous to England. If their fleets could not deſtroy, they had, at leaſt, occupied thoſe of England; obliged them to exhauſt themſelves in experiments; to ſcatter themſelves on every coaſt; and kept them in purſuit on every ſea. Twice the Engliſh were repulſed at Boulogne; twice had they failed in Egypt, and their ſucceſs at laſt, fell ſtillborn into the public hands, through the alarms occaſioned by the dread of invaſion at London. England was menacing a French colony; France was marching toward the Britiſh metropolis! Peace was however concluded; and, on that occaſion, France teſtified her ſatisfaction, with a calmneſs much more commendable than immoderate tranſports would have been. A tumultuous and noiſy joy diſplays an inability to expreſs, or an habitual diſregard of a regulated decency; it is the joy of ſavages; it is alſo in a civilized country the joy of a populace, obtaining an unexpected bleſſing, a deliverance from a great danger, or the termination of an extenſive miſery. France, indeed, had little to fear from the continuance of a war directed by the firſt military character in Europe, and therefore, the ſatisfaction at the return of peace, was rather warmly felt than clamorouſly expreſſed, and ſuch conduct was worthy of a people beginning to feel their own dignity.

Although publications like theſe, in a country where nothing iſſues from the preſs without deſign, might be aſcribed to a diſpoſition to irritate the Engliſh nation, yet the behaviour obſerved toward the embaſſador was full of ſtudied reſpect. A guard of honour was continually ſtationed at his hotel, and wherever he paſſed in his carriage, the military ſaluted. He received the viſits and compliments of the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals in the French ſervice, and was, in many reſpects, treated with more diſtinction than the envoys of other powers. His ſtay in Paris was however but ſhort: before the end of the month, he quitted that capital, and fixed at Amiens, where he made ſome progreſs in the execution of his miſſion with Joſeph Bonaparte, although the plenipotentiaries from Spain and Holland had not yet arrived. The progreſs of the negotiation of the definitive treaty will be noticed in another page, but in this it may be fit to mention, that the conſtituted authorities at Amiens were profuſe in their attentions and obſervances to the Britiſh embaſſador, while his excellency, no leſs in compli-

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ance with the known humanity of his own diſpoſition, than in honour of the nation he repreſented, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by inceſſant benevolence to many miſerable objects whoſe neceſſities were daily expoſed to his view.

In the interval which preceded the arrangement of the definitive treaty, the projects of France and their effects in various quarters became more diſtinctly unfolded. The hope of effecting a general pacification was frequently ſhaken, but in many inſtances allowances were neceſſarily made for the exertions required from a country which had loſt its commerce and colonies not leſs by the errors of its revolutionary governments, than by the effects of hoſtility ſucceſsfully waged by Great Britain; and in fact, whatever alarm might be occaſioned by the daily diſcloſure of new projects of aggrandiſement on the continent, it was evidently vain for England, after ſo long and unſucceſsful a courſe of experiments, to think of ſubverting or reſtraining the influence of France, unleſs ſome general ſenſe of their true ſituation ſhould inſpire the powers and people of Europe with a deſire to ſhake off a yoke which at once oppreſſed and degraded them. Under theſe conſiderations the Engliſh government permitted, before the ſigning of a definitive treaty, the ſailing of a powerful French ſquadron to the Weſt Indies, and ſaw, not without emotion, although without exertion, ſeveral tranſactions on the continent of a moſt portentous deſcription.

If it was ever intended that France ſhould derive advantage from her ſovereignty over Weſt India colonies, it was indeed become abſolutely neceſſary that no conſiderations of an inferior nature ſhould prevent her from obtaining in them a proper aſcendancy of power. The inſane ſyſtems which had been promulgated during the Revolution, and which the agents of the different forms of government prevailing in France had acted upon in the colonies, had not only deluged the iſlands with blood, but deſtroyed in ſome all remains of ſubordination and ſocial order. In Martinique, protected by an Engliſh governor, and poſſeſſing the advantages of Britiſh commerce, no dangerous commotions had, in late years, prevailed. In 1800, a momentary alarm had been excited by a man of colour named John Kina, but his raſh attempt was ſuppreſſed without injury to the colony, or any conſiderable peril to the perſons or property of the inhabitants. In fact, as the preſent government of France ſtated, in their review of the condition of the republic, publiſhed the 21ſt of November, 1801, when the preliminaries of peace promiſed them the reſtitution of this colony, its tranquillity and proſperity were owing to the abſence of thoſe wild attempts at reform which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief in the other iſlands. Martinique, ſaid the official ſtatement, has preſerved ſlavery, and there ſlavery ſhall be continued. Humanity has paid too dearly for the attempt, to aim again at effecting a new revolution in that country.

In Guadaloupe, the evils of the Revolution had been experienced in their full extent; the liberated ſlaves, headed by thoſe jacobin emiſſaries whom the former governments of France had thought fit to employ, had made themſelves

the ſcourge and terror of all the reſpectable inhabitants, and committed every exceſs which could diſgrace human nature. Although England had long ceaſed to retain poſſeſſion of any part of the iſland, the French derived from it little benefit; the coloured people, and the whites who had ſo long directed their operations, diſdained the rule of the mother country, and it was an early object of the attention of Bonaparte to regain the benefits to be expected from this colony.

For this purpoſe, in April 1801, a ſmall ſquadron was diſpatched from L'Orient, under rear Admiral La Croſſe, which fortunately reached its deſtination unmoleſted. This officer was intruſted with the charge of reſtoring tranquillity, of reſtraining the anarchial power aſſumed by the Jacobins, and encouraging the return of thoſe coloniſts whom terror and perſecution had driven from their homes, and who were deſcribed as emigrants, that their property might be the undiſputed prize of their oppreſſors. The end of the expedition was undoubtedly wiſe and juſt, but the individual ſelected to command it was not qualified to gain the confidence of thoſe who dreaded anarchy, and had ſuffered by perſecution; for he had been one of the moſt violent ſupporters of the ſyſtem he was now employed to overthrow. He had been engaged in 1792, by the deſperate party who ſtyled themſelves "friends of the blacks," to excite inſurrection in the iſlands; he had made in 1793 a circuit of the iſlands, with the red cap, the ſignal of inſurrection, mounted on the maſt head of his frigate, called la Félicité, and he, in conjunction with the people of colour, and the lower order of whites, had planned and executed, in the ſame year, the horrible maſſacres in which neither age, ſex, nor condition was ſpared.

In the firſt act of his preſent adminiſtration, however, no traces of his former character appeared. His proclamation on landing announced to the people that they were, in common with the parent ſtate, to enjoy the benefits guaranteed by the laſt new conſtitution to all Frenchmen; and he declared he was intruſted by government with the authorities of captain general for no purpoſe but that of effecting with greater facility, the welfare of all the inhabitants of the iſland. To fulfil the intentions of government, it would be his duty, he ſaid, to protect and encourage the planter and the merchant, and to rally around him thoſe whom their talents and their virtues recommended to diſtinction. It was time to forget the diviſions occaſioned by the revolution, and the government was ſufficiently ſtrong to do juſtice without fear, to as great an extent as a prudent man would carry ſuch an intention.

But the reſtoration of order after ſo long a ſuſpenſion, was not to be effected by a proclamation. In a few days, he found himſelf obliged to arreſt and ſend to France, for trial, fourteen individuals, many of whom held offices under government, deſcribing them as men whom every thing ſuited, except good order, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the colony. In notifying this act to the inhabitants, he cautioned them againſt interfering with the order intended to be eſtabliſhed by government, for, in any ſuch caſe, he would

would ſummon around him all its friends, and he ſhould find them, not only in the battalions, but in the citizens of every claſs. In his next proclamation, iſſued 29th June, the general was obliged to deliver over to a military commiſſion, eight perſons charged with poiſoning men and cattle, and to declare, that all who ſhould be convicted, either of poiſoning any man or brute animal, or as accomplices in ſuch crime, either by privity, or by preparing poiſons, or by ſelling them to the negroes employed in agriculture, ſhould be tried by a military commiſſion, and, if found guilty, executed within four and twenty hours. Another proclamation was iſſued to encourage the return of thoſe emigrants whom injuſtice and perſecution alone had driven from their homes. They were required, by themſelves, their agents or relations, to addreſs to the captain general a petition, ſtating their circumſtances; if allowed to return, they were to preſent themſelves before the commiſſary general of police, who would take meaſures for their being properly watched, and it was declared, that whatever reſtitutions of property the government might think fit to make, they ſhould not take effect to the prejudice of actual poſſeſſors, but relate to the rights of government alone.

To theſe meaſures were added ſome others, characteriſtic of the nation, ſuch as decrees for the formation of a company of comedians, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſchool of painting. The ſucceſs of La Croſſe's endeavours was much doubted, for although at different times, he baniſhed from Guadaloupe, upward of ſeventy jacobins, yet the number which remained was conſidered very formidable, and the emigrants returned in inconſiderable numbers, and with fear and trembling, dreading the renewal of the ſcenes they had fled to eſcape, and alarmed leſt the pretended kindneſs of government ſhould only be a ſnare for their deſtruction.

The ſtate of this iſland was contemplated with alarm and uncertainty by the French government. In the view of national affairs already referred to, they ſpoke of Guadaloupe in theſe terms. This iſland has preſerved a remnant of cultivation and proſperity; but the ſovereignty of the Republic has been ſubjected to numerous outrages. In 1799, a ſingle agent held the government; he was tranſported by a faction. He was ſucceeded by three agents, of whom two tranſported the third, and elected for themſelves a new colleague. Another died, and then the two who remained inveſted themſelves with all the powers which ſhould have been exerciſed by the three. Under this mutilated and illegal domination, anarchy and deſpotiſm prevailed by turns, and occaſioned violent complaints, both from the coloniſts, and from the allies of France. Government has endeavoured to organize a new adminiſtration: a captain general, a prefect, a commiſſary of juſtice; having ſubordination among themſelves, but ſucceſſors to each other, ſhould neceſſity require it, preſent an union of power; the parties having a ſort of mutual cenſure, but no rivalſhip which can impede the acts, or paralyſe the force of government. It was added, that the perſons ſent home as artiſans of commotion, and inſtigators of tranſportation,

tation, were too dangerous to remain in France, and were therefore to chooſe a reſidence in any of the colonies, Guadaloupe excepted. They were afterwards ſent to Cayenne.

But if the affairs of Guadaloupe were calculated to create uneaſineſs, thoſe of Saint Domingo were of a deſcription ſtill more alarming. This beautiful and ineſtimable colony had been, from the beginning of the Revolution, a prey to all the violences engendered by the intrigues of thoſe intereſted ſpeculators who called themſelves, "friends of the blacks," and of thoſe furious fanatics in revolutionary violence who had acquired power by the overthrow of the former eſtabliſhments. The vaſt diſproportion, between the coloured and white inhabitants of the French part of this iſland, their numbers being ſixteen to one, and the cruelty of the ancient law, which, while it allowed the Africans and their deſcendants to acquire property, ſubjected them, even to the remoteſt poſterity, to many vexatious, unjuſt and degrading diſtinctions, would have been ſufficient to prove to wiſe legiſlators, that if humanity demanded a ſyſtem which ſhould meliorate the condition of the free people of colour, and of the ſlaves, prudence required that the utmoſt caution ſhould be uſed in effecting a change which might be attended with the moſt baleful reſults. Caution in making changes was not, however, a characteriſtic of the French revolution, and in the caſe of the colonies, the omnipotence of a ſingle decree, giving liberty to all ſlaves, and equality to all people of whatever colour, was ſubſtituted for that gravity and wiſdom which would have ſought to prepare thoſe who were to ſuffer, for the gradual effect of alteration, and thoſe who were to gain, for the duties of moderation and temper, in a ſituation ſo new. The conſequence of this injudicious, and in many, intereſted, precipitancy, was a ſeries of maſſacres, burnings, and other horrors and violences, which the jacobin reformers had anticipated, and even while they were tranſacting, had commended, but which, as adverſe to the commercial intereſts of France, the government would gladly have reſtrained. The invaſion of Saint Domingo by the Engliſh, threw into the hands of the people of colour all the power of the colony, for as they were alone by their numbers able to defend it, and were armed for that purpoſe, no force which France could ſend out during the war, could maintain with them a conteſt for authority. Accordingly, after the evacuation of the iſland by the Engliſh in 1798, the command of the military force was in the hands of a negro, named Touſſaint L'Ouverture, who had rendered conſiderable ſervices in defending the colony, and in reſtraining the exceſſes of his followers.

So much had this beautiful iſland ſuffered in the courſe of the revolution, that an officer of the French government made a ſtatement in 1801, proving, that, according to the beſt facts which could be collected, and the moſt exact calculations that could warrantably be made, its annual produce was reduced very far indeed below the level it had attained in 1789. Of ſugar it afforded about an eighth, of coffee, cocoa, and cotton, leſs than a third, of its ancient produce, and indigo was reduced from 8,435, to only 19 quintals. Population

pulation had alſo dreadfully diminiſhed, not from the effect of wars and maſſacres alone, but from the exceſſes characteriſtic of perſons newly delivered from all reſtraint.

Touſſaint L'Ouverture, without education, or any other means of mental improvement, except thoſe which a good underſtanding could glean from obſervation and experience, had gained an aſcendancy over the people he commanded, and exerciſed his authority with an evident view to the general good. He had rivals in ſome of his ſubordinate officers, and was expoſed to perpetual danger from the levity and caprice, as well as the ferocity of his followers. In compariſon with his rivals, he was, however, generally regarded as a man of far ſuperior character; his bravery was undoubted, his conduct on many occaſions extremely judicious, and he was not ſuppoſed to be ſo vindictive and ferocious as they were. The ſtriking weakneſs imputed to him was a too great facility in yielding to whatever meaſures were preſſed on him with perſeverence; and an inability to reſiſt thoſe who urged their ſolicitations or reaſonings upon him, face to face. A conſciouſneſs of this feebleneſs made him anxious to avoid all encounters which could bring it into operation; but theſe ſhifts were not ſufficient to ſupply the want of that firmneſs of mind which would have enabled him to overcome ſo great a failing.

While the war with England diſabled the French government from ſending forces to Saint Domingo, the negro governor reigned without controul, but it does not appear certain that he intended to eſtabliſh a dominion intirely ſeparate from that of France, although he evidently aimed at juriſdiction in a conſiderable degree independent. When informed of the revolution, which diſplaced the government of the directory in France, and the new conſtitution, which eſtabliſhed the power of the conſuls, or rather the firſt conſul, he convoked a central aſſembly of the deputies of departments in Saint Domingo, who held their ſittings at Port Republicain, and framed a conſtitution for their iſland and its dependencies, which however they did not deſignate as an independent republic, but a French colony, making that deſcription the firſt article of their code, declaring it part of the French empire, but governed by ſeparate and peculiar laws.

In many of its proviſions this conſtitution ſhewed that the people of colour had made a more ſagacious uſe of the leſſons of experience than many of the natives of Europe, ſince they proteſted againſt and renounced many of the errors which other framers of new conſtitutions had not the courage or the moderation publicly to diſapprove.

Slavery was declared to be aboliſhed; all perſons born in the country were to be free and Frenchmen; all, of whatſoever colour, were eligible to all offices; and the law, whether puniſhing or protecting was to be the ſame to all. The Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion was to be the only one publicly profeſſed; but prieſts were not, under any pretence, to intermeddle in affairs beyond the limits of their own pariſhes, and by no means to form a ſeparate body in the colony. Marriage was declared to be a purifier of public morals,

rals, and those who practised the virtues it inculcates were intitled to peculiar distinction and protection from government. No divorce was permitted; and children born out of wedlock were to be the objects of particular laws, to be made with a view to the extension and preservation of the social virtues. In favour of liberty, it was ordained that no man should be arrested but by a public officer legally authorized; property was declared sacred and inviolable; the governor was charged, in an especial manner, to protect and favour agriculture and population; and importation of any commodities produced on the soil of the colony was prohibited.

The colony was to have laws, to be proposed by government, and adopted by an assembly of the inhabitants who should meet at regulated intervals, in the centre of the island, under the title of the central assembly of Saint Domingo, and consist of two deputies from each department, who, as a qualification, were to be thirty years of age, and to have resided five years in the colony. One half of this body was to retire every second year, and no individual could be a member six years successively. They were to take an account annually of the receipts and expences of the colony, an abstract of which was to be printed and published, and they were to impose taxes when necessary. Their sittings were not to be public.

The administration of government was confided to the governor, who was to correspond with the government of the mother country, on subjects relative to the interests of the colony. The authority of Toussaint was fixed by these expressions: "The constitution names as governor, Citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture, general in chief of the army of Saint Domingo; and in consideration of the important services rendered by him to the colony, in the most critical circumstances of the revolution, and of his having acted to the satisfaction of a grateful people, the reins of government are confided to him for the term of his glorious life." Future governors were to be established for five years, and the time prolonged, if their administration was found beneficial. Toussaint was to nominate his successor, in a sealed writing, to be broke open after his death. Formal provision was made for electing new governors on subsequent occasions, and the authority of this officer consisted in the ratification and promulgation of laws; in appointing to all employments, civil and military; in a general controul over the police; in a power to propose new laws to the assembly, even to the extent of altering the constitution, if experience should prove it to be necessary; in directing the collection and expenditure of the colonial finances; in controuling and suppressing seditious writings; and in arresting and punishing conspirators against the tranquillity of the colony. His revenue was fixed at 300,000 livres per annum, and the expence of his guard of honour was to be defrayed by the public.

This constitution further ordained the formation of tribunals; regulated the municipal administration for each parish, divided the armed force into regulars who received pay, and were to serve where required, and a militia, who were not to receive pay, nor to serve

ſerve beyond the limits of their own pariſhes. The finances were to be derived from ſix ſources. 1ſt. Duties on exports; 2d. Taxes on houſes, manufactories, agriculture, and ſalted proviſions; 3d. The revenues of freight and poſtage; 4th. Fines and forfeitures; 5th. Salvage on wrecks; and 6th. The lands belonging to the public. A chapter, under the title of general diſpoſitions, affirmed ſeveral uſeful principles; that the houſe of every individual was an inviolable aſylum; that warrants of arreſt ſhould be preciſe and formal, and ſtate the cauſe; that all perſons ſhould have the right of petitioning the conſtituted authorities, and eſpecially the governor, that weights and meaſures ſhould be uniform; that the eſtates of perſons abſent, whatever might be the cauſe, ſhould not be conſidered as confiſcated; and it contained many other juſt and prudent regulations.

It concluded with this equivocal acknowledgment of the authority of the mother country. The general in chief Touſſaint L'Ouverture, is directed to tranſmit this conſtitution to be preſented for the ſanction of the French government; but, convinced of the dangers of our ſituation, of our need of laws, and of the neceſſity for a ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of agriculture, and yielding to the unanimous wiſh of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, in the name of the public welfare, we invite the general in chief to put this conſtitution into immediate effect, throughout the whole extent of the colony.

This act paſſed the aſſembly, the 8th of June, 1801, but the anſwer of the governor was not tranſmitted till the 4th of July following. It expreſſed his approbation of the code, and declared that in conſequence of the invitation of the aſſembly, which he regarded as a command, he would forward it to the French government: as to its immediate execution, the wiſh expreſſed on that point ſhould be complied with, and executed.

Soon after this acceptance of the conſtitution, the negro governor applied himſelf to the taſk of promulgating it, and giving effect to its regulations. He viſited, in perſon, different parts of his government, inſtalling the miniſters of juſtice, according to the new code, aſſiſting at the conſecration of churches, and other public acts, and examining the ſtate of agriculture, and the circumſtances of domeſtic regulation. While he was thus employed, he learned that a revolt was begun in the north, and ſoon found that it was organized on the moſt daring and violent principles. The leaders, in order to invite the negroes to inſurrection, affirmed that Touſſaint, Deſſalines, and Chriſtophe, their principal leaders, had ſigned a contract for ſelling them to the whites, and that a general officer, named Moyſe, had alone refuſed his aſſent to the propoſition. In order to gain the more ready belief, the conſpirators had provided chains; intending to exhibit them as the engines prepared by the new government for ſecuring the perſons of thoſe whom they meant thus to tranſfer. The fermentation produced by this fabricated ſtory was rather violent than extenſive, but it threatened the moſt dreadful reſults, as the cry of the inſurgents was, "death to the whites." The danger was not of

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long duration; for the activity of Deſſalines and Chriſtophe, guided by the prudence, and aided by the exertions of Touſſaint, ſoon reduced the revolters to ſubjection. Moyſe fell into the hands of Touſſaint, who, after ſtating his grounds for ſuſpecting that he was the author of the troubles, diſcharged him, with an order to take proper meaſures for reſtoring tranquillity, but particularly not to inflict death on any one, but ſend all who were apprehended under ſuſpicious circumſtances, to the governor alive. Moyſe, by his conduct in the execution of this order, confirmed the ſuſpicions which exiſted againſt him, and being finally taken in arms, was put to death with twelve others, and many more were confined in priſon to await a further deciſion. So ſpeedy was the ſuppreſſion of this plot, that no miſchief was done; no burning or plundering took place, and only one adherent of government was killed, and that by a ſhot from an ambuſcade.

Of this event Touſſaint himſelf drew up the narrative, and he publiſhed a proclamation, juſtifying his own conduct, and expoſing the ingratitude, obſtinacy, and blindneſs of Moyſe and his party. This paper is characteriſtic of the individual who iſſued, and the men to whom it is addreſſed, being replete with ſtrong expreſſions of kindneſs to the people, who are repeatedly reminded that they are brothers, and that Touſſaint is their common father; and the principles of religion and humanity are not only inculcated but detailed at great length, beginning with the duty of children toward their parents, ſupported by a citation of the commandment; and concluded with a recommendation of induſtry, enforced by the proverb, that idleneſs is the root of all evil. The proclamation ended with a decree, impoſing on general officers the duty of protecting perſons and property, and of enforcing the obſervance of the conſtitution; denouncing penalties againſt thoſe, who, by acts or words, ſhould excite inſurrection or contempt of the laws; and providing many regulations of police, to prevent political incendiaries from wandering from place to place. It alſo ordained, that a ſtrict inquiry ſhould be made into the conduct of all military commanders and officers during the late troubles, in order to puniſh thoſe who had promoted them by their acts, or permitted them to become dangerous through negligence. And, in conſequence of the miſconduct of Moyſe, Touſſaint declared that no more generals of diviſions ſhould be named, till freſh orders were received from the government of France; with an exception, however, in favour of Deſſalines, who, in conſideration of his eminent military ſervices, was to preſerve his rank.

Nov. 25.

At the time when the Marquis Cornwallis reached France, theſe latter tranſactions had not taken place, but the government was appriſed of the formation of the new conſtitution. Such an extraordinary act of power, where they wiſhed, if they did not expect, to find nothing but ſubordination, and a patient reſignation to the will of the mother country, could not be otherwiſe than highly mortifying to the rulers of France. Still it was judged neceſſary to uſe art, and therefore when the conſtitution of Saint Domingo

Domingo was announced to the world, the French government aſſerted, that they had no official notice of it, but their only information was derived from an American newſpaper, and the copy of the conſtitution which they publiſhed in their official paper was, in fact, a bad re-tranſlation from the Engliſh tranſlation which had been publiſhed in America.

The affairs of Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe were, however, viewed with alarm, and in the ſtate of the republic already quoted, the following expreſſions reſpecting thoſe colonies were inſerted. At St. Domingo ſome irregular proceedings have alarmed ſubmiſſion. Under equivocal appearances, government would only perceive ignorance which confounds names and things, which uſurps, when it intends only to obey: but a fleet and an army which are preparing in the ports of Europe will ſoon diſpel all clouds, and the whole iſland of St. Domingo will return under the laws of the Republic. At Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe, it was added, ſlavery exiſts no longer; every one is free, and all ſhall remain ſo. Prudence and time will reintroduce order, and re-eſtabliſh agriculture and induſtry.

In the former part of this extract, the ſtudied and almoſt nonſenſical ambiguity is ſtriking; nor is the diſtinction between the future deſtiny of the people of colour in the iſlands there mentioned, and Martinique, leſs remarkable. Thoſe in Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe were to be free, becauſe they had by their ſtruggles emancipated themſelves; while thoſe in Martinique, in whoſe favour repeated laws ſpoke with equal ſtrength, were to be retained in ſlavery, becauſe the liberation of them would be a dangerous experiment.

The alluſion to a fleet and army which were preparing was of great intereſt to Great Britain. While peace was yet uncertain, it was doubted whether England ſhould relax the exerciſe of thoſe powers which the ſovereignty of the ſea gave her, ſo far as to permit a large French ſquadron, conveying a ſtrong French army, to proceed unmoleſted to the Weſt Indies. On one ſide it was urged, that the conteſt the French were going to maintain, was no leſs for the intereſt of England than that of France; for that the eſtabliſhment of a powerful negro republic with a conſtitution and military force, would be attended with infinite danger to our poſſeſſions. To this it was anſwered, that the intention of Touſſaint to eſtabliſh himſelf in a ſtate of ſeparation and independence, was no where diſtinctly avowed; but that the French force now preparing might be intended merely to join the armed negroes in Saint Domingo, and having the aid of a fleet, irreſiſtible by any force which England could command in that quarter, to fall ſuddenly on our ſettlements, and conquer, or revolutionize all the iſlands. Such ſuppoſitions were treated as abſurd and chimerical, and even granting that Bonaparte might entertain ſome inſidious deſign, it was, in reply, ſtated, with well-founded confidence, that a French ſquadron could, in preſent circumſtances, only be formidable, when its deſtination was unknown, but that any enterprize which fraud or treachery might meditate, would be ſeverely puniſhed, and even prevented, before

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it could have proceeded to any alarming extremity.

Meanwhile, the French expeditions continued to be preſſed forward at the ports of Breſt, Rochefort, and L'Orient. They formed together twenty-two ſhips of the line, moſtly French, and ſome Spaniſh, ſeventeen frigates, and eight corvettes, under the command of Admirals Villaret-Joyeuſe and Latouche-Treville who was to be accompanied by Bonaparte's younger brother Jerome; the Spaniſh diviſion was under the controul of Admiral Gravina. On board theſe ſhips were 25,000 choſen troops, confided to General Le Clerc, who had married Bonaparte's ſiſter Paulina, and took her with him on this great enterprize. The fleet ſailed on the 15th of December, in five ſquadrons; 47 ſhips of war conveying ſo large a land force, together with officers and individuals ſo nearly allied to the Firſt Conſul could not be ſurveyed without great anxiety, and ſome alarm.

Dec. 28. A ſubject of ſuch importance did not eſcape the attention of parliament; and accordingly on a motion for an adjournment, Mr. Thomas Grenville mentioned the report of the ſailing of the armament, as one which overcame his intention to have ſaid no more on the peace, till the definitive treaty ſhould come under conſideration; but if ſuch fleets could ſail from the French harbours where they had been ſo long blockaded, he begged the Houſe to conſider the ſituation in which the country was placed by the negotiations for a definitive treaty. The interval between the ſigning of a preliminary and definitive treaty, he conſidered as a term of honourable truce, in which it was a condition implied, though not poſitively expreſſed, that no military ſtep ſhould be taken, that might be calculated to place one of the powers in a new ſituation of alarm with regard to the other. But it appeared that by this proceeding of France, we were placed in a ſituation of increaſed alarm and danger, and that the French republic would be placed in a more advantageous poſition by the force ſent to the Weſt Indies, ſuppoſing the negotiations for the definitive treaty ſhould not be brought to a concluſion, than ſhe would have been, had that armament remained in port. He did not know that any danger exiſted; he would not ſay that the conſtruction he put on the conduct of France was certainly right, but the circumſtances were ſuch as demanded inquiry. France would derive from the armament additional means of alarm, for if it was of force ſufficient to endanger our Weſt India poſſeſſions, the confideration muſt have material influence in the negotiation for peace. It would, in many poſſible caſes, give the French great advantages, whether the treaty proceeded or was broken off. Had there been an article in the preliminary treaty allowing France to ſend ſuch an armament, he did not believe that the approbation of it by the Houſe would have been ſo general. He ſhould not make any motion, but ſhould be glad to be informed that the rumour he had been ſtating was untrue, or to be convinced by obſervations from miniſters that his fears were unfounded.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after ſome remarks on the irregularity of ſo long a diſſertation

tion on a rumour, anſwered, that, of the ſailing of the ſquadron, government had received no regular information, but of the fact there was no doubt. Whether there had been any communication between the two governments, this was not a time for him to ſtate, nor whether proper meaſures had been taken to ward off any dangers which might aſſail us, but he could aſſure the houſe there was no reaſon to believe that the circumſtance would create any difficulty in the negotiation at Amiens.

Jan. 19, 1802. As the adjournments of parliament were continued from time to time for a conſiderable period; queſtions to miniſters on this ſubject were repeated. In the upper Houſe, the Earl of Carliſle, noticed the ſailing of the armament, while no official paper had paſſed between the courts of Madrid and London, ſo that no one could ſay we were not at war with Spain, or deny that one object of the expedition might be the conqueſt of Trinidad. If its ſole intent was the regulation of the French iſlands and dominions, it might not be conſidered as injurious to our poſſeſſions in that quarter of the globe; but miniſters ought to be convinced that the deſign was legitimate, and he hoped they had taken the neceſſary precautions to guard againſt the poſſibility of ſurprize or danger.

Lord Pelham, although he did not think anſwers to ſuch queſtions productive of much ſatisfaction, inaſmuch as they were always looſely and incorrectly reported to the public; yet, as ſilence might be attended with great inconvenience, he would anſwer, that it was in conſequence of a previous underſtanding between Great Britain and France, that the fleet lately ſailed from Breſt; that that fleet had a peculiar deſtination, and a ſpecific object in view, and it could not be contrary to the intereſt of Great Britain if it ſucceeded in that object. With reſpect to precautions, he would only ſay, that thoſe miniſters muſt be the moſt culpable and criminal imaginable, who could ſuffer ſuch an armament to ſail, and not make ſuch preparations as muſt effectually prevent the power it belonged to from having any ſuperiority over us in that part of the world to which it was deſtined.

In the Houſe of Commons, on the ſame day, Mr. Elliot obſerved that the blacks could not, ſurely, have acquired ſuch a degree of maritime ſtrength, as would require ſo large a fleet to ſubdue them. If miniſters had had a communication with the French government, they ſhould have expreſsly ſtipulated for the amount of ſhipping which ſhould appear to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to eſcort the military force, and then, had more been diſpatched, the French government would have acted with duplicity, and their hoſtile purpoſe would be manifeſt; then miniſters would ſtand acquitted of a want of proper vigilance, a charge to which they were now liable; and not leſs in that point of view, than in their neglect of prompt exertions to counteract the prejudicial effects to be apprehended from this armament.

To theſe obſervations, which were inforced by many others, Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered, that far from agreeing in the remark that during the interval between a preli-

preliminary and definitive treaty no alteration could take place in the relative force of the negotiating countries, he knew that such alterations were always made, unless the contrary was previously stipulated. As to the sailing of the French fleet to the West Indies, it was rather too delicate a subject to enter into in the present state of the negotiation. But thus much he had no difficulty in saying, that that fleet did not sail without a proper previous communication between this country and the government of France. What the nature of that communication was, he trusted the House would not call upon him to explain. However, he could go so far as to state, that nothing appeared in the sailing of that fleet to manifest any hostile intention on the part of France: yet he hoped the House would give ministers credit for having adopted such precautionary measures, as were calculated to avert all danger.

These explanations were not satisfactory to Dr. Laurence, who insisted on the probability of danger from the employment of such a force while a treaty was pending. It was, he contended, disproportioned to its supposed object, which appeared to have little reality. In his communications with the mother country, Toussaint did not pretend to deny the dependency of the colony; his aid-de-camps addressed the agents of the French Republic in America, in such a manner as evinced their dependence, which dependence had been acknowledged in cases that were decided in the Admiralty courts of this country. In this view of the subject, it was impossible to believe that such a force was necessary for the purpose of insuring the obedience of the blacks in St. Domingo to the authority of the mother country. He was much more inclined to apprehend danger to Jamaica from the position of the French and Spanish troops in St. Domingo and Cuba, and recommended that as a test of the sincerity of France, Malta or the Cape might be retained in our possession till their fleet was reduced to that number which would render it consistent with our security.

This conversation was continued some time longer; the Attorney General reprobating the language of Dr. Laurence, as inconsistent with propriety and decency, inasmuch as it accused the government with which we were treating for peace of sinister views, and fraudulent practices. Mr. Jones said, he should cease to be an admirer of peace and plenty, if we were to have peace while hemmed round with an armed force, and plenty without bread. Mr. Markham denied that from Saint Domingo or Cuba an attack could be made on Jamaica, as that island was considerably to windward, and an English fleet could easily prevent their design; and Mr. Tyrwhitt closed the debate by a general censure of the opinions which had been advanced respecting the designs of France, and expressions of firm confidence in the prudence and caution of ministers, and the bravery of British seamen.

The necessity of guarding against any danger which might arise from the sailing of the French squadron was attended with some dis- Dec.

after to the British service.

When

When orders arrived for ships to sail for the West Indies, the crews of some men of war in Bantry Bay shewed a disposition to mutiny, and for some days set their officers at defiance. They alleged that the war being ended, they could not be obliged to quit England, and shewed their determination to resist, by pointing the ships' guns against the quarter deck. By the spirit and judgment of the officers, aided by the marines, this dangerous spirit was happily quelled, and the ringleaders being tried by a court martial, eleven of them suffered death, pursuant to sentence, and one was Jan. 15. punished with 200 lashes. On the day in which justice thus asserted her rights, the ships destined to reinforce the British squadron in the West Indies, sailed for its place of destination; the crews having received a salutary lesson against insubordination from the awful and impressive spectacle of the execution of their comrades. The marines on board two ships of the line, shewed their sense of the transaction, by addressing to their commanding officers, letters expressing their horror at the conduct of those who were engaged in the late mutiny, and their determination to resist such unlawful combinations, and to obey their commanders.

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings of the Cisalpine republic; decree for holding a Consulta at Lyons; formation of that body; Talleyrand goes to Lyons; preparation for the reception of Bonaparte; great homage paid him; deputations attend from various departments; proceedings of the Consulta; mode of forming a constitution for the Cisalpine republic; a committee appointed to prepare lists of public officers; their report; the presidency offered to Bonaparte; a deputation attends him; he accepts the situation; public sitting; his speech; the name Cisalpine, changed for that of Italian republic; outline of the new constitution; observations on it; it is received with general satisfaction; code for regulating ecclesiastical affairs; which is also approved; the Christian Calendar restored in Italy; appointment of Vice-president and Grand Judge; Bonaparte returns to Paris; medal struck at Lyons. Importance of these transactions to Bonaparte; he is received in Paris with great joy; circumstances which before his departure, had given him offence; publication of a civil code; discussion of its contents before they are submitted to the legislative; several parts are rejected both by the tribunate and legislative body; the code withdrawn; anger expressed by Bonaparte; on his return to Paris the opposition members are excluded from the Legislature; several of their adherents banished or otherwise punished. The proceedings at Lyons alarming to Europe; proclamation in vindication of them; observations; Prussia and Austria satisfied. Secret treaty between France and Spain published; changes effected by it; Parma, the Isle of

Elba, and Louiſiana ceded to France; the infant Duke of Parma created King of Etruria; his viſit to Paris; General views of France.

WHILE the Britiſh government thus diſplayed its frankneſs and generoſity in allowing that of France, to take meaſures for tranquilizing and recovering the diſtracted colonies in the Weſt Indies, an extenſive ſcheme of aggrandizement was executing in Europe, calculated to render France more formidable than ever. In the official ſtatement of the French government alluded to in the firſt chapter, it was obſerved, that the Ciſalpine and Ligurian republics, had pauſed in the formation of their eſtabliſhments, and appeared deſirous to refer their circumſtances to the Firſt Conſul. The decree of the Ciſalpine Legiſlature which placed that country in the hands of Bonaparte, was paſſed on the 13th of November, in conſequence of an urgent meſſage from the committee of government. It directed that an extraordinary conſulta ſhould be formed, the members of which ſhould meet at Lyons. The object of their convocation was declared to be, to fix the baſes of all organic laws, to prevent the diſſenſions which might hinder or interrupt the operation of the conſtitution, and to afford the firſt conſul ſuch inſtructions as he might require, in order to nominate, according to a law paſſed about a month before, the members who were to form the three electoral colleges. This body was to be compoſed of the preſent members of the conſulta, thoſe of the committee of government, of an eccleſiaſtical deputation of biſhops and rectors, of a deputation from the courts of juſtice; one from the academic bodies; and one from the departmental adminiſtrations of the principal cities; the national guards, the regular troops, the notables of each department, and the chambers of commerce. The manner of electing theſe deputies was expreſsly marked; one hundred and forty eight of the notables were to be appointed by government, and they were to repair to Lyons by the 12th of December following. They were joined, ſoon after they reached the city, by ſimilar deputations from the Milaneſe, the three legations, the detached ſtates of Venice, the *ci-devant* ſtates of Modena, the Novareſe and the Valteline.

To meet this extraordinary aſſembly, and probably for the purpoſe of giving the deſired impulſe to their proceedings, Talleyrand repaired to Lyons before the Firſt Conſul; he was received with great diſtinction; but the day of his arrival was marked by an accident, which, at ſome periods of the world, would have been conſidered peculiarly ominous. The French miniſter invited to dinner the principal perſons of the Conſulta; the archbiſhop of Milan aged 82 years, but apparently in good health and ſpirits, ſat on his right hand; he had come to Lyons for the expreſs purpoſe of ſeeing Bonaparte, but, as he turned to ſpeak to Talleyrand, he fell back in his chair and expired. Dec. 27.

This event, however ſurprizing, did not damp the eagerneſs of

of the people to pay homage to the First Consul. A corps of honour was formed of 150 young men, cloathed at their own expence, in a smart uniform, having a standard inscribed "the Lyonese to Bonaparte." A large hall of most majestic appearance was prepared for the sitting of the Consulta, and every thing indicated a general desire to receive with distinction, the ruler of the republic, and to render the result of his visit satisfactory.

Jan. 10. When every thing was thus prepared, Bonaparte, accompanied by his wife, and a considerable train of attendants, left Paris at an hour after midnight, and travelling with great speed, reached Lyons in forty-three hours. The corps of honour, uncertain of the time of his arrival, had remained two whole days and nights on the road to Paris; the constituted authorities of Lyons, informed by Talleyrand of his approach, set out in procession to meet him, and although he did not reach the town till eight o'clock at night, long after it was dark, the people, in every direction, burst from their dwellings with shouts of joy; his carriage was preceded by a large body of individuals on horseback, and followed by a great train of carriages, lighted with flambeaux. The city was illuminated with great taste and magnificence, and a triumphal arch decorated with lamps, was made for him to pass under. The palace of the government was prepared for his reception, superbly adorned, and splendidly illuminated; the exterior making a most brilliant appearance. On alighting, Madame Bonaparte obtained her share both of personal congratulation, and popular acclamation; a band of musicians composed of young gentlemen, amateurs, received them with the tune so celebrated in France, "*ou peut-on être mieux qu' au sein de sa famille*;" and on ascending the stair-case, the eyes of the First Consul were saluted with a most flattering and pompous inscription*.

Amid the festivals and sights

* It was in these terms.

The 21st Nivose year 10†
BONAPARTE
the conqueror and pacificator,
arrived in this city, and resided in this palace.
Five hundred Cisalpine deputies, assembled around him,
fixed, under his auspices,
the laws and destinies of their country.
At his appearance,
the arts were awakened in this city;
commerce resumed her ancient splendour;
and the grateful Lyonnese, forming for him
the same wishes their ancestors did for Antoninus,
said:
may his happiness equal his glory!

This was not the only inscription in which the people endeavoured to display their feeling, their taste and their genius. Every public place, and many private mansions exhibited specimens. Some were borrowed; some original; some aspired only to a pun, and others were audaciously profane, but all were in the highest degree flattering.

† Or according to Christian Almanacks, 11th January 1802.

which were prepared to celebrate his visit, the audiencies of ceremony and civility, which he gave to the municipal and military bodies, and the daily care which engaged him of viewing the several establishments of manufactures, commerce, and the arts, the First Consul did not neglect to promote the main object of his journey; the arrangement of the Cisalpine constitution.

Jan. 12. At the first introduction of the Consulta, he received the members by divisions of departments, and the ceremony lasted from noon till seven o'clock in the evening; afterward the ministers, or leading members, transacted business with him or Talleyrand, and he applied actively to public business from day-break till noon. The persons who attended, on these occasions, did not belong to Lyons, or the department in which it is situated, or to the Cisalpine republic alone; the people of Bordeaux solicited the honour of a visit, and received for answer that it was the intention of Bonaparte, at a convenient opportunity, to inspect the various ports of the republic, and particularly the city which addressed him. Deputations also arrived from various other neighbouring departments, introduced by their prefects, and some, notwithstanding the severity of the season, came from a great distance to offer their congratulations.

Meanwhile, the consulta, in separate divisions, held daily sittings, to which no strangers were admitted; deputations were formed to represent the ecclesiastics and the notables, who had frequent audiences of Bonaparte, and the members of the consulta in general were gratified by invitations to dine at his table. Where confidential communication was necessary, Marescalchi, the envoy from the Cisalpine republic to France, was the intermediate agent. Under these circumstances of influence and secrecy, the great body proceeded to business, having before Bonaparte's arrival, formed themselves into five bodies, each of which comprizing the deputies of one of the states or territories interested in the discussion, held its separate meetings, and each was led by two presidents. These persons were; for the Milanese, Melzi and Strigelli; for the ecclesiastical legations, Aldini and Belmonte; for the Venetian provinces Bargnani and Carissimi; for the Modenese, Paradisi and Candrini; and for the Novarrese, and the Valteline, Bernardi and Guicciardi Guido. Before these sections, were laid the outlines of a constitution already adopted by the legislative consulta of Milan. Each of the other divisions formed committees to examine into its principles, and all the articles which were approved, were collected, and presented to the minister for foreign affairs. Each assembly also prepared copious lists of persons fit for public situations, and a general list was formed by a scrutiny, every member giving in, out of the whole number, sixty names of persons whom he preferred, and these lists were sent to Talleyrand to be presented to Bonaparte. The First Consul also required from each section, a list, containing double the number of persons qualified to form the electoral colleges, and then, having con-

convoked the presidents of the several sections, made such observations on, and alterations in the constitution they had prepared, as he judged expedient.

When this task was completed, and nothing remained but to fix on persons fit to fill the highest places in the government, the Consulta held, for the first time, a general meeting, and formed a committee of thirty, whom they directed to prepare lists of double the numbers required to fill the great offices, and to present them to the First Consul.

This committee confined their attention to the choice of a chief magistrate; and by their report, it appeared, that six sittings were spent in discussing this important subject, but the members, whatever course of reasoning they pursued, always arrived at the same conclusion. If in all countries, they observed, men capable of distinguishing themselves in eminent situations were rarely found, it must be owned, that the situation of the Cisalpine republic was calculated to render such men still more scarce. Their recent establishment, their composition, formed as they were of different nations, the impossibility of knowing all the distinguished characters among them, and the fear which the committee, must feel of the effects of contradictory laws, customs, manners, and opinions, would shew the difficulty of finding in their own states, a man capable of abstracting himself from particular systems, so as to conduct the great body of the people out of the sphere of their ancient habits, and give birth to their national spirit, which is the most solid foundation of republics. After some more observations on this difficulty, the report proceeded in these terms. "The Cisalpine republic cannot yet be intirely evacuated by French troops. Many political reasons, and our own interest, destitute as we are yet of national troops, do not permit it at this moment. Besides, the Cisalpine republic, although its existence is secured by the treaties of Tolentino and Luneville, cannot hope by itself, and at its outset, to obtain from the old governments of Europe, that consideration which is necessary to its consolidation, within and without. It requires a support to cause it to be acknowledged by several powers who, as yet, have had no communication with it. She has, therefore, need of a man who, by the ascendency of his name and his power, may place her in that rank which becomes her grandeur. That name and that power we should in vain seek for amongst ourselves. To secure the dignity of the government against the approach of foreign troops, to spread a brilliancy and grandeur over the cradle of the Cisalpine republic, the committee is agreed, that it would be essential to the happiness of the republic, that it should be sustained in its first moments, by a support possessing more strength and dignity than any other. In conformity with those powerful reasons, the committee have concluded, that if, on the one side, the extraordinary consulta should form a wish that the constitution should be proclaimed, and that the colleges, legislators, and other authorities, should be chosen from among the

men, who have appeared to be the moſt worthy of their eſteem, in order to terminate the proviſional government; on the other ſide, it muſt ardently wiſh, that General Bonaparte ſhould honour the Ciſalpine republic, by continuing to govern it, and by aſſociating with the direction of affairs in France, the care of conducting us, ſo long as he ſhall think neceſſary, for the purpoſe of reducing the different parts of our territory to an uniformity of principle, and of cauſing the Ciſalpine republic to be acknowledged by all the powers of Europe.

Jan. 25. The opinion of the committee, expreſſed in this report, was unanimouſly adopted by the Conſulta in a general aſſembly; and they voted by acclamation, amid the loudeſt applauſe, that the report ſhould be preſented to the Firſt Conſul, as the faithful expreſſion of the ſentiments of the extraordinary Conſulta.

By this determination, Bonaparte was gratified with all that his ambition could aſpire to in reſpect to Italy. When the deputation attended him, he acknowledged the neceſſity of a ſpeedy organization of their government, and although the management of the interior might be ſafely confided to the individuals, who had been named, yet the reaſons contained in the report were ſufficient to prove the neceſſity of the meaſure recommended.

Jan. 26. The next day, he repaired to the Hall of the Conſulta to announce his acceptance of the ſituation offered him; to proclaim the conſtitution, and declare the members choſen for the firſt liſt to be formed of public officers. He was preceded by a numerous deputation of the Conſulta, and accompanied by the miniſters of foreign affairs, and the interior, by four counſellors of State, twenty prefects, ſeveral general officers, and the chief municipal officers of the commune of Lyons. He was received with unbounded acclamations, and, being ſeated in a magnificent alcove, pronounced a ſpeech, which was interrupted at every period, by the applauſes of the audience.

"The Ciſalpine republic," he began, "which has exiſted ſince the treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced many viciſſitudes. The firſt efforts made to eſtabliſh it, proved unſucceſsful. Having ſince been invaded by hoſtile armies, its exiſtence did not appear probable, when the French people, for the ſecond time, expelled by force of arms, your enemies from your territory. Since that period, every thing has been attempted to effect your diſmemberment. This has been prevented by the protection of France. You have been recognized at Luneville. Being increaſed by one fifth, you now exiſt more powerful, more conſolidated, and with greater hopes! Compoſed of ſix different nations, you will be united under a conſtitution better adapted than any other to your manners and circumſtances. I have aſſembled you around me at Lyons, as the principal citizens of the Ciſalpine republic. You have given me the neceſſary information, to enable me to fulfil the auguſt taſk which my duty impoſes on me, as firſt magiſtrate of the French people, and as the man who has moſt contributed

tributed to your creation. The ſelections which I have made of perſons to fill the ſituations of your firſt magiſtrates, have been made independently of all idea of party ſpirit or of locality. With reſpect to the office of preſident, I have found no perſon among you who has ſufficient claims on public opinion; who is ſufficiently diveſted of the ſpirit of locality, and who has rendered important ſervices to his country, calculated to intitle him to ſo high a truſt. The procés-verbal which you have tranſmitted to me through your committee of thirty, in which are analyſed, with as much preciſion as truth, the internal and external ſtate of your country, has intereſted me extremely.—I adhere to your wiſh.—I ſhall preſerve as long as circumſtances may require, the great care of ſuperintending your affairs. Amidſt the continual meditations which are required by the poſt I hold, all that may relate to you, and may tend to conſolidate your exiſtence and proſperity, will ever have a place amongſt the deepeſt affections of my ſoul. You have now only local laws; you will require laws of a general nature. You have only local cuſtoms; it is neceſſary you ſhould adopt national manners. Laſtly, you have no army; the powers who may become your enemies have ſtrong ones; but you poſſeſs what will produce them; an abundant population, fertile lands, and the example which has been given to you, on every important occaſion, by the firſt people in Europe.

This oration having been received with unbounded plaudits, the reading of the conſtitution was begun, but as ſoon as the firſt paragraph was pronounced, the aſſembly, by a general impulſe, expreſſed a wiſh, that for the Ciſalpine, the name Italian republic, ſhould be ſubſtituted; the Firſt Conſul yielding to this deſire, the name was thenceforth altered.

The conſtitution was divided into fifteen chapters, containing one-hundred and twenty-eight articles. It declared the Catholic apoſtolic and Roman religion to be that of the State; and that the ſovereignty reſided in the univerſality of Citizens.

The right of citizenſhip was veſted in every perſon born of an Italian father, reſiding within the limits of the republic, and of full age. It was alſo extended to foreigners who poſſeſſed a permanent property in the republic, or a manufacturing or commercial eſtabliſhment, if, after ſeven years reſidence, they ſhould declare their deſire to become citizens. Independently of the qualification of reſidence, naturalization might be granted to thoſe who could ſhew a title to it, either by the poſſeſſion of large property in the republic, or an uncommon ability in any ſcience or art; the mechanic arts not excepted; or who had rendered important ſervices to the republic. All naturalizations previouſly granted, unleſs within the limits of theſe conditions, to be null and void.

The electoral colleges were to be formed, under the titles of *Poſſidenti*, *Dotti*, and *Commercianti*, and they were to be the primitive organs of the national ſovereignty. At the requiſition of government, they were to aſſemble once, at leaſt, in every two years, to fill

vacancies in their own aſſemblies, and to nominate members for the Conſulta of State, the legiſlative body, the tribunals of reviſal and reverſal, and the auditors of the public accounts. Their ſeſſions were not to exceed fifteen days; they were to enter into no diſcuſſions, and vote by ſecret ballot; and government were to preſent liſts of vacant places, with inſtructions reſpecting the nominations to be made. The members of each were to be of the age of thirty years, and appointed for life.

The *Poſſidenti* were to be three-hundred citizens elected from among members of the republic, and holding lands of the annual value of 6000 livres, and each department was to ſend a proportion of one for every thirty thouſand inhabitants; and from its members, it was to elect nine who were to form, what was called the *Cenſura*; its ſittings for ten years were to be at Milan.

The *Dotti* were to be two-hundred citizens choſen from among the moſt celebrated profeſſors of the ſciences, or of the liberal or mechanic arts, or perſons diſtinguiſhed for their learning in eccleſiaſtical matters, their knowledge in ethics, legiſlation, politics or adminiſtration. This aſſembly was to ſupply ſix members to the Cenſura, and to ſit for the next ten years at Bologna.

The *Commercianti* were to be two-hundred of the moſt reſpectable merchants or manufacturers; their powers were ſimilar to thoſe of the Dotti, and they were to ſit, for the next ten years at Breſcia.

The *Cenſura*, compoſed of twenty-one members, was to meet in five days after the ſeſſion of the colleges, and out of liſts to be preſented by them, to fill up certain offices, and nominate to vacancies in the college of Dotti. This body was to be renewed every ſeſſion of the colleges, and to ſit, for the firſt ten years, at Cremona.

The government was intruſted to a preſident, a vice-preſident, a Conſulta of State, miniſters, and a legiſlative council.

The preſident was to remain in office ten years, and to be re-eligible indefinitely; to be the initiator of all laws, and diplomatic negotiations. He was excluſively charged with the executive power, to be exerciſed through the medium of his miniſters; he was to have the nomination of thoſe miniſters, the chiefs of the army, and the generals. His ſalary was half a million of Milaneſe livres.

The vice-preſident was to be appointed by the preſident, and in his abſence to take his place in the *Conſulta* of State, and to repreſent him in all the departments which he ſhould intruſt to him. He was not to be removed during the preſidency of him who appointed him, and in caſe of vacancy in the ſtation of preſident, to fulfil all the duties of that poſt, till the election of a ſucceſſor. His ſalary was 100,000 livres.

The ſecretary of ſtate was to be nominated by the preſident, to have the rank of counſellor, to preſent laws paſſed by the legiſlative body, to the preſident, that the great ſeal might be affixed, and ſome other minor duties.

The conſulta of ſtate was to conſiſt of eight citizens, aged at leaſt forty years, elected for life

by

by the colleges, diſtinguiſhed for ſignal ſervices to the republic. The preſident of the republic was to be preſident of the conſulta, and the miniſter for foreign affairs was to be choſen from its members. It was to examine and give inſtructions relative to diplomatic tranſactions; to authorize the detention of ſtate criminals, remove dangerous perſons from the capital; take ſuch meaſures for the public good, as are not authorized by any exiſting law; and to put out of the conſtitution any department or mutinous corps of the army. In all theſe caſes, the meaſure to be adopted muſt originate in the propoſal of the preſident, and in caſe of his death, this body was to elect a ſucceſſor. Each member was to have a ſalary of 30,000 livres.

All miniſters were to be nominated by the preſident, and diſmiſſed at his pleaſure, except the great national judge, who was, by right, miniſter of juſtice, and only to be removed on reſignation or condemnation. This grand judge had power to ſuſpend other judges, for negligence, or for ſuch conduct as might be conſidered degrading to their ſtation; the government might appoint a ſecretary of ſtate for affairs of juſtice; in which caſe, the grand judge ſhould preſerve his title, but be ſuſpended in his functions.

The legiſlative council was to conſiſt of at leaſt ten citizens aged thirty years or upward; to be nominated by the preſident, and not removed by him till the end of three years; they were to deliberate on the heads of laws which he might propoſe to them, and to have a conſultative voice in all matters about which he might think fit to conſult them. The miniſters might alſo, by direction of the preſident, aſſiſt at the ſittings of this body. Each member was to have 20,000 livres a year.

The legiſlative body was to be compoſed of ſeventy-five members, aged at leaſt thirty, to be choſen from each department, according to its ratio of population; and one half, at the leaſt, taken from the colleges. One third was to be renewed every two years. Fifteen were to be elected as orators, who were to form a committee, to which all projects of laws formed by government were to be tranſmitted for examination; they were then to confer in private with the counſellors of government, and communicate to the whole legiſlative body their vote of approbation or rejection. Afterward, the law was to be diſcuſſed in preſence of the legiſlative body, by two of theſe orators and two counſellors of government, and there, without further debate, to be decided on by ballot. The new law was then to be promulgated in three days, unleſs, in the interval, it was denounced as unconſtitutional, and in that caſe its operation was to be ſuſpended. The orators were to have 9000, the other members 6000 livres per annum.

Tribunals were to be appointed for deciding in caſes of property; in criminal caſes, a ſyſtem was propoſed ſimilar to that of a grand and petty jury; the formation of juries, and the time of their beginning to act, were to be regulated by future laws, but not poſtponed longer than ten years. Judges were to be nominated for life, removable only for

for miſconduct, or ſuch cauſes as would deprive them of the rights of citizenſhip.

This conſtitution alſo provided ſome means of puniſhing thoſe public officers who were guilty of maladminiſtration; and under the title of general diſpoſitions, declared ſome general principles, ſuch as, the liberty of worſhipping in any form; freedom from arreſt without warrant to be made out either before or after the party ſhould be in cuſtody; the eſſential obedience of the army, and its incapacity to deliberate; the protection of the purchaſers of national domains from all diſturbance; the allotment, out of the national domains unſold, of a ſuitable income to the biſhops and their chapters, to ſeminaries, to rectors, and to the ſupport of cathedrals. Finally, it was provided, that, at any time, after three years, the conſulta might ſubmit to the judgment of the colleges, any alteration they might think neceſſary in the conſtitutional code.

Conſidering the experience which ſo many years of continual practice had afforded in the framing of conſtitutions, and that, by the examination of ſo many ſyſtems, the minds of men might be ſuppoſed to be prepared for the inveſtigation of principles of government, it would ſeem aſtoniſhing that ſuch a farrago as this ſhould be offered to men who were complimented as the moſt enlightened of the nation from which they were ſelected, and that ſuch men ſhould receive it, as they actually did, with ſhouts of approbation. Amid the complexity of its forms, and the variety of its proviſions, two principles alone ſeem to have been ſteadily and invariably kept in view; that all power ſhould be veſted in the preſident; and that if any principle of liberty, or ſpirit of independence ſhould be exhibited in any department of the ſtate, or by any body of the people, adequate means for ſuppreſſing them might be inſtantly furniſhed, without extending a ſearch beyond the letter of the conſtitutional code. But whether from conviction, fear, or ſecret perſuaſion, no individual preſent offered the leaſt objection to any article propoſed, and all ſeemed ſatisfied with a ſpeech made by a deputy named Mariani, who undertook to explain the ſpirit of the conſtitution, to ſhew how conformable it was to the wiſhes and intereſts of every diviſion of the Italian republic, and how much it would conduce to the abolition of local prejudices, and the introduction of a national ſpirit.

In the ſame ſitting, the firſt claſs of organic laws for giving effect to this conſtitution was preſented, under the title of a code for regulation of eccleſiaſtical affairs. The biſhops were to be nominated by government, and inſtituted by the pope, and rectors were to be elected and inſtituted by the biſhops with the conſent of government. The biſhops might alſo ſend coadjutors into pariſhes, and appoint additional eccleſiaſtics, in proportion to the wants of the people. Proviſion was made for the expence of catholic and other churches, ſeminaries for education of the clergy, conſervatories, hoſpitals, and other pious foundations; they were to be made under the care of an adminiſtrative council, of which the biſhop ſhould neceſſarily be the head; and no future alienation or ſequeſtration of eccleſiaſtical property was to be allowed. Under the title of

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eſtabliſhments of diſcipline, ſome more exceptionable regulations were made. The biſhops were inveſted with power to ſilence or ſuſpend preachers, or enjoin penances for preaching doctrines of which they ſhould not approve, and occaſionally to deliver them over to the ſecular arm; but in ordinary criminal caſes, the ſentence againſt an eccleſiaſtic could not be put in execution without notification to the biſhop, who might do whatever was authorized by the canon law in ſimilar caſes. An equivocal regulation was made in favour of marriage in theſe terms. A clergyman cannot be forced by any authority to adminiſter the ſacrament of marriage, to any perſon bound by a canonical impediment.

This code was recommended in a ſpeech by the archbiſhop of Ravenna, who, declaring that it was fully approved by the clergy, invited all members of that body to uſe their influence with the people to impreſs on their minds the reſpect due to property, and attach them to the new ſocial compact which had juſt been proclaimed. The Firſt Conſul expreſſed great approbation of theſe ſentiments, and made a ſpeech to prove how neceſſary it was that the people ſhould be attached to the principles of their religion, and the clergy to thoſe adopted by the republic. *

The liſt of members of the colleges, and other bodies created by the new conſtitution was then read and ſanctioned by general applauſe. Bonaparte was declared preſident, Melzi vice preſident, Guicciardi ſecretary of ſtate, and Spanocchi grand judge. The preſident embraced the vice preſident and ſeated him at his ſide, and the aſſembly broke up after a ſpeech from Prina, imploring that the hand which had created and defended, would continue to guide the Italian republic.

This great affair being thus ſatisfactorily concluded, Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January. Beſides other monuments in commemoration of this viſit, the people of Lyons, in celebration of it, ſtruck a medal with the following inſcription; *Auſpice Bonaparte*, inter gallos, gallorum nepotes, Ciſalpini, antiquum fœdus renovantes, gentem ſuam legibus condiderunt. Lugduni, Anno x. reip. gal.

The flattering circumſtances which attended the formation of the new conſtitution for the Italian Republic, were not leſs gratifying to the ambition of Bonaparte, than uſeful to him in confirming and extending his power. Before his departure from Paris, his authority had received ſome ſhocks which his impatient temper could ill brook, and therefore, it was not a little ſatisfactory to him to be enabled to ſhew the people of the capital, that the ſecond city in France knew how to receive him with due homage and acclamation, and that other cities could ſolicit his preſence as an honour, while the repreſentatives of a whole nation proſtrated before him, tendered to his hand an authority as great as the moſt deſpotic ſovereign could require. The term for which it was granted, with a poſſibility of indefinite extenſion, and the recogni-

* It may be mentioned as one effect of the new eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, that in a few days (17th Feb.) the Italians aboliſhed the French atheiſtical calendar, and reſtored the Chriſtian era.

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tion of Bonaparte as the sole governor of the Italian republic, were examples which were not intended to remain unserviceable, but certainly, at a fit moment, to be brought forward for imitation in France. The return of the First Consul to Paris was hailed with every demonstration of joy and pride; the people, ever alive to impressions which convey notions of glory, participated in the honours conferred on their chief, thoughtless of the subjection into which they and their posterity were like to be plunged; while Bonaparte, from the time of his return, assumed a greater appearance of sovereignty, exacted on all hands more punctilious observances, and, environing himself with more solemnity of state, repressed all approach which appeared like familiarity.

The subject which before his departure from Paris, had given offence to Bonaparte, was the stubborn opposition made in the legislative body, to a civil code, prepared under the auspices of government, by the most celebrated jurists in France, and submitted to the consideration of the public with a very long introductory discourse, avowedly composed by Portalis, and Tronchet. This code being the fifth or sixth which had been presented since the year 1792, was immediately attacked with great vigour, and its opponents proved that it was neither consistent with the hopes and wants of man in a state of nature, nor with the rational and limited desires which should be consulted in a state of society. Its systems, provisions, regulations, and even its style were unsparingly censured, and it had remained six months exposed to this severe critical trial, before it was discussed in the legislative body. Nov. 23. 1801. The first division of the code treated on the publication, and the effects of the application of laws, and its intent was to declare that the operation of each enactment should begin within a certain number of days after its promulgation by the First Consul, and to make the judges responsible for their conduct to him. It was submitted to the discussion of the tribunate, where each article was examined and criticized with great severity; the members who opposed them insisting that the system proposed was more fit for a monarchical than a republican government; their arguments prevailed, and the law was rejected by 65 to 13. According to the forms of the constitution, the tribunate deputed three of their members, Andrieux, Favard and Thiesse to contend against the law in the legislative body; they were opposed by three others on behalf of government; Portalis who made a long and subtle speech, and was supported by Boulay de la Meurthe and Berlier; their arguments could not, however, procure a decision in favour of the code; which was rejected by a very small majority; 142 to 139.

Another chapter of this code contained regulations calculated to revive the oppressive and unjust claim in use under the old government, called *droit d'Aubaine*, and some rights which were in use with respect to persons civilly dead; this too, was rejected in the tribunate by 61 to 31; and Thiessé, Boissy d'Anglas and Faure were appointed to argue against it before the legislative body. The part of the code which related to birth, marriage, death

death, and circumſtances connected with them, was carried in the tribunate by 64 to 26, and Ducheſne, Simeon and Duveyrier were employed to recommend it to the other branch of the legiſlature.

Before the diſcuſſion could be entered into, the code was withdrawn, by an angry meſſage from the Firſt Conſul. It is with regret, it ſaid, that the government finds itſelf obliged to poſtpone the laws ſo anxiouſly expected by the nation; but it is evident that the time is not yet arrived, when diſcuſſions on ſuch important ſubjects can be conducted with proper temper and unity of intention. The want of dignity apparent in this captious meſſage was the more ſurpriſing as it indicated fear and reſentment, when no individual who had entered into the diſcuſſions was of ſufficient importance to juſtify the diſplay of either. Sieyes and François de Neufchateau, Chazal, Daunou, Garat, Andrieux, Chenier, Ginguené, Benjamin Conſtant, and the other individuals already mentioned, were the chief favoured opponents, and devoid as they were of character, unſupported by any conſiderable portion of the people, or any eminent military leader, their influence was in no reſpect formidable. Againſt them, however, Bonaparte let looſe the government journals in an angry invective publiſhed by Rædeter; and perſonally inſulted ſeveral members of the oppoſition party who appeared at his levee. As theſe men had alſo been underſtood to utter ſentiments hoſtile to the projected journey to Lyons, the ſplendour of that progreſs, and its proſperity were uſeful to the Firſt Conſul, not only in dazzling the eyes of the people, and preparing them to beſtow on him honours and authorities equal to thoſe he enjoyed as preſident of the Italian Republic, but in enabling him to get rid of the oppoſition party in the two councils. Soon after his return to Paris, the time fixed by the conſtitution for the change of one fifth of both the legiſlative bodies arrived. Means were eaſily found to procure the removal of the members moſt obnoxious to Bonaparte, and he followed the meaſure by ſilencing, or impoſing reſtrictions on the journals which had eſpouſed their cauſe, and baniſhing ſeveral literary and other perſons from the capital to diſtant places, where they were to be carefully watched.

It might, however, be apprehended that the reſt of Europe would not regard with indifference the mighty acceſſion of power which France acquired by the Conſulta at Lyons. Her influence was not indeed extended, for over the Ciſalpine republic ſhe already held an uncontrouled ſway; but the difference between influence and avowed, legalized power, might have created ſome alarms, and would, at ſome periods, have given riſe to inimical diſcuſſions. It was obſerved too, and with conſiderable juſtice, that the new name Italian Republic, ſeemed to point to future aggrandizements, and that no part of the region of Italy would, in proceſs of time, be excluded from a participation in the laws of the republic, or exempt from the predominance of France.

Not unconſcious of the foundation of ſuch ſuſpicions, the leaders of the Italian Republic, on forming their new conſtitution, iſſued a proclamation, the chief paragraphs of which Feb. 6.

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were afterward given as official in the French government paper, juſtifying the change which had taken place, and defending the ruler of France from the preſumed imputation of over-weening ambition. The new form of government was alleged to be beſt calculated for the ſecurity and proſperity of the Italian Republic, and alarm againſt the ambition of France was combated by very curious reaſoning. A compariſon was inſtituted between the influence which that power poſſeſſed in 1788, and that which ſhe had at the concluſion of the treaty of Luneville. In 1788 ſhe had conſiderable influence over Venice, becauſe ſhe was by her geographical poſition, the enemy of Auſtria; over the king of Naples, on account of the family compact; over the king of Sardinia—for he was bound to France by his inability to defend Savoy and Nice, by double alliances, and ſtill more, by the pretenſions of Auſtria to Montferrat. At the preſent period, Venice belonged to the emperor: with regard to Naples, the family compact no longer exiſted. The Italian republic muſt, therefore, compenſate both of theſe loſſes; but France had made no addition to her influence. In the ſyſtem of Germany, France had loſt the advantages which ſhe had formerly derived from her alliance with Poland, Turkey, and Sweden. Poland had been partitioned, ſo that not only a power friendly to France was ſtruck out of the ſyſtem of Europe, but her territories had gone to aggrandize thoſe whoſe augmented influence it would have been politic to watch with jealouſy, and even by all means to prevent. Turkey, a prey to civil war, was juſt able to retain the conſiſtence neceſſary to continue her exiſtence; ſhe could no longer have any weight in the affairs of Germany; nor could the deſcendants of Charles XII. be ſaid, ſince Ruſſia had made ſuch vaſt acquiſitions in Poland, to poſſeſs any power beyond that of maintaining the equilibrium of the Baltic. The advantage gained by France in the four departments of the Rhine, did not compenſate for the acceſſions which her neighbours had acquired in Poland. She had rather loſt than gained in the equilibrium of Germany, and if ſhe had aſſented to the partition of Poland, without obtaining Belgium, or the four departments of the Rhine, ſhe would have ceaſed to be, what ſhe always had been, a power of the firſt rank. England too had gained the territories of Tippoo Saib. "No nation," it was ſaid, "ever ſhewed ſo much moderation as France. All that ſhe conquered in war, ſhe has reſtored at peace. But it is proper ſhe ſhould reſtrict herſelf by certain limits, beyond which the government muſt fall into weakneſs. Equilibrium in the affairs of Germany, equilibrium in the affairs of Italy—ſuch is the ſyſtem of France: ſhe does not deſire to give the law, but ſhe does not chooſe to receive it. On conſidering the political ſituation of Europe in every point of view, we ſee that France has gained no new acceſſion of influence: ſhe has only maintained her former rank."

The ſenſe of this paper is reducible to one general propoſition. In every treaty which France had entered into, the circumſtances here alluded to had been made the motive of ſome demand on the part of the republic, and of ſome conceſſion on the

the other ſide, and thoſe demands were conſidered final, and the conceſſions ſatisfactory; but now, after ſo many treaties of peace, a new acceſſion of power is coveted; it is made without appearing to conſult the potentates moſt intereſted in its effect, and theſe circumſtances are to be again brought forward in juſtification; they might be made to ſerve the ſame purpoſe as long as Europe had any thing to loſe or France any thing to deſire.

March 6. The governments who might have been expected to feel injured or affronted on the occaſion, were far from teſtifying any ſuch ſentiments. The king of Pruſſia addreſſed to Bonaparte March 9. his congratulations; and Count Cobentzel, on the part of the emperor of Germany, declared that embaſſadors would be received from, and appointed to, the new republic by the cabinet of Vienna, and that his imperial majeſty took great intereſt in the organization of the Italian republic. Thus ſanctioned, and having nothing to apprehend from any other power, Bonaparte might deem the ſucceſs of his preſent meaſure complete.

The extent of the ambition of France was further diſcloſed at the time when the conſtitution of the Italian republic was in a train of being formed, by the publication of a ſecret treaty which had been concluded the 21ſt March, 1801, between France and Spain. In this compact it was ſtipulated that the reigning Duke of Parma ſhould renounce for ever, for himſelf and his heirs, the Duchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French republic, and his Catholic Majeſty ſhould guarantee this renunciation. The Grand Dutchy of Tuſcany, which the Grand Duke in the ſame manner renounced equally, and the ceſſion of which was guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, to be given to the ſon of the Duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the countries ceded by the infant his father, and in conſequence of another treaty concluded formerly between his Catholic Majeſty, and the French republic. The Prince of Parma was to go to Florence, where he ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign of all the poſſeſſions belonging to the Grand Dutchy, and the Firſt Conſul was to exert his authority, in order that theſe acts might be peaceably executed.

The Prince of Parma ſhould be acknowledged king, with all the honour due to his rank. The Firſt Conſul was to acknowledge him, and cauſe him to be ſo conſidered by the other powers of Europe.

The part of the iſle of Elba, belonging to Tuſcany, and dependent upon that ſtate, was to remain to the French republic; the Firſt Conſul giving as an indemnity to the King of Tuſcany, the country of Piombino, which belonged to the King of Naples.

This treaty was acknowledged to originate from one concluded between the Firſt Conſul and his Catholic Majeſty, by which the king ceded to France the poſſeſſion of Louiſiana; and the contracting parties agreed to put in execution the articles of the former treaty, and to uſe their reſpective rights till the ſettlement of differences mentioned in it.

As the new ſovereign to be eſtabliſhed in Tuſcany was of the family of Spain, thoſe eſtates were to remain for

for ever united to Spain, and an infant of that family was to be called to that throne, in case that the present king or his children should have no posterity: in this case, the sons of the reigning family of Spain should succeed to these estates; and the First Consul and his Catholic Majesty agreed to procure for the reigning Duke of Parma, in consideration of this renunciation in favour of his son, proportionable indemnities, either in possessions or revenues.

While the terms of this treaty were yet undisclosed, the infant Duke of Parma, by virtue of the fifth article of the peace of Luneville, had in July 1801, taken possession of his allotted dominions in Tuscany, and assumed the title of King of Etruria. In this act, he was protected by a body of French troops under General Murat, and his authority was speedily recognized by the King of Prussia. A king of the race of Bourbon, created by the authority of the republic which had murdered so many of that family, and the rulers of which had so often sworn to hate and exterminate royalty, was contemplated by many with surprize, as a portentous prodigy. Before he took possession, the young king, who was only twenty-one years of age, and a very fine person, made a journey to Paris, where he was received by the First Consul with great distinction, and regarded by the people with uncommon interest. His stay was celebrated by brilliant fêtes and exhibitions of every kind, and as his departure was somewhat sudden, it was surmised that ill consequences were apprehended from the ardour with which the people displayed their attachment to an individual of the family of their ancient rulers.

The treaty now brought to light, proved that Bonaparte had not allowed the creation of this new sovereign, without exacting an ample recompence. Parma, Elba, and Louisiana were to be obtained in immediate possession; these connected with the new arrangements in Italy, with the cessions demanded from Portugal, and with other circumstances which time rapidly brought to view, shewed that the ambition of France was not only insatiable but ever active, and gave room to apprehend, that, by a pacific campaign she would gain more territory and influence, than years of war had been able to produce.

CHAP. X.

Frequent adjournments of Parliament; conversation on the subject in the House of Commons; and in the House of Lords. Sir John Mitford, the Speaker, created a peer, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; Eulogy on him by the Master of the Rolls; who proposes as his successor Mr. Charles Abbott; seconded by Mr. Baker; Mr. Sheridan proposes Mr. Charles Dundas; who is supported by Lord George Cavendish and Mr. Courtenay, but declines the nomination; Mr. Abbott chosen. General anxiety respecting the definitive treaty; observations of Mr. Elliott on the subject in a discussion on the army estimates; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Mr. Cornwallis, Mr. Windham, Mr. Baker, Lord Castlereagh, Dr. Laurence and the Attorney-

torney General. Observations of the Earl of Carliſle on the ſame ſubject; anſwer of Lord Pelham. Progreſs of the definitive treaty; delays at Amiens; propoſitions reſpecting Malta; propoſitions on other ſubjects introduced and withdrawn by France; on ſalutes at ſea; on ſequeſtered property; on Indian poſſeſſions; on fiſheries; on indemnities to the Prince of Orange; on the Ottoman Porte; lofty tone aſſumed by France; naval preparations in England; the treaty concluded; principal points in which it differed from the preliminaries; priſoners; Portugal, and Malta; the peace proclaimed in the Britiſh metropolis with great demonſtrations of ſatisfaction.

DURING a great portion of the time employed in theſe tranſactions, the proceedings in parliament were ſuſpended by frequent adjournments, which generally took place every week from the 14th of December to the 2d of February.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not make theſe interruptions in the courſe of buſineſs without apology, although he declined entering into any explanations of the cauſe. He regretted the inconveniencies to which members were expoſed, and lamented that a ſenſe of the public duty prevented him from diſcloſing the reaſons on which theſe frequent motions were founded; but truſted the Houſe would, under the preſent circumſtances of the country, continue to act with their accuſtomed wiſdom and diſcretion. He had expected by this time, to have made a communication to parliament, but circumſtances which he could not explain had interfered with his expectation. 13th Jan.

Mr. T. Jones aſſerted that theſe adjournments excited great alarm in the public mind, and whatever the motives might be, they ought not longer to be withheld. Whatever they might be, they were made worſe by rumour, and a full communication was neceſſary, to prevent the circulation of exaggerated or falſe reports, which kept the public feeling in a ſtate of the greateſt uneaſineſs and agitation. It was a ſingular circumſtance, that during the time of theſe ſhort adjournments in this country, the legiſlative body in France in like manner was adjourned; the chief conſul, indeed, had informed them, by a meſſage, that they did not diſcover ſufficient unity of intention, but, thank God, here was no ſuch cauſe of adjournment.

To theſe remarks no anſwer was made, but the motion was acceded to without diviſion. In the following week, however, the Earl of Carliſle, noticing the various rumours which were circulated by thoſe who attempted to account for theſe ſuſpenſions, ſaid, ſuch extraordinary and unuſual conduct in miniſters, called for explanation, not to him and the Houſe merely, but to ſatisfy the public mind, which muſt be rendered uneaſy and full of anxious ſufferance. Similar obſervations were made, but with ſomewhat greater force on the ſame day in the lower Houſe, but the adjournment was agreed to. 19th Jan.

Soon after the re-aſſembling of Parliament, it became neceſſary for the Houſe of Commons to elect a new Speaker; Sir John Mitford, who had filled the chair, being raiſed to the peerage by the title of Lord Redeſdale, and called to the dignity 9th Feb.

of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, vacant by the death of John Earl of Clare.

10th. The reſignation of the ſpeaker being notified to the Houſe by a letter, the Maſter of the Rolls, on the following day, roſe to nominate a ſucceſſor; but, before he proceeded to enumerate the talents and the qualities which characterized the perſon whom it was his intention to propoſe for the choice of the Houſe, he could not paſs over in ſilence thoſe ſuper-eminent endowments which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the learned gentleman who was now retiring from that high ſtation. To pay due and adequate praiſe to ſuch endowments was no light attempt: for during the ſhort period which his learned friend had filled the chair, was it poſſible to evince a knowledge more various, and at the ſame time ſo profound; an information more extenſive, and, at the ſame time, ſo accurate; a more ardent and enlightened love of the conſtitution, and, at the ſame time, ſo punctilious a regard to all the forms of the Houſe, and all the rules of its proceedings? Acknowledging the difficulty of finding a fit ſucceſſor, the Maſter of the Rolls yet hoped the Houſe would not long fluctuate in indeciſion, if their attention was drawn to a gentleman who not only poſſeſſed an enlarged knowledge of law and of the conſtitution, but alſo a moſt minute and intimate acquaintance with parliamentary hiſtory, and thoſe records which treaſure up the rules by which their proceedings were daily guided; a gentleman, who to all thoſe uſeful talents added perſevering fortitude, unblemiſhed integrity, a high ſenſe of honour, and every other qualification that could eminently fit him for the important and dignified ſtation then vacant. Such a perſon, he ſaid, was the Right Honourable Charles Abbott. All had witneſſed the extent and variety of his knowledge, and moſt were, no doubt, ready to acknowledge his deſerts; his parliamentary life having been one unremitted ſeries of uſeful exertions, always employed in eſtabliſhing beneficial arrangements, and laying the foundation of others, from which the country might reap new and equal advantages.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Baker, who, after praiſing the great attention Mr. Abbott had beſtowed on ſubjects the moſt intricate and laborious, added, that he was at a time of life, which permitted the Houſe to hope for his long continuance in office, a circumſtance which ſhould not be overlooked, as frequent changes were not only unſuitable to the dignity of the Houſe, but alſo obſtructed the progreſs of public buſineſs.

Mr. Sheridan, while he allowed the juſtice of the praiſe beſtowed on the gentleman propoſed, differed from thoſe who conſidered the profeſſion of the law, the beſt ſource from which a Speaker of the Houſe of Commons could be derived. It was not a practice warranted by ancient cuſtom, or proper to be purſued as a rule. He conſidered the gentlemen of the law leſs independent than the country gentlemen, becauſe they held places under the crown from which they were removable at pleaſure. The Houſe ſhould be peculiarly jealous in the choice of the perſon who ſhould regulate their proceedings, and keep that

that choice as clear as poſſible from the nomination of miniſters. Mr. Abbott's time of life might be a ſtrong recommendation, if it was certain he ſhould be continued in office; but experience had ſhewn that it was not death alone that removed gentlemen from this ſtation: the very profeſſion of the law, which was now deemed ſo eſſential a quality for the office, was often the reaſon of the frequency of change. On the age of the perſon no great ſtreſs could therefore be laid, more eſpecially as miniſters ſeemed as jealous of permitting a Speaker to remain long in the chair, as pariſh officers were anxious to remove vagrants, leſt they ſhould endeavour to acquire a ſettlement. After ſome further obſervations, Mr. Sheridan nominated Mr. Charles Dundas.

Lord George Cavendiſh having ſeconded this propoſition, Mr. Courteney, in his uſual facetious vein, while he concurred in the applauſe of the late Speaker, ſaid he had no doubt but that the learned gentleman who was propoſed to ſucceed him, would exert very great, or perhaps ſimilar and equal abilities, when once placed in office. His occult qualities might then burſt forth in all their luſtre, though no perſon before had ſuſpected their exiſtence. Yet with all theſe qualities to recommend him, he could not help thinking that there was another gentleman in the Houſe, (Mr. Addington) who poſſeſſed ſtill more appropriate talents for the office, and whom the Houſe would no doubt rejoice to ſee again in the chair. But it might be objected, that that gentleman already filled a very high political ſituation, from which he could not be removed without imminent danger to the public ſervice. This objection was however eaſily to be got over, for the gentleman now propoſed for the chair would, with perhaps equal ability, fill that high miniſterial office; for great offices have a wonderful power in bringing out latent talents, which even the poſſeſſors did not dream that they themſelves poſſeſſed, till thus placed in an eminent ſtation. There was a certain friction connected with a great place, that elicited a blaze of abilities equal, if not ſuperior, to the office itſelf.

Mr. Abbott having, in a modeſt ſpeech, proffered his humble ſervices to the Houſe, ſhould their choice fall on him, Mr. Charles Dundas requeſted his friends to withdraw their motion in his favour, and, after ſome obſervations from ſome of the Iriſh and ſome Engliſh members, Mr. Abbott was conducted to the chair without a diviſion.

While the general attention of the Houſe was engaged by the ordinary buſineſs, of which ſome account will be given in a ſubſequent page, frequent anxiety was expreſſed reſpecting the ſlow progreſs of the negotiation of the definitive treaty with France. Public converſation and the public prints daily preſented various reports and ſpeculations on a delay which ſeemed moſt extraordinary and ſuſpicious, and in both Houſes of Parliament, it was frequently adverted to in terms of indignation and reproach.

In a debate on the army eſtimates, which March 3d the Secretary at War propoſed to continue for two months longer on the footing already referred to the Committe of Supply, Mr. Eliott

obſerved, that the vote ought to be to a much larger extent; the country had been in an actual ſtate of war, ever ſince the concluſion of the preliminaries of peace. It had been the invariable and wiſe policy of the Britiſh government, in the regulation of its military and maritime eſtabliſhments, to adapt them to the ſituation of affairs on the continent; to extend or limit them according to the degree of danger with which our own country, or its foreign poſſeſſions, were threatened by the hoſtile views of the other powers of Europe. His opinion of the impolicy of the treaty of peace not only remained unaltered, but was ſtrengthened and confirmed by every day's experience. He ſtill thought, that when the Noble Lord put his ſignature to the preliminary treaty, he affixed it to an inſtrument of great national calamity; to a document which would go down to poſterity as the commencement of the decline of the fortunes, power, and independence of the kingdom. Many gentlemen acquieſced in the treaty, ſuppoſing the Ciſalpine Republic would have remained a ſeparate and independent ſtate. Had the French Government refrained from ambitiouſly and unjuſtly violating the independence of the Ciſalpine Republic, that country, from its poſition, would have formed a ſecure barrier between France and Auſtria, and the ſtates of the Emperor of Germany on the one hand, and France and the ſovereign powers of Italy on the other. But we had the mortification of experiencing, during the negotiation, a ſort of contumelious neglect, and diſregard on the part of France, as to the intereſts of other powers, which England had never till now, been in the habit of ſubmitting to. We had ſeen the Firſt Conſul of France, in the interval between a preliminary and definitive treaty, proceeding to Lyons, and after paſſing a few days in exhibiting a ſcene of farcical pageantry, in conjunction with the conſtituted authorities aſſembled to meet him, at length conclude his pompous mockery of the rights of nations, by diſcovering that there was no perſon in the whole habitable globe who was capable of managing the affairs of the Ciſalpine Republic, and he therefore was induced to take upon himſelf the important truſt. He confeſſed he was not a little alarmed at the mode of reaſoning adopted by the Firſt Conſul; he feared, if we perſevered in our ſubmiſſion to ſuch encroachments, it might occur to him that the ſame mode of argument would apply to this country; and he might endeavour to place Great Britain under his protection. He had returned to Paris, leaving to the Ciſalpine Republic the name of an independent ſtate, but he had as completely annexed it to France as it was poſſible: he had made it a cantonment for French ſoldiers, and thus extended the frontiers of France along the greater part of Germany. He had alſo, by a moſt dextrous diplomatic manœuvre, poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſle of Elba, which had been expreſsly guaranteed to the grand Duke of Tuſcany. Mr. Eliott ſaid, he muſt now call the attention of the committee to a treaty concluded in a tone and ſtyle to which independent powers were ſtrangers; he alluded to the treaty with Portugal, by which France had acquired intereſts hoſtile to this country. She

had

had, by the acquiſition of a large line of tearitory on the ſouthern coaſt of America, obtained the means of ſupplying her Weſt India iſlands, and of endangering the ſafety of our own. He wiſhed to aſk the noble lord what was the actual ſituation of the country? Whether we were negotiating a peace? Whether we were at war, or whether repreſentations had been made by government againſt the acts of fraud and ambition committed by France? Although he would not appeal to the noble lord to anſwer him, it was his duty to call upon him to anſwer to the committee, and to the public, how it happened that, when we thought we were contracting to give Porto Ferrajo to Tuſcany, we were only placing it in the hands of the Grand Duke, that he might transfer it to France? How, when we were giving up the Weſt India iſlands, France was in poſſeſſion of ſuch a part of the continent of America as gave her a preponderancy of power in the Weſt Indies. He next referred to the large portion of the French navy, which had ſailed to the Weſt Indies, accompanied by the Spaniſh and Dutch ſquadrons. He was aware it might be neceſſary to ſend a great military force, but he had doubts as to the policy of the meaſure; at leaſt he thought it right that France ſhould be called upon to explain the object of the deſtination of ſuch a fleet. She had an undoubted right to diſtribute her forces as ſhe thought proper; but England alſo had a right to remonſtrate againſt, and reſiſt any expedition ſhe might undertake. He recollected in the year 1774, during the war between the Turks and the Ruſſians, when the latter obtained ſome advantages in the Mediterranean, France purpoſed to employ a ſquadron of obſervation; England then ſaid, if France perſiſted in that intent, ſhe muſt ſend a fleet to watch its motions, and would bend ſail for ſail with her. Miniſters ſhould have made a ſimilar repreſentation. It might be ſaid the French had no tranſports, and therefore were obliged to ſend troops out in ſhips of the line; but they might have been procured from Spain or Holland, or if not, it would have been better policy in this government to have provided veſſels for them, rather than have ſuffered ſuch a fleet to go to the Weſt Indies. By ſo doing, independent of other advantages, we ſhould have ſaved the lives and conſtitutions of our ſeamen, from being expoſed to the ravages of that climate.

Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, however proper it might be, on ſome future occaſion, to reply to theſe obſervations, he certainly ſhould abſtain at the preſent moment. The only ground of juſtifiable interference, in the preſent caſe, would be the certain knowledge that the negotiation had been delayed, and that the conſequences were ſuch that parliament had a right to call on government for an explanation. He was ready to admit that ſerious inconvenience did ariſe from a negotiation being protracted to the period this had been carried, but if gentlemen would conſider the important intereſts, and the variety of points to be diſcuſſed, and likewiſe refer to, what was the beſt criterion, the time which the negotiation of former treaties had occupied, they would not feel themſelves juſtified in requiring parliamentary explanation. At the peace in 1783, when

there were as few points as poſſible to diſcuſs, the preliminaries were ſigned the 20th of January, and the definitive treaty on the 3d of December. His majeſty's miniſters might well be ſuppoſed to be as anxious to bring this negotiation to an iſſue as every ſubject in the kingdom; no means had been or would be omitted that were calculated to bring it to a ſucceſsful termination as ſpeedily as poſſible. When gentlemen talked of the conſequences of peace, they would do well to conſider likewiſe the conſequences of war. It was fit to balance nicely between the conveniences and inconveniences of both, and ſurely the experiment of peace, if it was only an experiment, was as wiſe as the continuance of hoſtilities.

Mr. Cornwallis conſidered it moſt probable that the French expedition to the Weſt Indies might have in contemplation fair and legitimate objects; but ſuppoſing them hoſtile, and the negotiations to terminate unfavourably, this country had nothing to apprehend. We had a force in that quarter more than ſufficient for the protection of our iſlands; we ſhould have the opportunity of fighting and taking the French ſhips at ſea, inſtead of counting them in their harbours. It was therefore our duty, not to encourage ſuſpicion, proclaim jealouſies, and ſound alarm throughout the country.

Mr. Windham inſiſted that the queſtions of Mr. Eliott were perfectly conſtitutional, and not ſufficiently anſwered by the allegation of the reſponſibility of miniſters. It would prove little conſolation for the country to learn the motives by which miniſters had been actuated, when it ſhould, at the ſame time, have felt the dangerous effects reſulting from theſe motives. Nor did the propoſitions of Mr. Eliott interfere with the pending negotiation. Explanations were to have been expected from miniſters without being demanded; and he felt, in common with others, the great evils reſulting from ſuſpenſe. Yet although theſe motives juſtified the call for explanations, reaſons of a more powerful nature were not wanting. Had nothing happened ſince the ſigning of the preliminaries to ſanction enquiry? Every thing had happened which muſt be accounted ſufficient to ſet aſide the force and operation of the engagement entered into, and to invalidate the preliminaries. Every thing had happened which, politically and truly ſpeaking, ſhould deſtroy the contract. Every thing had ſo happened, that none who voted for the preliminaries in that Houſe were bound to ſupport them. The foundation on which they then gave their ſuffrages was actually deſtroyed, and the credit which they gave to the enemy for good faith and ſincerity, was no longer to be found. The noble Secretary, in defending the preliminaries, had ſtated three points which ought to be taken into conſideration; the time, the terms, and the tone or the temper in which they were concluded. As to the time and the terms, they were gone by; the tone was a matter of the higheſt moment, for as the ſpirit, at all times, is better than the letter, particularly in political tranſactions, the temper of the enemy became a queſtion of the greateſt importance. But if he unexpectedly aſſumed new power, and acquired new dominion, beyond

beyond all reaſon and probability, it muſt be evident that no confidence could be placed in his profeſſions. But we were told, the more reliance we had upon his tone, the ſafer and the more ſecure we ſhould be; and taking this as a rule of argument, we might go on to witneſs the aggrandiſement and conſolidation of his empire completely undiſturbed, becauſe there were no proofs of the want of ſincerity. When we ſaw inſtances every day of his redoubled vigour, of his overſtraining and graſping ambition, ſhould we be content with ſubſcribing to this doctrine and giving our aſſent to his moderation of temper? If miniſters would raiſe their heads from their diſpatches, and read the great diſpatch of the enemy, plain and legible as it was in every part of the globe, they would ſee undoubted proofs of his rooted determination to turn all events to his advantage againſt the intereſts of this country. In aſcertaining the tone or temper of the oppoſite party, two things were to be conſidered; events that had ſubſequently happened, and events that had ſubſequently become known. The diſtinction was clear, and with thoſe of the latter deſcription miniſters ſhould have been acquainted. If intended by the enemy to be actually carried into effect, and they were not communicated to his majeſty's miniſters, the party who concealed them was guilty of fraud. Some of theſe events were ſo plain, that it was impoſſible to miſtake them. They might be found in an iſland, in a ſum of money, in a diſtrict. Such was the violation of the integrity of Portugal, ſecured as it appeared to be by the preliminaries; but the treaty which deſtroyed that integrity was kept ſecret, and this conſtituted that fraud of which he complained. What appeared to him, above all other things, the moſt dreadful conſideration, was the unaccountable apathy of the moment. He knew not exactly by what name to call it; but ſhould be inclined to term it, in the language of divines, a blindneſs, a prejudicial blindneſs. To trace it to its cauſe would be a taſk too difficult for any man. What was the preſent ſtate of Europe? What were the powers ſtill left which were exempt from ſervitude or dependence? Take them all, after ourſelves, and we ſhould find Auſtria and Ruſſia only which could be ſaid to exiſt. But when we ſaw the increaſing power, the ſelf-acknowledged ambition, and the conſtantly increaſing aggrandiſement of France, what ſecurity had we for our own power, our own independence? The head of the government of France plainly told us he had got augmented influence, augmented territory, augmented dominion, and that he meant to employ them to the deſtruction of our commerce, and our naval pre-eminence. The ſubject was ſo dreadful, the proſpect ſo dreary, that it appalled him with its magnitude; it was pregnant with apprehenſion and terror.

Mr. Baker, although not prepared to ſay that a parliamentary inquiry into the ſtate of the nation ſhould be immediately inſtituted, partook very deeply in the impreſſions announced, and upon a ſerious ſurvey of the preſent ſtate of Europe, he could not help conſidering the country rather in a ſtate of war, or at leaſt in ſuch a ſtate as called upon the wiſdom of the Houſe to employ all means in their power, to

keep the country in an attitude to watch and guard againſt any hoſtile meaſure that might endanger the honour or the intereſts of the nation. The time that had elapſed ſince the ſigning of the preliminaries was nothing in its effect, even if it was to be protracted to a period three times longer, when compared with the events which had taken place in Europe ſince that important epoch. The country, he feared, was in a ſtate of apathy: he could at leaſt ſay with truth, that a tenth part of the great changes which Europe had lately witneſſed, would at other times have been thought a ſufficient cauſe of war, and of a war with the cry of the country in favour of the miniſter who ſhould undertake it.

Lord Caſtlereagh offered his ſentiments as one wholly unconnected with miniſters, and he thought the country ſhould not be induced, on the one hand, to entertain too ſanguine a hope from the pending negotiation, or, on the other hand, to ſink into a puſillanimous deſpondency, from apprehenſions of its failure; but to maintain the ſame calm firmneſs it had already diſplayed amidſt all the difficulties it had to ſtruggle with, and to meet the war, if it was neceſſary, with the ſame manly ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed the exertions of the nation throughout its moſt trying viciſſitudes. He could not think the dangers ſo imminent as deſcribed by Mr. Eliott; France was ſenſible of the critical ſituation of her colonies. However diſpoſed, Touſſaint, or any other of the chiefs might be to favour the mother country, yet it was known that the government in the two great French colonies, St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, was actually in the hands of the blacks. In St. Domingo, there were no leſs than 250,000 blacks, and but a ſmall proportion of whites; in Guadaloupe, there were at leaſt 80,000 blacks, and an equally ſmall proportion of whites; it was therefore neceſſary that the force ſent out ſhould be large; and our own experience ſhould tell us how difficult it was to keep up an efficient force in theſe iſlands, both from the obſtacles which the climate preſented, and from the other hardſhips to which European troops are likely to be expoſed. If, therefore, the French had ſent to this quarter a force of thirty ſhips of the line, and troops to the amount of 30,000, the expedition was not of greater magnitude than the obvious neceſſity of the caſe ſeemed to require. As to the reaſons which induced miniſters to permit it to ſail, it were improper now to inquire. No opinion could yet be correctly formed reſpecting the propriety of their conduct in that reſpect. It was, no doubt, alſo expedient that England ſhould have an adequate force in that part of the world, ready to counteract any hoſtile operation, if ſuch ſhould turn out to be the object of the expedition. In another point of view, was it not better that France ſhould immediately endeavour to accompliſh her objects with reſpect to her colonies, than to defer it till after the ratification of the definitive treaty? We ſhould then be obliged, out of precaution, to keep up a large force to watch her operations; whereas, if the French colonies were again reſtored to order, and due ſubjection to the mother country, we might ſay to France, "You have accompliſhed your wiſhes with regard to

your colonies; you may now reduce your force in that quarter, and permit us to reduce ours." The delay which had occurred in bringing the definitive treaty to a close, was a subject of most delicate discussion; it was impossible now to come at the real causes. Indeed the delay did not surprise him at all, and he perfectly agreed with Lord Hawkesbury, that it afforded no just ground of alarm. Of equal delicacy was any premature discussion respecting the present state of Europe, or the cession of Louisiana; nor would he entertain any abstract question, whether parliament was bound, in point of morality, or not, to comply with the preliminaries, after having witnessed these changes. For even if peace was finally concluded, yet if these changes were supposed to shake our security, would not the common principle of political preservation prompt us to renew hostilities?—but such subjects at such a moment it was imprudent and indiscreet to agitate. Neither was he disposed to think that, in consequence of these changes, the safety of this country was embarked to the same extent as that of the other European states. It was therefore imprudent to hold a language respecting them which might tend only to compromise them in the eyes of France. He felt it also of extreme delicacy to say how far the establishment of the Italian Republic trenched on the treaty of Luneville, and wished to guard the committee, and the public, against forming too sanguine expectations, or sinking into despondency.

Dr. Laurence considered that those who had followed Mr. Windham had mistaken the drift of his argument; it did not tend to criminate ministers, but to raise a spirit in the country equal to the dangers and difficulties to which it was again likely to be exposed. The estimates of the army had before been voted for a period at which ministers expected the definitive treaty might arrive, and now again they were proposed for another short period, in a similar expectation. Thus, it might be feared, that, in order to accomplish the work of peace, the proposed period of two months would be further employed by them in treaty, in submission, importunity and prostration. For his part, he rather rejoiced in, than regretted, the delay that retarded the conclusion of the definitive treaty; it might afford time to shew that all was not to be abandoned and surrendered; it might give room to hope that better security might be obtained, or a clearer test of the sincerity of France. He exhibited several instances in which he considered the preliminary treaty as defective. He hoped the country would shew the vigilance and spirit which his right honourable friend had endeavoured to excite. Lord Castlereagh, he observed, seemed anxious to deal in political optimism. He endeavoured to derive consolation from every aspect of things. That noble lord felt the necessity France was under of sending out a great military force to the West Indies. Without it, the negroes could not be kept in subjection; but whether that force was to act with fairness and generosity, or with duplicity and intrigue, the noble lord did not so anxiously examine. He seemed to forget that the country by which it was employed was the rival of this in every

every object of purſuit; and would not this ſpirit of rivalry influence the uſe to which ſuch means might be exerted? Dr. Laurence next proceeded to ſhew how futile were the grounds of ſuch conſolation, and how inconſiſtent it was for ſome gentlemen to employ them. Thoſe who boaſted of our blocking up the enemy's ſhips in all their ports, now expreſſed no diſſatisfaction at their having got out. Thoſe who loudly approved of refuſing permiſſion to the French government, when they ſolicited an armed truce, to ſend out a ſmall armament to the Weſt Indies, were now nearly as eager to ſupport the propriety of letting a large armament proceed for the ſame profeſſed object—the reducing the colonies to order and ſubjection. He then alluded to the ceſſion of Louiſiana, which he could not but regard as a fraudulent tranſaction, and as introducing a fraud into the preliminaries. He muſt alſo aſk, in what light was the Italian Republic to be viewed by England? Was that country included in the preliminaries, or are we now at peace or war with it? The man who ruled over France, now alſo guided the deſtinies of the new republic, which by taking the name of the Italian, inſtead of the Ciſalpine republic, betrayed the extent of its ambitious views. According to a proclamation of the vice-preſident, it ſhould now be the pride of the inhabitants to rival the glory of their anceſtors, and, like them, no doubt, to extend their dominion. Thoſe were points which the delay in the negotiation might afford time to examine and aſcertain. We had a coloſſal power now to contend with, that placed one foot on the mouth of the river Amazons, and the other on the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi. What might not ſuch a gigantic graſp of ambition aim at? Indeed, the country now ſtood in a criſis ſuch as it never before experienced; and to extricate it from ſo perilous a ſituation required the exertion of ſuper-human wiſdom, of ſuper-human abilities, of ſuper-human energies of all kinds.

The Attorney General cenſured Dr. Laurence's declaration, that miniſters would employ the two months to come in importunity, ſubmiſſion, and degradation. That learned gentleman had declared, that miniſters had earned his eſteem by delaying the negotiation; he believed they would earn it ſtill more if the negotiation proved ultimately abortive. He truſted, however, that miniſters would not endeavour to deſerve ſuch eſteem on ſuch terms; if they did, they might, for him at leaſt, enjoy the boon undivided. As far as the debate had gone, he could not but ſay, that to him it did not appear to lead to any uſeful public or parliamentary end. If the learned gentleman, and thoſe who concurred in ſentiment with him, had found out that miniſters had perſiſted to negotiate after proofs of detected fraud on the part of France, why did they not act a manly and conſiſtent part? Why did they not move an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he might be graciouſly pleaſed to recal his miniſter from Amiens? Why thus idly beat the air and indulge in venting ſuch futile inconcluſive obſervations? Why not conclude their chain of convincing arguments, by offering ſome propoſition to the Houſe, on which it might expreſs its ſenſe? Without ſuch a propoſition,

propoſition, what were they doing but wandering in abortive diſcuſſion, the miſchief of which might be incalculable, the good precarious? The Attorney General commended the propriety of blocking up the enemy's fleets during the war, and of now permitting one of them to ſail. The country might look with confidence to the noble admiral who ſo ably preſided over the naval department: that noble lord would take care to provide an adequate force to watch that of France in the Weſt Indies; and he for one would rejoice that if miſchief was intended by the expedition, the end would prove, that they were only permitted to put themſelves in a tangible poſition, and that on an element which had ſo often proved the theatre of Britiſh triumphs. The firmneſs and deciſion manifeſted by miniſters in the caſe of the northern confederacy were ſufficient to vindicate them from every charge of irreſolution or puſillanimity.

15th March. In the Houſe of Lords the ſubject was noticed by the Earl of Carliſle, who requeſted that miniſters would relieve him from the great embarraſſment, which he felt. From the altered ſituation of France ſince the preliminaries of peace had been ſigned, it would be neceſſary for them to prepare themſelves to anſwer and ſatisfy the Houſe in ſeveral eſſential points, when the definitive treaty ſhould come under diſcuſſion. It would be impoſſible for their lordſhips to form a correct judgment, and paſs a ſolemn ſentence on that important ſubject, without receiving ſome information from miniſters as to the variations that had taken place in the relative ſituation of both countries, occaſioned by the aggrandiſement of France. It was not in his power to ſpeak with preciſion, or from perſonal knowledge, on the matters to which he alluded, but it was generally obſerved that a greater degree of ſpirit had been lately infuſed into his majeſty's councils, than had been their character under the long ſuſpenſe in which the country had been held. He was far from meaning to inſinuate any thing diſreſpectful to the conduct of miniſters on this account. So far from it, no man could more highly approve the change, and their late ſpirited efforts to prepare for preſerving the honour and dignity of the country. He hoped they had adapted the negotiation of the definitive treaty to the circumſtances which had occurred in reſpect to the ſituation and extent of dominion of France in the interim ſince the preliminaries were ſigned; for the ſhape and form of the definitive treaty would alone evince whether we were to have peace or not. When the preliminary treaty was adjuſted, France was an object which the eye could meaſure, and the underſtanding could comprehend, but the acceſſion ſince had raiſed her to a giant's height, whoſe head touched the ſkies. Much depended on the nature and extent of the ſecret articles that had been agreed on between the contracting parties of the treaty with Spain. Report ſaid France had obtained poſſeſſion of a port in the Mediterranean, Louiſiana, the two Floridas, and a complete command of the Leeward iſlands, with a right to enter the river of Amazons in South America, which put the Brazils in her power. All theſe were matters

matters that deſerved, and he doubted not had challenged the attention of miniſters; and that they would be prepared to explain them when the day for diſcuſſing the definitive treaty ſhould arrive.

To theſe obſervations, Lord Pelham declined making any anſwer, referring the defence of the definitive treaty to the day which would be ſet apart for its diſcuſſion.

The ſtate of the negotiation of the definitive treaty was certainly a ſubject of extreme anxiety to government, as well as much aſtoniſhment to the nation. In his eager deſire to promote the object of his miſſion, the Marquis Cornwallis had ſhortened his ſtay in Paris, and repaired to Amiens, having been given to underſtand that the regulations reſpecting Malta would be the principal points in the negotiation. On his arrival he found no repreſentatives either of Spain or Holland, nor did they arrive till a conſiderable time afterward. Joſeph Bonaparte, who negotiated on behalf of France had frequent conferences with the Britiſh embaſſador, but, during ſix weeks, they had made no great advance toward a definitive arrangement. In this interval, the government of France was fully apprized of the ſentiments entertained in England of the preliminaries, and had obtained permiſſion to ſend her ſquadrons to the Weſt Indies. The conferences had made little progreſs at the time of Bonaparte's journey to Lyons. A propoſition had been offered, that if a French langue was eſtabliſhed in Malta, there ſhould alſo be an Engliſh langue, but this arrangement did not ſuit the views of France, and as her power and influence were juſt acquiring a new and deciſive extenſion, it was agreed that there ſhould be neither a French nor an Engliſh langue. Lord Cornwallis required, that a guarantee ſhould be fixed for Malta, and a foreign garriſon introduced for its defence againſt intrigue as well as force; the French miniſter evaded this demand, and at firſt propoſed that the order of Malta ſhould be modified with reſpect to its compoſition; that, inſtead of an order of knighthood, it ſhould become, ſimply, an order of hoſpitality, conformably to its primitive inſtitution; and, that the fortifications of the iſland being demoliſhed, it ſhould be converted into a great lazaretto, appropriated to the equal accommodation of all the different nations which trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant. To this propoſal the Engliſh government refuſed aſſent, as contrary to the fourth and fourteenth articles of the preliminary treaty, and the anſwer being entered on the Protocol of the conferences, it was, after long diſcuſſions, determined that the French miniſter ſhould preſent a plan of arrangement for the whole article relative to Malta. From this time the conferences reſpecting this iſland became frequent, and the contentions intricate; various propoſitions were made, withdrawn, rejected, or modified. 12th Jan.

While theſe debates were proceeding, it was obſerved by both plenipotentiaries, that each nation muſt expect, with equal impatience, the ſigning of the definitive treaty; and that the only mode of obtaining that object was, doubtleſs, to inform each other, mutually, and without delay, of the points which each of the governments was diſpoſed no longer to 19th Jan.

conteſt

conteſt. In purſuance of this intimation, ſeveral points of form were immediately arranged, and a diſcuſſion commenced on ſome new claims advanced by the French miniſter. He had required:—1. The exchange of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for a part of the iſland of Newfoundland.—2. The ceſſion of an eſtabliſhment for the fiſhery in the Malouine iſles.—3. The neutrality of fiſhers in the time of war; to theſe Lord Cornwallis anſwered, that they having been preſented and rejected before the ſigning of the preliminaries, could not be re-produced with greater ſucceſs; and Joſeph Bonaparte withdrew them.

Lord Cornwallis alſo declared, that the Engliſh government could not conſent to the abolition of ſalutes at ſea, becauſe that was unprecedented, and had no connexion with the preſent war; and made ſome objection to a formal detail of reſtitutions to be made at the peace. Joſeph Bonaparte anſwered, that ſalutes at ſea being a ſource of pretenſions and diſputes, it appeared proper to ſtipulate their abolition; and gave a reaſon for the other clauſe, but was notwithſtanding inclined to renounce both.

On the ſubject of property ſequeſtered in the two countries, Lord Cornwallis demanded, that the article relative to the ſequeſtrations ſhould be inſerted literally in the definitive treaty as it ſtood in the preliminaries, and in the project preſented by his government. He obſerved, that the additional clauſe of the counter project which ſays, that "Engliſh creditors in France cannot be more favoured than the French themſelves," would be prejudicial to the Engliſh nation, inaſmuch as the Engliſh government had not touched the property, effects, or funds of any Frenchman; that of France, on the contrary, had ſeized all that the Engliſh had in France, and had made only imaginary reimburſements. Whatever right the French government had to proceed in this manner towards French citizens, according to the law of circumſtances, it could not ſo diſpoſe of what belonged to the Engliſh. Joſeph Bonaparte took this article *ad referendum*; but the propoſal of Lord Cornwallis was finally adopted.

Another propoſition brought forward by Joſeph Bonaparte related to the augmentation of the French commerce and territory in India. On this ſubject, Lord Cornwallis ſhewed, that the conditions propoſed by France would produce endleſs diſcuſſions, and that the Engliſh government perſiſted in the return to the ſame ſtate in which both nations were before the war. Joſeph Bonaparte obſerved, that the pure and ſimple reſtitution of the French poſſeſſions in India, being rather to be conſidered as a charge than a benefit, it would be natural enough that France ſhould inſiſt upon her demands relative to important ameliorations; but that his government, wiſhing to accelerate the epoch of a peace ſo deſirable for the whole world, inſiſted only on the following diſpoſitions:—1. That England ſhould give up, or cauſe to be given up to France, the ſeven Joukans, or tolls of Villehour; inaſmuch as the diſtrict of Villehour forming part of the territory of Pondicherry, was granted

granted without any reſerve or reſtriction, by the Soubah of Dekan and the Nabob of Arcot, to the French Eaſt India Company. That the treaty of 1783 confirmed this property, (and that too without any reſtriction,) and yet France had the diſſatisfaction ſtill to ſee, that duties, to her burdenſome, and extremely inconvenient, were levied in her own territory, in the name of a foreign power. A remonſtrance was preſented upon this ſubject in 1785, by Meſſrs. de Buſſy and Coutanceau to Lord Macartney, who anſwered, that the Joukans in queſtion formed part of the ancient diſtrict of Valdahour, and belonged to the Nabob of Arcot. It was replied, that the diſtrict of Villehour had, itſelf, formed part of the diſtrict of Valdahour; and yet that, ſince the grant and confirmation above mentioned, it had formed a diſtrict completely ſeparate; that, conſequently, each proprietory nation ſhould enjoy the acceſſories of its portion. Nothing was decided with reſpect to this demand, by the explanatory convention of 1787; and it was hoped that it would at length be done juſtice to. 2. That England ſhould conſent to exchange the diſtrict of Valdahour for that of Bahour, which belonged to France; inaſmuch as this arrangement, which, it was ſaid, was to have been made at the time of the treaty of 1783, would ſecure to the inhabitants of Pondicherry the articles of the firſt neceſſity; and that, without requiring an important ſacrifice, it would terminate continually reviving difficulties.—3. That at the period of the reſtitution of Yanaon, France ſhould alſo be put in poſſeſſion of the track which always belonged to her, on the left bank of the Coringny, where the merchandize intended for Yanaon is embarked; and as the river had ſucceſſively encroached upon the greater part of the track where the workſhops are ſituated, there ſhould be granted an equivalent track on the oppoſite bank; ſo that the weavers driven out by the inundation, might ſtill find an aſylum. And that, in execution of the treaties of 1783 and 1787, the French might have, for the trade carried on by them on the coaſt of Coromandel, and particularly for the execution of their contracts in the interior of the country, the ſame means of ſecurity and protection as in Bengal.—4. That on the Malabar coaſt, France, in entering into poſſeſſion of Mahé and its dependencies, ſhould equally recover the petty territory of Courchy, which had always belonged to her ſince the ceſſion made by the King of Colaſtrie, to M. Mahé de Labourdonnaye, and of which Tippoo Sultaun never had a right to diſpoſe in favour of the Engliſh, as he was not the proprietor of it; and, laſtly, that France ſhould have permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory at Alepe, ſhould ſhe think proper, in order to have a ſhare of the pepper trade in the country of the King of Travancore.

So long a ſeries of unexpected requiſitions could not be immediately anſwered, and therefore, the Britiſh plenipotentiary deferred ſtating his opinions till another conference; upon which, the French miniſter added, in purſuance of the very language of the preliminaries which pronounced,

nounced, that "in the definitive treaty, juſt or reciprocally advantageous arrangements ſhould be taken, to place the fiſhery of the two nations in the ſtate beſt adapted for maintaining peace," he was charged to require.—1. That the French fiſhermen of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſhould be protected in the ſame manner as the Engliſh themſelves.—2. That France, ſhould ſhe deem it proper, ſhould have a commercial agent at St. John.—3. That, in virtue of ſeveral treaties, France ſhould have the right of fiſhing, excluſively, and at all ſeaſons, on the coaſts which had been aſſigned to her, inaſmuch as when ſhe ceded the property of the iſland of Newfoundland, under the reſerve of fiſhing within a determined extent, ſhe did not impoſe upon herſelf the condition of not fiſhing but a certain kind of fiſh, and during a particular ſeaſon of the year, but only that of not being at liberty to fortify any place, nor to erect any building, except the ſcaffolds and huts neceſſary for drying the fiſh. That hence neceſſarily reſulted ſeveral tacit rights, viz. the right of cutting wood, erecting Hoſpitals on ſhore, and providing for the firſt neceſſities of life; in fine, the right of leaving perſons to protect the boats and utenſils of the fiſhery. The greater part of theſe rights had been frequently conteſted, and frequently recognized, ſince the court of London had, on different occaſions, granted indemnities to the French proprietors of Boats, which had been burnt or deſtroyed by the Engliſh; and it was to be apprehended, that the ſame ſubjects of diſpute might recur, unleſs a remedy was provided by preciſe diſpoſitions. The French government obſerved, that the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were about to be reſtored to her, intirely ravaged by the conſequences of the war; it, conſequently hoped to obtain, that the permiſſion formerly given to the French, of cutting wood in the Bay of St. George, which is at a diſtance from all their eſtabliſhments, ſhould be applicable to the Bays of Fortune or Deſpair. On this ſubject alſo, Lord Cornwallis reſerved himſelf to conſult his government.

On a ſubſequent day, Feb. 11. the Britiſh embaſſador returned an anſwer to theſe propoſitions, ſtating in ſubſtance; that every thing relative to the fiſhery of the iſland of Newfoundland, the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the French poſſeſſions in India, might remain intirely on the ſame footing as before the war. However, to prevent any diſputes which might ariſe on account of the fiſhery, Lord Cornwallis was authorized to renew the declaration made after the treaty of 1783, which was conceived in the following terms.—"In order that fiſhers of both nations may not be involved in daily quarrels, his Britannic Majeſty ſhall take the moſt effective meaſures to prevent his ſubjects from troubling in any manner, by their competition, the fiſhing of the French during the temporary exerciſe of the privilege granted to them on the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, and will for that purpoſe, cauſe the ſettled eſtabliſhments formed there to be withdrawn. His Britannic Majeſty

Majeſty will alſo give orders to prevent any interruption to the French fiſhers in the cutting of the wood neceſſary for repairing their ſcaffolds, cabins, and fiſhing veſſels. The mode of fiſhing which has always been recognized, ſhall be the model on which the fiſhery ſhall be carried on. The French fiſhers ſhall build nothing but their ſcaffolds, ſhall confine themſelves to repairing their veſſels, and ſhall not winter on the iſland. The ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, on their part, ſhall in no manner moleſt the French fiſhers during their fiſhery, nor damage their ſcaffolds during their abſence."

Joſeph Bonaparte ſaid, he would make no obſervation at preſent on this declaration, the inſufficiency of which was acknowledged in the preliminaries, which ſtated the neceſſity of making ſome juſt and reciprocal arrangements, which might be uſeful toward the preſervation of peace; but that he would tranſmit the anſwers which had been made to his government. The arrangement here propoſed was definitively adopted.

The Dutch plenipotentiary, M. Schimmelpenninck being arrived, the Marquis Cornwallis had a conference with him relative to the indemnities due to the Prince of Orange, as well on account of his dignities and charges, as on account of his property. The Batavian plenipotentiary replied, on the expreſs authority of his government, that France had taken upon herſelf to obtain the ſaid indemnities, without laying any part of the burthen on the Batavian re-
Feb. 11. public. On this ſubject, the Marquis requeſted Joſeph Bonaparte to explain to him the preciſe intentions of the French government, with reſpect to this matter. The French plenipotentiary replied, that France would employ her good offices, in order that the Prince of Orange might receive the indemnity which was due to him. On this ſubject, nothing further appears to have been undertaken; but in the definitive treaty was the following article:—"The branch of the Houſe of Naſſau, which was eſtabliſhed in the *ci-devant* Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced ſome loſſes, as well with reſpect to private property as by the change of conſtitution adopted in thoſe countries, an equivalent compenſation ſhall be procured for the loſſes which ſhall be proved to have been ſuſtained."

Reſpecting the Otto- Feb. 18.
man Porte, Lord Cornwallis repreſented, that that power having formerly acceded to the preliminaries of peace between his Britannic Majeſty, and the French republic, and their reſpective allies; and notified to the Engliſh government, the refuſal of the Turkiſh government to ratify the treaty concluded by Ali Effendi, the Turkiſh embaſſador extraordinary at Paris; had in conſequence thereof, nominated Ali Effendi plenipotentiary to the congreſs of Amiens, to confer on the definitive treaty of peace. The Britiſh government therefore demanded, that the Sublime Porte, ſhould be admitted, either as a contracting party, or an acceding party to the treaty. To this demand, Feb. 21.
on a ſubſequent day, the French plenipotentiary replied, that preliminaries of peace had been

been signed between France and the Porte: they had been ratified by the Porte with this simple restriction. "Provided they are not contrary to the treaty of London:" as they were not contrary, the French government considered them duly and explicitly ratified. The Grand seignior, in a letter to the first consul, expressed a desire to treat directly with France, and to convert into a definitive treaty the preliminary articles. In consequence, the embassador of the Porte at Paris received full powers, and all necessary instructions. This embassador had been presented to the first consul, and had appeared convinced, that France was necessary to Turkey, that he was ready to sign a definitive peace; but that he was bound, out of respect and deference, to acquaint the British minister with it. The first consul consented, that he should immediately write to the British minister to inform him of this step, and a definitive peace would be concluded. Every peace which was not concluded directly between two such great powers as the Porte and France, might be a truce, but it would be a chimerical peace. There were in the diplomatic system, two sorts of alliances, natural and accidental. That between England and the Porte being only accidental, it was the part of France, in the preliminaries, to stipulate the cessation of hostilities; but particular arrangements must be treated by direct negotiation: to act otherwise, would be to place those powers in the second rank of states, while both belonged to the first rank. All the assurances then, which the French plenipotentiaries could give, were. 1st. That there should be no secret article in this treaty. 2d. That it should be intirely founded on the preliminaries. Any claim further than this, it said, would be unreasonable.

In the same note which contained this very lofty sentence, was given an answer equally lofty to another difficulty advanced by the English embassador. His Britannic majesty, Lord Cornwallis had observed, could not recognize the King of Tuscany, unless the district of Olivenza was restored by Spain to Portugal, and the *presidi* to the King of Naples; and, finally, until the King of Naples was re-established in Piedmont. On this point, the following expressions were Feb. 21. used. In answer to the declaration of the English minister, with respect to the King of Etruria, contained in the same *protocol*, and to the verbal declarations which have been formerly made with respect to the republics of Italy, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte has announced to his government, the repugnance which his Britannic Majesty would have to acknowledge the King of Etruria, the Italian republic, and the republic of Genoa. The acknowledgments of these powers by his Britannic Majesty, being of no advantage to France, the French plenipotentiary will no longer insist upon them. He desires, however, that the observations he now offers, should be taken into the most serious consideration by the British cabinet. The political system of Europe is founded on the existence and acknowledgment of all those

powers which ſhare its vaſt and fine territories. If his Britannic Majeſty ſhall refuſe to acknowledge thoſe powers, which hold ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in Europe, he renounces then all intereſt about the people which form theſe ſtates. Nevertheleſs, how can the ſuppoſition be admitted, that the commercial intereſts of England ſhould be indifferent to the trade of Genoa, of Leghorn, the mouths of the Po, and the Italian republic? If its commerce ſhould ſuffer any reſtraints in thoſe countries, to whom could his Britannic Majeſty complain, the reciprocity on his ſide being nothing, inaſmuch as Genoa, Tuſcany, and the Italian republic, tranſact no commercial buſineſs in England, but are uſeful and neceſſary markets for Britiſh commerce? If thoſe three powers, diſpleaſed at finding themſelves not acknowledged by the great power, ſhould make changes in their organization, and ſeek a refuge by an incorporation with a great continental power, his Britannic Majeſty would debar himſelf from the right of complaining, and yet it is a ſubject he could not conſider with indifference. There are ſometimes complaints of the increaſe of the French republic on the continent; and how can it be otherwiſe, when the great powers place the ſmall ſtates of Italy under an abſolute neceſſity of ſeeking refuge and protection in France alone? The Ciſalpine republic, although acknowledged by the Emperor at the treaty of Campo Formio, never could ſucceed to get its embaſſador received at Vienna. It continued to be treated by that prince, as if the treaty of Campo Formio had never exiſted at that time. Doubtleſs, as the general peace was not concluded, the court of Vienna looked upon its treaty as a truce: but, now that a general peace is made, if thoſe powers were to remain uncertain of ſeeing their independence acknowledged, they would fear being again treated in that ſlighting manner which they have already experienced, and would feel the neceſſity of connecting themſelves more cloſely with the French people. The ſame principle which induced France to abandon three fourths of the conqueſts ſhe had made, has dictated to the firſt conſul, the part of not intermeddling in the affairs of thoſe ſmall powers, more than is neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh order, and to found ſome ſtable organization. Muſt his moderation then have to conflict (we ſpeak frankly) with the falſe and badly combined meaſures of other powers; or is the peace to be only conſidered as a truce? Afflicting proſpect! Diſcouraging to all good men, but which muſt infallibly be productive of conſequences which cannot be calculated.

The documents from which theſe extracts are derived, were publiſhed by the French government, and are evidently defective in many particulars, but from the terms uſed in this conference, it is evident that much diſpleaſure had prevailed between the negotiating parties. France felt the additional importance derived from the recent tranſactions at Lyons, and her ruler probably wiſhed to try the effect of a deciſive tone in ſwaying the Britiſh government to his own will. Perhaps he believed that which was aſſerted in ſome ſpeeches

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in parliament, and in many writings, that the miniſtry, incapable of retaining their ſeats, or of acquiring popularity by other means, were reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to any terms in negotiating, and that the language to be uſed, need no longer be reſtricted by the forms of reſpect. For this belief, however, the conduct of government afforded no foundation. The language of miniſters in parliament, though free from boaſting, was firm, and full of manly confidence. The military and naval appointments, had been kept up to the war eſtabliſhment, and while the negotiation was protracted by a very long and minute diſcuſſion, partly on the points already noticed, but chiefly with regard to Malta, the miniſtry ſhewed their reſolution to embrace with reſolution the alternative of war, rather than ſubmit to degradation in concluding a peace, by detaching part of the grand fleet on a cruize, equipping ſquadrons for the Weſt Indies and the Mediterranean, and making the moſt active preparations throughout the naval department, for aſſerting and enforcing the juſt claims of the country.

Theſe preparations were rendered uſeleſs by the progreſs of the treaty. The future ſtate of Malta had, from the beginning been the ſource of the greateſt difficulty. It would be tedious to repeat all the propoſals which were made for ſecuring its independence, for placing it under the guarantee of different diſintereſted powers, for altering the conſtitution of the order, and for intruſting the fortifications to the care of Foreign troops. On each of theſe points much ingenuity was diſplayed, the diſcuſſions were ſo long protracted, that many perſons doubted whether the peace would take place. At length, however, all the articles were ſatisfactorily adjuſted, and the compact received the ſignature of all parties. March 25. In the courſe of the negotiation, the miniſters of Holland and Spain do not ſeem to have taken a prominent part, but the Marquis Cornwallis acknowledged their good temper and moderation on the occaſions in which they were conſulted.

The chief particulars in which the definitive treaty varied or explained the articles in the preliminary treaty, were as follow.

I. Concerning priſoners, it was, after much diſcuſſion, agreed, that all priſoners made on one ſide and the other, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried off or delivered up during the war, ſhould be reſtored without ranſom, in ſix weeks, at the lateſt, from the day when the ratifications of the treaty ſhould be exchanged, and, on paying the debts which they ſhould have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties reſpectively to diſcharge the advances made by any of the contracting parties, for the ſupport and maintenance of priſoners, in the countries where they had been detained. There was to be appointed, by mutual conſent, for this purpoſe, a commiſſion, eſpecially empowered to aſcertain and determine the compenſation.

II. The integrity of Portugal, as before the war, was expreſsly conceded, except that France

ſhould retain all poſſeſſions on the northern bank of the river. Arowary from its mouth to its ſource; the navigation in all parts, being declared common to both nations.

III. The ſtipulations with regard to Malta were in theſe terms. The iſlands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino, ſhall be reſtored to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, to be held on the ſame conditions on which it poſſeſſed them before the war, and under the following ſtipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whoſe *Langues* ſhall continue to ſubſiſt, after the exchange of the Ratification of the preſent treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as ſoon as the exchange ſhall have taken place. They ſhall there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand Maſter, choſen from among the natives of thoſe nations which are to preſerve their *Langues*, unleſs that election has been already made ſince the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is underſtood that an election made ſubſequent to that epoch, ſhall alone be conſidered valid, to the excluſion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic, and of Great-Britain, deſiring to place the order and iſland of Malta in a ſtate of entire independence with reſpect to themſelves, agree that there ſhall not be in future either a French or an Engliſh *Langue*; and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of theſe powers ſhall be admitted into the order.

3. There ſhall be eſtabliſhed a Malteſe *Langue*, which ſhall be ſupported by the territorial revenues, and commercial duties of the iſland. This *Langue* ſhall have its peculiar dignities, an eſtabliſhment and a manſion houſe. Proofs of nobility ſhall not be neceſſary for the admiſſion of knights of this *Langue*; and they ſhall be moreover admiſſible to all offices, and ſhall enjoy all privileges in the ſame manner as the knights of the other *Langues*. At leaſt *half* of the municipal, adminiſtrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, ſhall be filled by inhabitants of the iſlands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino.

4. The forces of His Britannic Majeſty ſhall evacuate the iſland, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the Ratifications, or ſooner if poſſible. At that epoch it ſhall be given up to the order in its preſent ſtate, provided the Grand Maſter, or Commiſſaries, fully authorized according to the ſtatutes of the order, ſhall be in the iſland to take poſſeſſion, and that the force which is to be provided by His Sicilian Majeſty, as is hereafter ſtipulated, ſhall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garriſon, at leaſt, ſhall be always compoſed of native Malteſe; for the remainder, the order may levy recruits in thoſe countries only which continue to poſſeſs the *Langues*. The Malteſe troops ſhall have Malteſe officers. The commanderſhip in chief of the garriſon, as well as the nomination of the officers, ſhall pertain to the Grand Maſter, and this right he cannot reſign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The

6. The independence of the iſles of Malta, of Gezo and Comino, as well as the preſent arrangement, ſhall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great-Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the iſland of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta ſhall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who ſhall there pay equal and moderate duties: theſe duties ſhall be applied to the maintenance of the Malteſe *Langue*, as ſpecified in paragraph three, to that of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the iſland, as well as to that of a general Lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The ſtates of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the ſyſtem of hoſtilities, which ſubſiſts between the ſtates of Barbary, and the order of St. John, or the powers poſſeſſing the *Langues*, or concurring in the compoſition of the order ſhall have ceaſed.

10. The order ſhall be governed, both with reſpect to ſpirituals and temporals, by the ſame ſtatutes, which were in force, when the knights left the iſle, as far as the preſent treaty does not abrogate them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, ſhall be converted into laws and perpetual ſtatutes of the order, in the cuſtomary manner; and the Grand Maſter, or, if he ſhall not be in the iſland at the time of its reſtoration to the order, his repreſentative, as well as his ſucceſſors, ſhall be bound to take an oath for their punctual obſervance.

12. His Sicilian Majeſty ſhall be invited to furniſh 2000 men, natives of his ſtates, to ſerve as a garriſon in the different fortreſſes of the ſaid iſlands. That force ſhall remain one year, to bear date from their reſtitution to the knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the order ſhould not have raiſed a force ſufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers to garriſon the iſland and its dependencies, as is ſpecified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops ſhall continue there until they ſhall be replaced by a force deemed ſufficient by the ſaid powers.

13. The different powers deſignated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great-Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent ſtipulations.

The doubts which had prevailed reſpecting the final accompliſhment of the treaty, occaſioned the news of its completion to be received with the greater demonſtrations of joy. It was proclaimed with due ſolemnity in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and on the occaſion, a ſplendid illumination took place in all parts of the Britiſh metropolis; the houſe of M. Otto, the French miniſter, making a moſt conſpicuous figure. There was a ſolemn thankſgiving in all the churches; the city of London and other corporate bodies preſented addreſſes of congratulation, and the general joy was not leſs than on the arrival of the preliminaries.

CHAP. XI.

Systematic attack on the definitive treaty, by motions previous to the general discussion. Lord Grenville's demand of papers respecting logwood and mahogany. Question by Mr. Eliott respecting former treaties, and the claims of France in India. The definitive treaty laid on the table in both Houses; notice of motion respecting it by Lord Grenville; observations of Lord Auckland on the renewal of former treaties; day fixed for a motion. Mr. Windham gives notice of a motion similar to that of Lord Grenville. He moves to postpone the general consideration of the definitive treaty; his speech; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moves an amendment; is supported by Mr. Pitt; the amendment carried. Similar motion by Lord Grenville; Lord Pelham moves an amendment; observations of Lord Thurlow, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Chancellor; the amendment carried. Motion of the Earl of Carlisle respecting the Prince of Orange; observations of the Marquis Cornwallis; Lord Pelham; Lord Auckland. The motion withdrawn. Mr. Elliott's motion for papers; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Dr. Laurence; papers granted. Earl Temple moves for some papers relative to Malta; asks for a copy of the treaty of Luneville; observations of Mr. Pitt; the statutes of the order of Malta also demanded and refused. Motion by Earl Spencer respecting Malta; observations of Lord Hobart; motion agreed to. Motion of Lord Holland respecting Portugal; papers refused. Motion of Lord Minto respecting the Italian republic and the isle of Elba; answer of Lord Pelham; motion rejected. Motion of General Gascoyne on British property in the restored settlements; rejected, with several others. Motion of Dr. Laurence on India; answer of Mr. Dundas; motion rejected.

IF the preliminaries of peace were investigated in parliament with great severity, the definitive treaty was subjected to a scrutiny not less strict, and in which the parties hostile to government displayed the union, form, and consistency of a regular opposition. Their operations against the ministry were skilfully conceived, and unremittingly pursued; the motions in both houses being frequently correspondent, and the appeal to the nation by the publication of the speeches constant and energetic.

The first attack was made by Lord Grenville, who inquired when the treaty would be laid on the table: hoped ministers would not press for a speedy decision on it, as it involved considerations of the first magnitude, and numerous details of the utmost importance: as not only the interests of the British empire in Europe were deeply affected, but her colonial, and particularly her Indian possessions. He hoped also, that the necessary documents would be laid before the house; and proposed, at some future day, to move for a 8th April.

paper

paper ſetting forth the quantity of logwood and mahogany imported from the bay of Honduras into Great Britain and her colonies, from 1786 to the preſent period.

Lord Pelham, in anſwer, pointed out the time when the treaty would probably be before the houſe; and obſerved, that as all proper documents would undoubtedly be produced, there would probably be no objection to affording that which had been ſpecified.

15th April. In a week afterwards, Mr. Eliott, in the houſe of commons, required to know when the definitive treaty would be preſented to the conſideration of parliament, mixing his interrogation with various remarks on the neceſſity of renewing former compacts, and the claims of France in India, which were often interrupted by cries of order. The chancellor of the exchequer, in anſwer, promiſed as early a communication as poſſible, but diſapproved the irregular introduction of topics which were involved in the conſideration of the treaty.

29th April. The treaty, when ratified, was laid on the table in both houſes the ſame day. Lord Grenville gave notice, that, on the 4th of the following month, he ſhould move a day for taking it into conſideration.

Lord Auckland was anxious that a point connected with the treaty, namely, how far ancient treaties which this country had engaged in with different foreign powers, would, or would not, be affected by their non-renewal in the preſent or any treaty of pacification, ſhould be fully diſcuſſed. He had particularly in contemplation the convention of 1787. What had already paſſed in that Houſe, on the ſubject of the non-renewal of ancient treaties in the preliminary articles, made the diſcuſſion to which he had endeavoured to call the attention of their lordſhips abſolutely neceſſary. Every word which dropped from Lord Grenville was ſure to make a deep impreſſion, not only in that houſe, and throughout the kingdom, but throughout Europe. In proof of this, he cited a late publication of a ſuppoſed ſpeech of Lord Grenville in the French official paper, which, although a vile miſrepreſentation of his lordſhip's argument, would ſhew in what manner his ſentiments on ſuch ſubjects were treated, the eager attention to his opinions, and the uſe made of them.

Lord Grenville, although he admitted the importance of the ſubject, and did not doubt that his lordſhip would give the houſe much valuable information, would not conſent to poſtpone his own motion, as he could not do it without much inconvenience to himſelf and friends. As to the French official paper, it had been his fate for the laſt ten years never to have looked into a Paris paper, without finding that every report of his ſentiments delivered in that houſe was a miſrepreſentation. He had not ſeen the Paris paper in queſtion, nor ſhould he think worth while to refer to it.

Lord Auckland then fixed his motion two days later than that mentioned by Lord Grenville; and Lord Hobart obſerved he had no objection to a full diſcuſſion of the definitive treaty, but would aſſert that if the French ſhould advance any undue pretenſions, they would

be founded on the arguments of Lord Grenville.

In the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Windham gave notice that on the day preceding that which was appointed by Lord Grenville, he ſhould ſhortly ſtate the reaſons on which he would feel it his duty to move, that the definitive treaty be taken into conſideration on a future day.

3d May. In purſuance of his notice, Mr. Windham addreſſed the Houſe; and, in vindication of the regularity of his proceeding, denied that the opinion expreſſed by parliament on the merits of the preliminaries, could at all operate to preclude them from pronouncing a contrary judgment on the definitive treaty: the queſtion was ſtill fairly open, and, on different grounds, a different judgment might yet be formed. Nor did he think it fit that the whole ſubject ſhould be taken up in its full extent, and brought before the Houſe in a comprehenſive and connected view. It was of too much magnitude and complexity to be thus crowded into a ſingle debate, and precipitately diſpatched in a ſweeping way, without a full inveſtigation, on which to ground a mature and ſound judgment. What he had now to offer he ſhould conſider as the opening ſpeech of a counſel, reſerving to himſelf the right of obſerving afterwards on ſuch points of evidence as might be adduced.

The topics on which he now intended to touch might be reduced to four heads; Firſt, thoſe objects which, though they aſſiſted at the time of the preliminary treaty, were not known by the Houſe. Secondly, what had happened ſince the concluſion of the preliminaries. Thirdly, whether the principles of the preliminaries had been departed from;—and fourthly, what were the points in the definitive treaty which did not exiſt in the preliminaries?

Under the firſt might be ranged the ceſſion of Elba, the boundaries of French Guiana, and the ceſſion of Louiſiana. The poſſeſſion of Elba by France he ſhould now only conſider under two points of view; its importance, and the circumſtances which produced it. When the Houſe duly conſidered the nature of its ſituation, the opportunities of its harbour, and the impregnable ſtrength of its fortreſs, they might form ſome opinion of its importance; with which, if they were not ſtruck before, it was only becauſe the immenſity of ſurrounding objects deſtroyed its effect. As to the manner in which it was given, the whole tranſaction was ſo involved in folds and doubles, and chicanery, that it was with much difficulty it could be underſtood. By the treaty of Luneville, it was expreſsly ſtipulated that Porto Ferrajo ſhould remain to the Duchy of Tuſcany, but the French had recourſe to the art in which they had lately ſhewn themſelves ſo expert, the art of transforming governments. A prince of the houſe of Spain then ruled over the Duchy; but in this, as in the game of cheſs, what was a knight or a pawn might be now a king. That Porto Ferrajo ſhould remain attached to the Duchy, was the idea entertained by England at the time of ſigning the preliminaries; but after that period it comes into the hands of the French, and what advantage might it not prove to

them againſt England in a future war, or to favour their deſigns upon Naples?

Their conduct reſpecting the boundaries of French Guiana was equally marked with ill faith. Theſe boundaries were an object of great anxiety with the Portugueze ever ſince the treaty of Utrecht. Miniſters had taken great credit to themſelves for inducing the French to recede from ſome of their pretenſions; but it was not eaſy to diſcover in what did the boundaries they had laſt fixed differ from the former, unleſs it were in ſurrendering a few leagues of a wilderneſs, while the French took care to keep ſuch a poſition as ſecured them the command of the river Amazon. Good faith required that they ſhould go back to their firſt boundaries, and in refuſing to do ſo, they were guilty of a direct fraud; changing one boundary for another was only ſubſtituting one fraud for another.

The ceſſion of Louiſiana, he obſerved, opened to his imagination a dreadful ſcene, when he endeavoured to conjecture the conſequences that might enſue. It gave France an eſtabliſhment on the new continent. What a proſpect for North America! and what a preſent had we made them! They muſt now ſee their deſtruction at hand, nor would their rage be ſo much pointed againſt the French, as againſt thoſe who contributed to bring ſuch foes amongſt them. South America too had ſimilar evils to apprehend. From a conſideration of this head, it muſt appear that many points which exiſted at the time of the preliminary treaty were not known to the Houſe when they paſſed an opinion upon it; and that they loudly called for a reviſion.

Under the ſecond head, he ſhould firſt conſider the creation of the Italian republic; and next, the armament ſent out to the French Weſt Indies.

With regard to the former, he was not afraid to ſay that it was introducing a change in the political ſyſtem of Europe, which would have furniſhed a juſt ground of war, even in times of perfect tranquillity. Was the houſe prepared to ſee ſuch a change effected, and that by one of the contracting parties intereſted in it, at the very period between the concluſion of the preliminaries and the ſigning of the definitive treaty, without even requiring any explanation; if ſo, our ſpirit muſt be broken and ſubdued indeed! How muſt Auſtria view it? Where now was her protecting barrier? Was it not converted into the means of annoying her? As to the other point, it did not bear ſo cloſely on the treaty, but it was a meaſure of infinite importance, and muſt hereafter be a ſubject of ſerious inquiry. He ſhould now conſider it only as eſtabliſhing the French power in that quarter at an earlier period than it otherwiſe could be, if indeed it was to be eſtabliſhed at all. The poſition of that armament in the Weſt Indies had given us cauſe to fear for the ſecurity of our power and property, and changed our relative ſituation from what it was at the ſigning of the preliminaries.

The next head he had to conſider was, the material points of difference between the two treaties. The firſt, leſs important as to its objects than in its conſequences, was that which related to priſoners: a large debt was due for their

their maintenance in this country. Was that debt to be paid? Yes. But how? Why it was said that an island was mortgaged for it. Where was the faith to bind this engagement? Might not the performance be put off *ad Græcus Calendas?* He could view the transaction only as a plausible mode of getting rid of the debt. But we were not only to pay for French prisoners, but for the foreign troops in the service of the contracting parties. Were we not to pay for clothing and arming the Russians? They were armed and clothed by France, to hold out a lure and a bait to bias the mind of the Emperor of Russia! which, from the weakness under which it then laboured, was likely to be caught by the semblance of kindness; and was it not the object of that kindness not only to seduce that sovereign from our alliance, but to turn against us those very troops for whose clothing and arming we might be now doomed to pay? Could any nation be put in a more ridiculous situation? Could any thing more effectually tend to degrade us in the eyes of those by whom we were once respected? It was not the sum of money we should be anxious about, but the effect which such a manner of being duped out of it must produce.

The next point was the situation of Malta. The stipulation stated that it should not belong either to France or England; but be restored to the order, and that order made independent under the guarantee of a third power. At the signing of the preliminaries, it was understood that Prussia would be that power; if that condition was to be changed, why not have insisted upon something correspondent with the object it had in view? but no, all was hocus pocus; a confusion of tongues; the result of which was, that we had been ousted, and France put really in possession of Malta. If Malta was invested in an independent order, he should ask, were the revenues of that order equal to their expenditure? The amount of its commercial and territorial revenue did not exceed £30,000, out of that sum were to be found a provision for the grand master, supplies for some charitable establishments, and the means of providing the island with grain; but for a garrison, works, &c. &c. there was no provision at all. The means of that provision were not possessed by the order; they existed in different countries—what was placed in France had been confiscated, some existed in Spain, and some in the new Italian republic; some also in Bavaria; but all had already undergone, or must shortly undergo the same fate as in France. Here then was an independent order, with no more ample revenues than £30,000. Four-fifths of their property were confiscated; could what remained support even the disgraceful constitution that had been raised after the worst models, and out of the principles of the French democratical order? Though the knights were not Frenchmen, would they not be subjects of the French government, or under its immediate influence? Who would protect them against France? Was not their garrison, though Neapolitan, virtually French? Why then was the island permitted to remain in such hands, or why had no provision been made to prevent its falling into hands on whom no reliance could be placed? The plain con-

conſtruction of the article was, that we muſt evacuate Malta at the end of three months, and this article was peremptory. To theſe remarks Mr. Windham added ſome on the neutrality of Malta, proving it would be beneficial to France and her allies, and injurious to England alone.

In wording the article reſpecting the Cape of Good Hope, the French, he obſerved, had, as uſual, ſhewn themſelves great maſters of phraſeology. In the preliminaries it was ſtated, that all ſhips belonging to the contracting parties ſhould be admitted, and that the Cape ſhould be given over to Holland in full ſovereignty. Would this ſovereignty prevent Holland from giving up the Cape to France? When we ſaw the ſame word uſed with regard to Tuſcany, when it was governed by the infant duke of Parma, it ſhould not be conſidered as an idle word.

Under the fourth head, he had to conſider points that made no part of the definitive treaty. He ſhould firſt advert to what he conceived to be moſt alarming, namely, that the concluſion of this treaty offered the firſt inſtance of not taking in the renewal of former treaties. It opened a wide field for conjecture. It might be ſaid of it, that we might gain as much as we could loſe by it; but how it could happen that we could gain more he was not able to ſee. Were we to renounce all continental connexions, or were we not to conſider whether the diſadvantages attending them outweighed the advantages? Could we forget that the object and ſpirit of all theſe treaties was to keep down the ambition of France, and to hold out protection to other powers? The treaties of 1783 and 1787, the two great epochs of our rights in India, were given up. By the treaty of 1783 we put a guard upon our right; yet ſuch was the force with which the French preferred their claims, that a ſhip was ſunk in the Ganges, and we were on the point of hoſtilities when the convention of 1787 took place. "We are now" Mr. Windham obſerved, "in that ſituation in which an attorney might ſay to his client, you have a good right of action, go to law; but if I had a ſecurity in my hands, confirming my right and removing my adverſary's, I ſhould not be well adviſed were I to break off the ſeal and throw it in the fire, that I might afterwards go to trial, where the arbitrator is the ſword, and the court a field of battle. We are now left to our right of action, and, perhaps, the firſt news from India will be the notice for going to trial."

To theſe Mr. Windham added ſome reflections on the uncertainty in which the privilege of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras was left by the treaty, and, in ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe he uttered in treating on the preliminaries, reprobated our deſertion of our allies, particularly the Prince of Orange and the King of Sardinia. "When we talk," he ſaid, "of all the territories and acquiſitions which we have ſurrendered, we are told of thoſe wonder-working things, credit and capital. I wiſh we could transfer the word credit from the Exchange to credit of another kind, to a high ſenſe of honour, to national ſpirit, and immunity from inſult; but of all theſe qualities that made us great, we are now diveſting ourſelves, as if they were *functi officio*, and their ſole

ſole object was to procure us money. France may have ill-treated other powers under her protection, but ſhe has ſhewn that ſhe will not ſuffer another to abuſe them. The dog, though beaten by his maſter, will fly forward in his defence; and we know that powers, though crouching under France, will be bold and vigorous in her cauſe, that they will fight like Janiſſaries in the pay of their maſter. That power which never ſpares an enemy, and always gives protection to thoſe under it, will make all powers range upon its ſide."

On the ſubject of Malta he recited, from a French paper, an extract, which, if tranſlated, he would have read as part of his ſpeech. There was this difference between himſelf and the writer; the one was exulting in France for preciſely the ſame reaſons for which the other was lamenting in England. In it, the writer talked of Malta as of a place that, by the terms of treaty, "muſt eventually belong to France," and reaſoned upon ſeveral other points in terms equally diſadvantageous to England. The neceſſary information upon all theſe points was only to be had from papers, of which there were none on the table: without ſuch documents, the real caſe could not be known. The country was beginning to ſuſpect that the cordial draught of peace contained ſomething very deleterious, and that ſome antidote ſhould be diſcovered to counteract it; if the ſtomach could not get rid of it, it would at leaſt be right to analyze what remained in the cup, and endeavour to diſcover from the analyſis ſome indication of a cure. He moved that the Houſe would, on the 8th of May, take into conſideration the definitive treaty concluded at Amiens.

Mr. Elliot having ſeconded the motion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer aſſured the Houſe that he felt great ſatisfaction at the motion now made, becauſe it afforded miniſters an opportunity of entering into an explanation, which otherwiſe they could not have claimed, and which, he truſted, would be accompanied by a complete juſtification of their conduct during the late negotiation at Amiens. It was not his intention to enter into all the points propoſed by his right honourable friend; he ſhould only touch ſome of them ſlightly, reſerving the more ample diſcuſſion for a future day.

The ceſſion of Porto Ferrajo was not an act done by his majeſty's miniſters—it was a ſurrender by the King of Etruria; a conceſſion made by a ſovereign power, fully competent. His right honourable friend had laid ſome ſtreſs on the French territory in Guiana. On this ſubject he ſhould refer to a converſation which took place in the Houſe reſpecting the treaty of Badajos and that of Madrid; it was then ſtated that the French territory in this part of the globe was to be limited by the treaty of Madrid, and not by that of Badajos. Many members had inſiſted that the treaty of Badajos was much more favourable to Portugal than the other, and the Portugueſe government moſt explicitly declared they ſhould think themſelves too fortunate, if we could be inſtrumental in procuring for them the terms ſpecified, and having the boundaries fixed as there ſtipulated. The French had not inſiſted

inſiſted on the treaty of Madrid for the mere purpoſe of making a merit of giving it up; but miniſters had made an expreſs ſtipulation that the limits of the French poſſeſſions in Guiana ſhould be as agreed upon by the treaty of Badajos, but the European boundary be fixed by the treaty of Madrid. As to America, both North and South, he contended, that if the French had not their preſent extent of territory there, yet, if St. Domingo were tranquil, and affairs at reſt with them in that quarter, they could, by a large military force, become formidable to either, provided the ſubjects of theſe ſtates were diſpoſed to offer no reſiſtance, and provided Great Britain and the reſt of the European powers were to be indifferent ſpectators of the ſcene. Certainly the acquiſition of Louiſiana was very important to France, and would be viewed with regret by thoſe who wiſhed her dominion limited, but it afforded no concluſive argument that the poſſeſſion would give to France the power Mr. Windham had ſtated over that part of the globe.

On the affairs of the Italian republic, and the armament to St. Domingo, Mr. Addington obſerved that the firſt could not be otherwiſe than regarded with anxiety by thoſe who thought the power of France too great, or who felt, as men muſt feel, for the independence of the reſt of Europe; but was it meant to ſay that a renewal of the war would have been proper on account of theſe objects: Perhaps ſome of the occurrences between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty would, at any other time, have roufed all Europe; but, on the preſent occaſion, all Europe ſat ſtill. The different ſtates did not appear to be alarmed, but ſanctioned thoſe very proceedings, and by ſo doing, juſtified his majeſty's miniſters for not making theſe points a plea for the rupture of the negotiation. As to the armament for St. Domingo; conſidering the whole matter with all the circumſtances that belonged to it, he would aſk every intelligent unbiaſſed man in this country, if it was really matter of regret to us? Looking at the ſtate of the Weſt India iſlands, whether in a national view, or on the narrower field of individual intereſt, it would be manifeſt that the uſurpation of the black government was moſt formidable to the ſafety of thoſe poſſeſſions, and miniſters could not have been juſtified had they prevented the ſailing of the armament.

He vindicated the payment of the expences of the Ruſſian priſoners; affirming it to be perfectly proper that thoſe troops which were in the pay and ſervice, and under the direction, controul, and management of the Britiſh government, ſhould, in this caſe, be conſidered in all reſpects as our own.

As to Malta, he doubted whether the arrangement reſpecting it was not in the contemplation of the late adminiſtration; but he had the ſatisfaction to know that the Malteſe themſelves expreſſed ſentiments of ſatisfaction and gratitude to Great Britain for the terms procured them.

After ſome explanations of the term ſovereignty, as applied in the article reſpecting the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Addington proceeded to notice what was conſidered an

omiſſion

omiſſion in the treaty, the not renewing of former compacts. If this principle was erroneous, it was ſo without any plea or excuſe on the part of government; for it was not accidentally but adviſedly ſo ſettled. It had been induſtriouſly but untruly circulated, that a propoſition was made by government on this ſubject, but rejected by France, and that we ſubmitted our wiſh to their determination: no ſuch propoſition was brought forward by either party. On the treaties of 1783 and 1787, he requeſted the Houſe to abſtain from forming a final opinion, until they ſhould have a clear view of the matter, and miniſters be enabled to juſtify themſelves. In the Bay of Honduras, we had for a long ſeries of years, by an eſtabliſhed practice, intitled ourſelves to valuable privileges, which we had exerciſed uninterrupted and undiſputed even by France, during war, as well as enjoyed during peace; a proof that no claim ever could be made againſt us.

The Prince of Orange was not named in the treaty by that title, becauſe it had not been allowed him by any government in France ſince the Revolution, by which the head of that illuſtrious houſe had been placed on the throne of Great Britain. The terms obtained for him were certainly not ſo favourable as could have been wiſhed; but the treaty ſtipulated an adequate compenſation; for it ſaid, that for loſſes ſuffered as well in private property, as by the change of conſtitution, a fair compenſation ſhould be procured for the Houſe of Naſſau.

Having made ſome general remarks on the ſenſe in which the terms credit and confidence were to be underſtood, Mr. Addington objected to Mr. Windham's motion, merely on account of the diſtance of the day, and moved, that the 12th ſhould be ſubſtituted for the 18th.

The debate which enſued was chiefly confined to the queſtion which of the two days propoſed was preferable; Mr. Thomas Grenville inſiſting that the longer term was neceſſary to afford opportunity for a fair diſcuſſion and comparing miniſters to ſchool boys, who were anxious to ſwallow any thing diſagreeable at one draught, while Lord Hawkeſbury contended that all the facts alluded to in the ſpeech of Mr. Windham had been ſo long known that no member could be at a loſs what papers to demand or what motions to offer. Mr. Pitt, on the ſame grounds, appeared to conſider the earlieſt day ſufficiently diſtant. Of the treaties which had been alluded to, ſome could not, in point of form, be laid on the table; and it could not be ſuppoſed that it would be proper to produce to the Houſe, the treaties of Weſtphalia, Ryſwick, Utrecht, &c. If gentlemen had not looked at and conſidered all thoſe treaties already, certainly neither a week nor a fortnight would be ſufficient to prepare them for the diſcuſſion of this queſtion. But in order to aſcertain the ſtate of Europe immediately previous to, during, and ſince the war, the only information that could be given, muſt be in the diſcuſſion of the treaty. With reſpect to India, when that grand queſtion ſhould come under conſideration, it would be found that there was not only no ground for ſolid, but no pretence even for contentious argument, or plauſible cavil; and, therefore, after what he had heard ſtated, he could not

not but count the moments till the ſubject could be inveſtigated; an impartial diſcuſſion would remove all the uneaſineſs from the public mind, and prove that there exiſted a determination in peace to maintain thoſe rights, which we ſecured and ſtrengthened by war.

The amendment was carried.

May 4. On the following day, Lord Grenville delivered a long and argumentative ſpeech againſt the peace; concluding with a motion, that the definitive treaty ſhould be taken into conſideration on the 14th.

His lordſhip firſt vindicated the propriety of diſcuſſing a definitive treaty, even after the preliminaries had been approved by parliament, and then, in the ſame ſenſe as in his ſpeech on the preliminary treaty, arraigned the conduct of government toward Portugal and the Prince of Orange. We had compelled Portugal to abrogate the Methuen treaty, ſo very valuable to us in a commercial view, and for which we once thought no riſk, no ſacrifice, could be too great. The only notice taken of the Prince of Orange was, as a branch of the houſe of Naſſau eſtabliſhed in the *ci-devant* republic of the united provinces! "Good God! a branch of the houſe of Naſſau eſtabliſhed in the *ci-devant* republic of the united provinces!—when we know that the republic of the united provinces was eſtabliſhed by them, by their exertions, their valour, their patriotiſm, and their perſeverance. Yet even ſo, let us conſider the compenſations they are to receive on that footing. The houſe of Orange poſſeſſed landed property to the amount of 100,000*l.* annually, and their perſonal property, compoſed of a variety of deſcriptions, was immenſe. The whole had been ſeized and confiſcated by the Batavian Republic; and, for what?—For ſerving us—for attaching themſelves to our intereſts—for ſeriouſly entering into the views of this country, and identifying themſelves with its cauſe! for admitting Britiſh troops into their colonies, which were to be held in truſt for the lawful government! Under conſiderations ſo irreſiſtible, in regard to good faith, and national honour, we ſhould have done more than demand compenſations and indemnities for that houſe. We ſhould have inſiſted upon complete reſtitution of all that had been forfeited in ſupport of our own cauſe."

The Cape of Good Hope, his Lordſhip obſerved, was, in the preliminary articles to be eſtabliſhed as a free port, open to the trade of all nations. The full ſovereignty given to the Batavian republic over the Cape, completely deſtroyed this regulation; and if the neutrality to be maintained there were urged, he might aſk, what proviſion had been made for this neutrality? Should ſix ſhips only be ſtationed there in time of war, ſo very important was the ſituation of the Cape, they would put this country to the expence of twenty-four more ſhips for the protection of our India trade.

"When I conſider the alteration," he proceeded, "which has taken place in the definitive treaty reſpecting Malta, I find the objections I had to urge, anticipated by political ſtatements in a French paper, which appears to reſt upon the authority of government. The writer of theſe political reflections does

does not ſcruple to argue, and to argue truly, that "the definitive treaty is more advantageous, more glorious to France than the preliminaries." So ſays Bonaparte, and ſo ſay I, though a very humble follower of Bonaparte. The article is not, I admit, abſolutely official, but it is in fact the ſame, and ſhould be ſo conſidered. It has certainly been ſubmitted to the inſpection and ſanction of government, for I am confident that no one in France would dare to employ his newly acquired liberty in publiſhing reflections of a political nature without the expreſs and avowed conſent of government. Upon the ſubject of Malta, as ſettled by the definitive treaty, the reaſoning of the writer is no leſs remarkable than it is convincing. He ſays,—"In the conditions relative to Malta, that important fortreſs, which the friends of England had ſo often aſſigned to her, every thing is favourable to France both in the proviſional regulations, and the definitive arrangements. As long as the iſland is Neapolitan, it will be French; and to make it ceaſe to be ſo, will require the concurrence of all the great powers. If at one day the Malteſe Langue ſhould become dominant, the poſition, the wants, the temper, the nature of that langue, would bring it under the influence of the French government."

"From this ſtrain of reaſoning," ſaid Lord Grenville, "few men will, I think, venture to differ. Every point which France could deſire has been ſecured to her, and Malta is without even a Britiſh guarantee. With reſpect to its being garriſoned by Neapolitan troops, the precaution is too contemptible to be treated ſeriouſly. In the courſe of forty-eight hours, the French troops may march and take poſſeſſion of Naples, and what advantage can his Neapolitan Majeſty derive from ſending his troops to Malta, but incurring an idle expence, and weakening his own power at home: The independence of Malta is, under every point of view, a chimera; and the order, as it is at preſent revived, is at once a combination of ariſtocracy and democracy, of ancient opinions and new ideas; of chivalry and philoſophy."

Lord Grenville then noticed ſome points of minor importance; ſome deficiencies with reſpect to Britiſh ſubjects in the iſlands reſtored to France; the payment for the maintenance of the Ruſſian priſoners; and the omiſſion to renew former treaties. On this latter point too, he quoted to the diſadvantage of the Britiſh miniſters, the exultation of the French journaliſt. The new ſyſtem of public law thus introduced into Europe, his lordſhip contended, was portentous of infinite injury to Great Britain, not only in her commercial concerns and in Europe, but particularly in India, and this opinion, which he argued at great length, and with great profoundneſs, he inforced by the following extract from the French eſſay already alluded to. "The treaty of Amiens removes all irregularity, all oppreſſion, all reſtraint. The old law is deſtroyed; a new public law commences. The French and their allies have gained their naval independence: they will have the ſenſe to make uſe of it; they will not fall into the ſnare of a new treaty of commerce; and they may one day

day have their act of navigation!" —Did noble lords consider the last words of this extract? "and they may one day have their act of navigation!"—Did not the intelligent language of these sentiments strike their lordships most forcibly? What was the inference?—The downfal of our naval superiority; strike the British flag, lower its dignity, debase its pre-eminence, and the greatness of the British name and nation were gone for ever.

Having then noticed some points of a subordinate, but not unimportant nature, in which the omission of renewing our ancient treaties would materially affect us, his lordship concluded his harangue, which occupied two hours and a half, with a quotation from the last speech delivered by that patriotic prince William III. to parliament, on the 30th of December, 1701. That monarch treated the owning and setting up of the Pretender by Louis XIV. not only as a high indignity to himself and the whole nation, but as nearly concerning every man, who had a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of the country. The British sovereign also resented the placing the grandson of Louis on the throne of Spain, which must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to her trade, which would soon become precarious in all its valuable branches. "In order to obviate the general calamity," his Majesty said, "with which the rest of christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given me by both houses of parliament." And, he added, "if you do, in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

To this speech no detailed answer was given, but some points were occasionally noticed and explained. With regard to the non-renewal of the several treaties existing with foreign countries before the commencement of the war, Lord Pelham said, he was ready to admit that the definitive treaty would have given him more pleasure, if it had contained a stipulation to that effect: but ministers had made as good conditions as they were able to obtain, under the situation and circumstances of the contracting powers; and, inadequate as the terms might, in some instances, be held to be, he flattered himself, if it were possible collectively to take the sense of the people upon the peace, such as it was, they would rather have it than continue the war. He had been somewhat disappointed, in not having heard from the noble lord one single argument to convince the House of the necessity for taking the definitive treaty into consideration. He vindicated the conduct pursued by government with respect to Portugal; on the subject of the House of Orange, he was also disappointed respecting the arrangement finally concluded; most undoubtedly it had been stated when the preliminaries were under consideration, that there were hopes of obtaining for the Prince of Orange such a compensation as would be intirely satisfactory to

that unfortunate and illuſtrious perſonage, but although they had not been able to ſucceed in that, they had prevailed ſo far as to induce the French to make a public acknowledgement that the Houſe of Orange had ſuffered loſſes in what was now termed the Batavian republic, and to declare that an adequate compenſation ſhould be procured. Lord Pelham alſo made ſome obſervations in anſwer to thoſe of Lord Grenville on the Cape, the new public law of Europe, the Ruſſian priſoners, and the guaranty of Malta, and in concluſion moved, that, inſtead of the day already propoſed, the 12th, the day fixed by the Houſe of Commons, ſhould be aſſigned for the diſcuſſion.

This amendment was agreed to, after a debate in the courſe of which Lord Thurlow cenſured the proceeding of Lord Grenville as irregular. His notice imported that he ſhould move to fix a future day for taking the definitive treaty into conſideration, and he ought to have confined himſelf to that alone, without entering ſo largely into the ſubject in detail. He would obſerve that all ſubſiſting treaties were at an end as ſoon as a war was commenced with thoſe who are parties to them. It behoved thoſe, therefore, who plunged the country into the war, not to have ſet the treaties looſe; it by no means followed that ancient treaties were neceſſarily to be revived and renewed in every treaty of peace; that muſt depend on the will of the contracting parties; but this only, ſo far as the treaties did not affect the laws of nations, thoſe laws remained as they did before.

The Earl of Carliſle enforced the arguments of Lord Grenville, and ſaid, if miniſters had looked France in the face at the time of the negotiation, and ſaid they would not come to terms, unleſs theſe neceſſary points were ſettled; the Houſe would not at that time have been debating on the merits of the definitive treaty.

The Lord Chancellor ſaid, that if by omitting the mention of former treaties, they were all to be conſidered as abrogated, and the public law of Europe thus altered, he had no difficulty in ſtating that an addreſs ſhould be voted to his majeſty, praying him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils for ever. But he truſted the fact was far otherwiſe, and the conduct of miniſters deſerved no ſuch cenſure. He ſhould not at preſent anſwer Lord Grenville, doubting whether his ſpeech had been in order.

On a ſubſequent day, May 5. the Earl of Carliſle, having cauſed the Houſe to be ſummoned, introduced a motion reſpecting the Prince of Orange, by declaring, that in his preſent proceeding, he had no other motive than a ſenſe of public duty. This apology he felt it neceſſary to make, as he had been the firſt of their lordſhips who, almoſt ſingly, ſtated his objections to the formation of the preſent adminiſtration. For many individuals in office he entertained the higheſt reſpect and eſteem; for ſome, he felt a ſincere regard and affection. He knew that ſeveral poſſeſſed great and uſeful talents; but he had always feared, and was now convinced, that the experiment of a negotiation was too great to be eſſayed by inexperienced and untried men. His lordſhip then repeated many

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of the ſtatements of the preceding day reſpecting the amount of the property poſſeſſed by the Prince of Orange, and the cauſe of its confiſcation, and affirmed, that under ſuch circumſtances, it was incumbent on this country not to loſe a moment in endeavouring to ſet on foot ſome means of enforcing the due execution of the 18th article of the definitive treaty, that an adequate compenſation ſhould be procured for the loſſes ſuffered by, what is there contemptuouſly denominated a branch of the Houſe of Naſſau; as if the prince was not conſidered as the head of that Houſe. The wording of the article was extremely defective, and what ſecurity could this country imagine it held out for a compenſation to the Prince of Orange, when it was coupled with the alarming and extraordinary, though well-known fact, that two of the contracting parties, Holland and France, the very moment after the Engliſh embaſſador had affixed his name to the definitive treaty, retired to a corner under the ſame roof, and ſigned a convention, containing a declaration on the part of Holland, that ſhe was not to be called upon for any compenſation, and a guarantee of that declaration on the part of France, both parties at the time ſolemnly executing that convention, as their explanation of the meaning of the 18th article of the definitive treaty? From what quarter was the propoſed compenſation to proceed? it could not be expected, either from the German States or from Spain; and he contended that the unhappy prince was reduced to the ſituation of a penſioner. This country, he ſaid, had taken ſeveral places in truſt for him, and yet, in his mind, to uſe a coarſe expreſſion, we had been guilty of little ſhort of ſwindling, for miniſters went to market with theſe very places in order to obtain peace. He therefore moved an addreſs, praying that there might be laid before the Houſe, copies of a ſeparate convention concluded at Amiens between any parties, in explanation of the 18th article of the definitive treaty of peace.

The Marquis Cornwallis ſaid, he could not conceive there was any ground to ſuſpect that the 18th article of the definitive treaty would not be ſolemnly fulfilled. Neither could he conceive that a ſeparate agreement, entered into by two of the contracting parties to the definitive treaty by themſelves, as it were in their cloſet, without the concurrence or conſent of the others, could be conſidered as affecting the due execution of a treaty, for which the good faith of all the four was pledged. He diſdained the imputation of having deſerted, or ſuffered the intereſts of the Prince of Orange and his adherents to be deſerted; and he had not the ſmalleſt doubt, that a full and ample compenſation would be procured for them.

Lord Pelham aſſured the Earl of Carliſle that the propoſed addreſs could anſwer no purpoſe, as no ſuch communication as that referred to had ever been made to his Majeſty's miniſters, nor was he apprized from any official authority, that ſuch a convention had been entered into.

The Earl of Carliſle, after ſome further obſervations, requeſted leave to withdraw his motion; on which a long deſul-

tory converſation enſued, in which the principal ſpeakers were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Marquis Cornwallis, Lords Pelham, Hobart, and Holland.

Lord Auckland, in the courſe of the debate, made ſome obſervations worthy of peculiar notice. From experience in treating with nations having adverſe views and contradictory intereſts, he ſaid, he well knew that ſuch diſcuſſions were ſubject to great difficulties. A negotiator cannot in all caſes obtain either the conditions or the expreſſions that his employers may wiſh. There muſt be complaiſance and conceſſion in ſome particulars, in order to obtain a ſimilar complaiſance in others. On this account, it was unfair to affix cenſure to detached and ſeparate proviſions, more eſpecially in a treaty embracing ſuch various and complicated intereſts. Subject to this diſtinction, he felt himſelf perſonally engaged in honour, and indeed, in honeſty, to declare, that the article in queſtion was not conſonant to his ſentiments either in ſubſtance or in diction. He was ſorry the Houſe of Orange was not deſcribed by its proper title; he alſo diſliked the new phraſe of *la ci-devant Republique*. Beſides, there ought to have been ſome preſcribed mode for aſcertaining the loſſes to be compenſated; ſome ſpecial fund ſhould have been aſſigned for the purpoſe; and the immediate adherents of the Houſe of Orange, who had been deprived of their property by their faithful ſupport of our cauſe, had ſtrong claims to our protection. Still however the article, even if it ſhould be thought open to thoſe criticiſms, was of great importance, as eſtabliſhing in preciſe and definite terms that an adequate compenſation ſhould be made. And certainly the joint and ſolemn undertaking of four parties could not be weakened by the ſeparate and clandeſtine tranſaction which had afterwards taken place between two of thoſe parties. A defeaſance ſo indecorous in its mode, and ſo unprincipled in its meaning, could not be conſidered as of any avail. His lordſhip then ſtated in an animated detail, the fidelity and ſufferings of the Houſe of Orange, adding that the compenſation for loſt property ought to be made by the Dutch, who had ſeized that property. It was under various deſcriptions of ancient eſtates in the Dutch provinces and in Brabant, ſalaries and appointments, marriage ſettlements by different powers and provinces, and alſo a large perſonal property. He had heard with pleaſure the opinion of the Marquis Cornwallis, that the compenſation would undoubtedly be given according to the ſtipulation. It was not an object of generoſity, but of juſtice. The neglect of ſuch an object would draw upon us the contempt of mankind, and the wrath of heaven.

The Earl of Carliſle's motion was withdrawn.

On the ſame day, Mr. William Eliott moving for papers relative to the treaty, made a ſpeech of conſiderable length againſt the peace. The firſt paper he ſhould require was the treaty of Badajos, by which the important town of Olivenza was ceded to Spain, and the integrity of Portugal moſt materially violated. His ſecond motion ſhould be for copies of any conventions or armiſtices concluded between Portugal May 5.

tugal and Spain during the year 1801, and communicated to the Britiſh government. It was to be feared that theſe contained many commercial ſtipulations highly detrimental to this country, and one of them was the baſis of the treaty, by which a great part of Portugueſe America was ceded. On this ſubject, he made many obſervations, applying to the merits of the treaty of Amiens, and recapitulated many of the arguments already uſed reſpecting the extenſion of the French territory in Guiana, contending that, ſooner or later, France would ſeize Brazil and Peru. The words of the definitive treaty inflicted upon this country a needleſs indignity. It aſſerted the integrity of Portugal, and guaranteed its diſmemberment. We held out our protection only to diſplay our weakneſs. He ſhould thirdly move for copies of any treaties entered into between Spain and France during the late negotiations for peace. This part of his ſubject alſo led the mover into a ſeries of reflections on the ambition and bad faith of France, which extended to all parts of the globe. America was endangered by the ceſſion of Louiſiana, and could never be ſafe when France had conquered all Europe. On theſe ſubjects he imputed great blame to miniſters. He had great reſpect for them as individuals, and would by no means ſay that they wiſhed to impoſe upon the Houſe. He believed they were ignorant themſelves, but ignorance would not excuſe them. Did they take the proper means to procure information? Did they peremptorily put the queſtion? If France returned no anſwer, this was the greateſt indignity to the government and to the country. If France returned a falſe anſwer, this was a fraud, and in either caſe the negotiations ought to have been broken off. At any rate they were acquainted with the fact before the ſignature of the definitive treaty; and before they proceeded farther they were bound in honour to come again and aſk for the opinion of the Houſe.

Lord Hawkeſbury affirmed, that the honourable gentleman had purſued a moſt unuſual courſe, and defied him to ſtate an inſtance in which any faction had purſued a more extraordinary line of conduct. The regular method had been for gentlemen to ſtate an intention of bringing forward their motions on a certain day, and move, in the mean time, for ſuch information as they might deem neceſſary, but to confine themſelves to the neceſſity of the information required. In anſwer to the reflections thrown on the conduct of this country toward Portugal, his lordſhip made the following ſtatement. Portugal aſked aſſiſtance of this country at a period when it was not poſſible to afford it. Government thought it better to employ our forces in the recovery of Egypt than in the defence of Portugal, which country, under theſe circumſtances, propoſed an alternative, whether we would releaſe her from her engagements, and allow her to conclude a ſeparate treaty of peace, even to the excluſion of Britiſh veſſels from her ports; or afford her pecuniary aſſiſtance. Government, unable to aſſiſt, releaſed her from her engagements, and allowed her to conclude a ſeparate peace; they went further; they allowed her to enter into ſtipulations ſo adverſe to this country as

to exclude Britiſh ſhipping from her ports, and they propoſed to Parliament a vote of ſubſidy to enable Portugal to make the beſt conditions ſhe could. Under theſe circumſtances, could any one ſtate, that if Portugal had made her peace, this country was now called upon to endeavour to recover any of the poſſeſſions which Portugal might have ceded by that treaty? The papers required would be granted, except thoſe which were not officially in the hands of government. Alluding to an obſervation made on the other ſide of the Houſe, that Britiſh honour was tarniſhed, and the ſpirit of the people broken down: his lordſhip ſaid, he was ſo far from aſſenting to the aſſertion, that there was no period in the hiſtory, not only of this country, but of the world, in which the honour of the Britiſh flag was higher, and the ſpirit of the people greater. In point of real commercial ſtrength, there never was an hour in which the relative ſituation of Great Britain had a greater advantage over France. He need not ſay how far our naval glory, in this war, tranſcended every thing that ever went before it. He was ready to maintain, that we had extricated ourſelves out of the conteſt in which we had been engaged, in a manner that manifeſted an adherence to perfect good faith, and proved that thoſe who ſaid our faith was deſerted, the luſtre of our flag tarniſhed, our character degraded, our ſpirit ſunk, uſed a language completely unfounded, and the reverſe of truth.

Dr. Laurence cenſured the ſpeech of Lord Hawkeſbury as unprecedented in the Houſe. He and his honourable friends were denominated a faction, and the moſt unworthy motives were imputed to them. A cuſtom had prevailed, for ſome years, of commencing offenſive war from the treaſury bench, the moment that any meaſure of government was queſtioned. A diſcuſſion on ſome points of order followed, in which Lord Hawkeſbury, in explanation, denied that he had imputed factious motives to his honourable friends on the other ſide; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared, if he had, he ſhould not have been able to concur with him.

All the papers which could properly be produced having been granted, Lord Hawkeſbury, in anſwer to a queſtion from Lord Temple, ſtated that no official information had yet reached him of the acceſſion of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Auſtria to guarantee the independence of Malta, but miniſters had reaſon to believe that there was a diſpoſition on the part of ſome of thoſe powers to accede to the article in queſtion.

May 6. The next day Earl Temple, after many obſervations on the ſtate of Malta, moved for annual accounts of all territorial revenues and commercial duties received or collected in that iſland from the date of the ſurrender to his Majeſty's arms. This requeſt being acceded to, he demanded a copy of the treaty of Luneville. Againſt this propoſition, not the miniſters alone, but alſo Mr. Pitt, loudly proteſted. The treaty of Luneville, he obſerved, if it could be officially laid before the Houſe, would not enable any perſon to form a more accurate judgment with regard to the definitive treaty. It was a compact not made

made in conjuction with this country, and therefore not officially communicated to our government. It was in no reſpect a Britiſh tranſaction. The ground upon which it was called for was not conſiſtent with a fair, candid, and comprehenſive diſcuſſion of the definitive treaty. If there ever was an occaſion in which a contrary mode to that purſued by the noble lord and his friends, ought to be adopted, it was the preſent. Their object was to endeavour to hunt down, one by one, the ſeparate ſtipulations of the treaty, and to take the opportunity of doing ſo, when the ſubject was not fully and regularly before the Houſe. One day, on a mere motion for a preliminary information, it was ſaid that one part of the treaty was diſgraceful, and the next, that another part was inadmiſſible, although miniſters had repeatedly ſaid that the whole queſtion would be conſidered together, not with reference to the treaty of Luneville only, but to the general ſituation of Italy. It would be more conſiſtent with propriety to avoid making a motion for papers a vehicle for introducing a debate which was unparliamentary.

This motion being negatived, Earl Temple required a copy of the laws and ſtatutes of the order of Malta; being anſwered by Lord Hawkeſbury that government was not officially in poſſeſſion of any ſuch papers, Earl Temple replied, it was ſtrange that miniſters ſhould be ignorant of that conſtitution which in common with other powers, they, in the definitive treaty, had expreſsly guaranteed. Lord Hawkeſbury rejoined, denying that he ſaid they were ignorant of the Malteſe conſtitution, but they had no official document on the ſubject. There were ſome changes to be made in that conſtitution, which would be the ſubject of future diſcuſſion. This motion was alſo negatived.

The pointed obſervations made by Mr. Pitt, May 7. did not prevent Earl Spencer on the following day from moving for an account of the amount of the territorial revenues and duties upon the commerce of Malta, ſince its ſurrender to his Majeſty's arms. In ſupport of this motion, he referred to the articles of the preliminary and definitive treaties, contending that the proviſion in the latter, reſpecting the langues, was calculated really, though not nominally, to give all power and authority to France. The treaty required that the knights of the order ſhould form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand maſter from among the natives, and thoſe nations which preſerved langues. By a ſubſequent ſtipulation there ſhould henceforth be no Engliſh nor French langue. The Engliſh langue had long ceaſed to exiſt, and nominally by this ſtipulation the French langue was to be aboliſhed; but would it in fact and effect be aboliſhed? The remaining langues would be the three; of Provence, Auxerre, and another diſtrict in Lombardy. From the ſtate of dependence on France in which thoſe places ſtood, they were, to all intents and purpoſes, French. Spain had two langues, and who would ſay that the French could not influence and even dictate to Spain, in this as in every other reſpect? The Italian ſtates had another langue; could it be denied that the relationſhip which the Ita-

lian Republic and the chief conſul, as preſident of that Republic, ſtood in to each other, placed it beyond a doubt that the Italian Republic would be under the dominion of France. The remaining langue was the German one, and he did not mean to ſay that the German langue might not act independently, but what chance was there of ſecuring the iſland of Malta in a ſtate of independence, under ſuch circumſtances. It was, in fact, neither more nor leſs than leaving the iſland of Malta in the power of France. On the other articles applying to Malta, his lordſhip made obſervations equally forcible. The eſtabliſhment of a Malteſe langue, to be ſupported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the iſland, with dignities, appointments, and an appropriate Auberge, and from whom no proofs of nobility ſhould be neceſſary, he highly diſapproved of as a revolutionary organization. The ſtipulation for evacuating the iſland and its dependencies by his Britannic Majeſty, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, would make it fall immediately into the hands of the French, and it was not at all probable that the King of Naples ſhould furniſh two thouſand men to ſerve as a garriſon for the ſeveral fortreſſes on the iſland, when no reſources were provided for their pay, clothing and ſubſiſtence; but even ſuppoſing the two thouſand Neapolitans did garriſon the fortreſſes, what ſort of reſiſtance could ſuch a ſmall number of Italian troops make to the force of the French Republic, or to the armed hordes that France might pour into the iſland? His lordſhip made many obſervations on the importance of obtaining this iſland for Great Britain, and on the facility with which that object might have been effected. The guarantee of the ſix powers mentioned in the treaty was a complete illuſion. If Ruſſia refuſed to take the iſland under her immediate protection, it was difficult to ſee what intereſt ſhe could have in acting as a guarantee. Auſtria might have ſome little intereſt, but, in her preſent ſituation, an efficient interpoſition on her part, was not to be expected; and Pruſſia could have no intereſt at all in the arrangement. Thus it appeared, that the only remaining guarantees, to whom it was of any importance, were France and Spain, whoſe intereſt was in direct oppoſition to that of this country; who would find various pretences, under the treaty, to throw troops into it; and who had every thing in their favour from local poſition to take advantage of ſuch pretence.

Lord Hobart obſerved, with reſpect to Malta, that, as the noble lord had admitted it to be impregnable by blockade, we ſhould not have ſucceeded if the Malteſe had not themſelves paved the way for the poſſeſſion of the iſland, and therefore, it could not be impolitic to pay a marked attention to the native inhabitants, by creating a Malteſe langue. As we won the iſland by force of arms, we had an indiſputable right to arrange its government, and the noble Earl was miſtaken with reſpect to the King of Naples, that monarch would both ſend and pay the two thouſand men to garriſon the fortreſſes. As to the additional expence which would be neceſſary to carry the article and its ſtipulations

tions into effect, Malta was hereafter to be encouraged to purſue commerce, it was moſt advantageouſly ſituated for ſuch purpoſes, and then the revenue would increaſe beyond the power of correct calculation. He did not oppoſe the motion of Earl Spencer, but objected to the mode adopted as fallacious. No noble lord, who had hitherto offered a motion reſpecting any part of the treaty had required the Houſe to decide on that particular point, they had merely aſked for papers and information neceſſary to enable them to diſcuſs the ſubject more completely, when it came to be conſidered altogether.

The motion was agreed to, but the papers were not produced, as Lord Hawkeſbury, on a ſubſequent day declared in the Houſe of Commons that there was no ſuch account in any public office: he ſubſtituted, however, an account previous to the year 1798.

May 10. The next motion was made by Lord Holland, who avowed and defended the principle of aſſailing the various parts of the treaty before the day fixed for a general diſcuſſion. As that was fixed ſo early, he ſaid, the interim could not be more uſefully employed. Under this impreſſion, he introduced to the attention of the Houſe the caſe of the Queen of Portugal, repeating the obſervations ſo often made in both Houſes, and moving for copies of all notes, or other official documents, which paſſed between government and the court of Portugal, relative to the treaty between France and Portugal in the year 1797, and alſo thoſe which related to the treaty of Badajos.

Lord Pelham inſiſted that the demand of ſuch papers was improper, and Lord Grenville commended miniſters for refuſing them. His lordſhip alſo defended the miniſtry of which he had been a member againſt many imputations thrown on them by Lord Holland, and particularly with reſpect to the rupture of the treaty of El Ariſh. The motion was negatived.

Lord Minto then called the attention of the Houſe to the two important points; the extraordinary circumſtance of the Firſt Conſul of France having made himſelf ſovereign of the greater part of Italy, during a negotiation for a general peace; and his obtaining the poſſeſſion of the iſland of Elba from the Duke of Tuſcany. His lordſhip ſaid, as he had no opportunity of ſpeaking to the preliminaries of peace, becauſe he was then abſent at Vienna, he was glad to ſeize the preſent occaſion of delivering his ſentiments. It was impoſſible for him to deſcribe the aſtoniſhment which he felt on receiving the firſt account of that preliminary treaty. There was not a ſingle friend to this country in Vienna who was not alſo aſtoniſhed, grieved, and diſappointed. At the concluſion of every former war, this country had maintained her high character, and preſerved her independence: it was not until the preſent diſaſtrous period that ſhe ſuffered the enemy to dictate the moſt humiliating terms. It could not be called a treaty of peace, it was more like a capitulation to a victorious enemy on the field of battle; and all this was done, not on a ſudden, not in conſequence of a panic occaſioned by any unforeſeen diſaſters, but after a negotiation that had been carried

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on nearly a whole year; and, after a ſeries of the moſt brilliant and important ſucceſſes obtained by Britiſh valour on the ocean, and on the land in ſeveral parts of the world. On the acquiſition of Italy by France, it might, perhaps, be ſaid, that ſuch nominal ſovereignty added nothing to the real power Bonaparte previouſly poſſeſſed; but there was a material difference between the influence he could exerciſe in the one caſe, and the power in the other. Bonaparte never did any thing without ſome ſtrong and ſecret motive, and trifling as it might appear at firſt ſight, the circumſtance of his changing the name from the Ciſalpine to the Italian republic, was ſomething more than the mere adoption of one word in preference to another, to tickle the ear; it was a ſtroke of policy; and ſerved to develope his plans. While that part of Italy retained the name of Ciſalpine republic, its title would be geographically inconſiſtent in any new extenſion of territory; but, by the change of name, it was put into a growing ſtate, and might by degrees comprehend all Italy. Like a child it was to be conſidered as poſſeſſing the faculty of increaſing in magnitude every day, and the new name might be compared to a child's garment, which ſome frugal parents have ſo contrived, that it could be made wider and wider as the child ſhould grow up. He ſaw nothing now to prevent Genoa and the neighbouring ſtates from becoming a part of this republic; he ſaw nothing to prevent it from running along the whole peninſula of Italy, and then the name of the Italian republic would be more applicable than it was at preſent. No friend to Great Britain could entertain any other feeling on the occaſion, than the warmeſt indignation at the contemptuous manner in which the country had been treated. His lordſhip reprobated the whole of this tranſaction in ſtrong and pointed terms, declaring that if it had been private altogether, it might be conſidered fraudulent, deceitful, and diſgraceful; if it was to be regarded as public, it was a mixture of the fouleſt injury to this country, accompanied with the groſſeſt inſult, that ever was practiſed toward a great and powerful nation. It ſo happened that it was partly private and partly public. The motive of the firſt conſul's viſit to Lyons had been a profound ſecret, a myſtery was over it, nor was its true object aſcertained, till it became indiſpenſably neceſſary for the firſt conſul to avow, in a public manner, his having aſſumed the ſovereignty of what had before been termed the Ciſalpine republic. It had therefore all the fraud and deluſion of a private contrivance, and all the injury and inſult of a public act of treachery.

Treating next on the manner in which the iſland of Elba had been obtained by France, the moment it was evacuated by his majeſty's troops, he diſcuſſed the great importance of this iſland from its ſituation. During a war with Great Britain, France would derive eminent advantages from having it, and alſo they would find Genoa, ſcarcely twenty-four hours ſail from Toulon, another Marſeilles. After dwelling on the relative poſition of the iſland of Elba,

Elba, its proximity to Leghorn, to the mouth of the Tiber, and all the adjacent seas, and to a great variety of other points of considerable interest, he said, it did not appear that any remonstrances had been made by our minister at Amiens, in consequence of these two alarming events. If no negotiations had been carrying on; if all the parties had been in a state of profound tranquillity, the very circumstance of the greatest part of Italy, being added to France, must have been a sufficient ground for going to war; and *a fortiori*, it ought to have been ground for breaking off the treaty. There never was, before, an instance of one of the contracting parties having committed such a violation of the laws of nations, and the negotiation having still gone on, and come to a conclusion, as if nothing of the kind had happened. He therefore moved, for copies of all official communications relative to the proceedings of the congress at Lyons, and the appointment of the first consul to the presidency of the Italian republic; as well as those relating to the occupation of the isle of Elba by the French.

Lord Pelham informed the noble mover, that the address, if carried, would be of no use, as ministers had received no such communications. He did not differ much, he added, from his noble friend in respect to many of the points he had touched upon. He admitted, that such an aggrandisement and extension of territory as France gained by the Cisalpine republic and the island of Elba was alarming, and one of the many instances of the improper conduct of France during the negotiation, which, in other times, and under other circumstances, would have been thought a sufficient and justifiable ground for a renewal of war. The situation of the powers on the continent, however, made any such proceeding on our part inexpedient; the negotiations therefore were not suspended, and he, in concert with others of his majesty's ministers, had ordered the treaty to be concluded, and advised his majesty to sign it.

Earl Fitzwilliam asked, if ministers had made any representation against the transaction as soon as they heard of it, and what that representation was? This question, however, was objected to, as it was not regular for individual peers to interrogate ministers in such a manner; and in their refusal so to answer, the ministers were supported by Lord Auckland, though reprobated by Lord Grenville. The motion was not carried.

In consequence of these motions, and of the notices given, that others would be made, the debate on the definitive treaty was postponed to the 13th of May.

In the interval, General Gascoyne moved for May 11. information relative to the right of British subjects, to cut wood, &c. in the bay of Honduras. This was one object of his inquiry; but the point upon which he principally dwelt, was the omission in the definitive treaty of any stipulation to secure to our settlers in the islands to be ceded, the right of removing their property, notwithstanding the number of memorials, which in the course of the

the negotiation, had been presented to the noble secretary of state. The amount of British capital vested in these establishments was not less, he was well assured, than ten millions. Having descanted on the consequence of allowing so much British property to fall into the hands of our great commercial rivals, and on the severe treatment of the merchants, who would now be obliged to consign their produce to the French, instead of their own countrymen, if they could prevail on themselves to remain in establishments from which they would not be suffered to remove their effects; for their negroes particularly, must, by the laws of France, remain attached to the soil; he said it was his intention, on a future occasion, to bring forward a proposition for the relief of these merchants, and concluded with moving for an account of any explanations that might have taken place between our government, and those of France and Batavia, respecting the removal or transfer of British property in the islands, colonies, and settlements, which his majesty has engaged by the treaty of peace to restore.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, as unusual. It called for explanations of what had occurred in the progress of a negotiation, which was now brought to an issue—an explanation which it would be improper to grant, if not impossible satisfactorily to state, unless other parts of the representations of our embassador, upon which great stress might have been laid, were coupled with it; and it was to be considered, that many of those communications were made under an implied obligation of secrecy, to violate which might be dangerous to the consequences of peace. After a long conversation, the motion was negatived without a division; and the same fate attended another for copies of memorials and petitions presented to government; and one for the statement of accounts, ministers might have received of prohibitions affecting the trade or navigation of this country, with those powers with whom we had just concluded a treaty, imposed since the signing of the preliminary articles. An account of the quantity and value of certain imports from Honduras was granted.

May 12. The last effort previous to the general discussion, was made by Dr. Laurence, who, in moving for certain papers relative to the East Indies, began his speech with observations on the importance of those territories, and an account of the progress of our influence and possessions in that quarter. At first we appeared there as unambitious merchants, anxious only to extend our commerce, content with the liberty of traffic, and never extending our views to territorial dominion. At a late period, even in the memory of some present, our possessions in the East Indies were reckoned a matter of little moment; and a barren rock in Newfoundland, seemed a greater object of importance to the public, than the restoration of Madras to us by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By degrees, however, the advantages to be derived from possessions in that quarter began to be perceived, and we soon after, obtained immense territorial dominions.

inons. Theſe acquiſitions, it was our duty to defend againſt the French and Dutch, and in order to ſhew how far, in his judgment, this had been done, Dr. Laurence ſtated the riſe and progreſs of the pretenſions of France; the grant to her of the five provinces, called the northern circars, by the native princes, while to us they were conceded by the Great Mogul, the ſupreme ſovereign of the country; the diſputes which had enſued, with reſpect to theſe and other matters, till final arrangements were effected by the convention of 1787, which was univerſally approved of, as the means of preventing all future diſputes.

Dr. Laurence next ſtated the circumſtances of our commercial connexion with the Dutch. The treaty of 1784 did generally, though not ſpecifically, renew all former treaties; its two principal ſtipulations were, the preſervation of the honours of our flag, and the perpetual freedom of navigation in the eaſtern ſeas. The importance of theſe ſtipulations he clearly and ably diſplayed; the Dutch had formerly, though not ſo much while we were their allies, pretended a right to exclude us from the trade of that peninſula altogether; but they had long ago manifeſted, how ill diſpoſed they were to our eaſtern commerce, and was it now to be expected, that, when under French influence, they would refrain from advancing claims which were left completely undecided? Some objections might be made to producing the papers he ſhould require, but many of theſe he anticipated and anſwered. One of the inſtruments he meant to demand, the treaty of 1795, admitted the Dutch republic to treat as the ally of France, and was, in fact, equivalent to an alliance offenſive and defenſive. By this treaty, Holland might be at peace with Pruſſia, Germany, or any other power of Europe, Great Britain excepted, though France were at war with them. When we conſidered the treaty of 1795, and the preſent treaty of Amiens in reſpect to allies, we could not but bear witneſs to the triumph of France, and our own degradation. After ſome remarks on the value of the Cape of Good Hope, and ſome further notice of the effect of the treaties in queſtion, he moved, that there be laid before the Houſe, an account of the acquiſitions made or pretended to be made by his moſt chriſtian majeſty on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, between the years 1748 and 1763.

Mr. Dundas in oppoſing this motion, alſo reviewed hiſtorically the ſtate of India, as it regarded the Great Mogul, the native princes, the French, and ourſelves, drawing from the whole this concluſion, that, although we might feel it juſt and expedient to make ſuch allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make ſuch regulations in our territories as we might think adviſeable, yet, with regard to European powers, to them we could ſay freely and diſtinctly, we had gained this country by our arms, and by our arms we would keep it. From the days of Lord Clive to the preſent, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1763, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of

of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, &c.; but they were by right of conqueſt ſubject to the ſovereignty of the king of Great Britain, exerciſed through the medium of the India Company, and through the different organs eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of our provinces. What we had gained thus by conqueſt, was to be conſidered with reference to any other European power, as totally ſubject to our ſovereignty, without any interference of theirs; we were actually the ſovereigns of India, and no European ſtate had any right to diſpute our title to this power, which we poſſeſſed *de facto*. If it was thought expedient in the preſent moment, to avoid references to antient treaties in the preſent definitive treaty, it was a ſufficient anſwer to any inquiry on the ſubject, to ſay, it occaſioned no diminution in our power in India, and formed no foundation for any other to diſpute our ſovereignty there, or to conteſt with us the rights upon which that ſovereignty was founded; nor was that all; he miſtook greatly if the ſovereignty of Great Britain in India, did not, at that moment, ſtand upon a better footing than if the former treaties had been renewed. The treaty of 1783 was, with regard to India, the worſt ever made; that of 1787 rectified its errors; but, on the preſent occaſion, the latter could not have been referred to without alſo renewing the conteſts which were brought forward in 1783. But it was aſked, could the Houſe really think we could be ſecure againſt the ambitious claims of France, as they had appeared in 1783, and were done away in 1787, without having renewed, the proviſions of the convention in 1787? This he would anſwer, by another queſtion. Did the learned gentleman really think, that, if the French ſhould be diſpoſed to renew the pretenſions of 1783, or any other pretenſions, they would be prevented by a few ſcraps of paper being laid on the table of that Houſe, a ſpecies of artillery that would not be equal to the operation of a ſingle field piece for half a minute? That the French would on all occaſions, endeavour to diminiſh the greatneſs of this country, and advance their own, there could be no doubt; what courſe they would take to enlarge their commercial intereſts in India, was not for us to anticipate. If they were trying to erect commercial factories, or to do any thing that interfered with our ſovereignty in India, we ſhould be fully warranted, and what was better, we were in poſſeſſion of means, to reſiſt ſuch an attempt. But a few papers laid before the Houſe, would not help us to any arguments which we had not already, for the propriety of reſiſting ſuch attempts; thank God we had never wanted arguments or ſtrength to reſiſt the encroachments of the French on our ſovereign power in India. From all this it was perfectly clear, that before the French could exerciſe any trade in India, they muſt come to us in the character of ſuppliants; for nothing they had yet obtained would enable them to carry it on without our leave. Whatever matter of complaint was to be urged, or, rather, of lamentation, upon the ſubject of treaties, it could only be, that his majeſty's

government did not ſettle the whole of the proviſions of all former treaties, by taking notice of them all, and finally adjuſting them all. This, however in the abſtract, it might appear deſirable, ought not to have been attempted in the preſent caſe, becauſe it would have been impoſſible to accompliſh it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconſiſtent with the intereſts of the ſtates of Europe. If the French, or any other power, ſhould claim the right of carrying their goods up the Ganges, or to do any other act, was it not ſufficient that we had the power to prevent them? The French, and Dutch trade, and the trade of other powers in India, might go hand in hand, ſo it was not detrimental to us; but if it were, we had the power to ſtop it, and that was enough for our preſent purpoſe at leaſt.

But it was ſaid, that France was hoſtile in its diſpoſition towards the trade of this nation, and was endeavouring to prevail on Holland, Spain, and other countries, to do all they could to diſcourage our trade, and prohibit ſome of it in their dominions: he would aſk were they ſo? And if they were, was this the preciſe period in which we ſhould make them a voluntary gift of commerce to India? "I own," he ſaid, "this is a ſubject on which I feel deeply; I have it much at heart, and I am ſure there is not one man in this Houſe, who would feel more ſorrow than I ſhould, if I conceived it poſſible for you to ſurrender any one of the rights of which I have been ſpeaking. I am one of the laſt men in the world, my conduct I think proves it, who would wiſh to plead for the ſyſtem of this country narrowing the trade of foreigners in India; ever ſince I thought I underſtood any thing of the affairs of India, my maxim has been to enlarge that trade, and that we might as well attempt to prohibit any foreigners from buying our manufactures of Yorkſhire or of Birmingham, or any other manufacture of this country, as prohibit foreigners from trading with our territories in India. But I ſhould guard againſt miſconception of this opinion. When I ſay we ſhould not prevent them from trading, I mean, I am not afraid of them as merchants—I am not unwilling to give them a boon as ſuch, with a chance of reciprocity, and I aſk no more; but I think I am not going too far, when I deſire this country to guard againſt that which I know the French have endeavoured to make, and will endeavour to make, if they ſee any probability of its ſucceſs, I mean an incroachment on our ſovereignty in India. This they have done, and if an opportunity offers, this they will do, under the pretence of purſuing trade. They will aſk you civilly, for in no other way can they aſk it, to allow them to do a number of things for the purpoſe of carrying on trade, when their object will be to incroach upon your ſovereignty. It was in this way they endeavoured to incroach in 1787, when they told us they could not recover their debts without a certain enlargement of power; we reſiſted that directly; and I hope this will be the conduct of this country in future. The very

very firſt article inſiſted upon by Lord Auckland, in 1787, was, that nothing in the moſt diſtant degree touching our ſovereignty in India, would on any terms or conditions whatever, be aſſented to on the part of this country. I hope it is not preſumptuous in me to ſay, I truſt his majeſty's government will adopt the ſame principle, and ſtand upon the ſame ground as we did then, and if we do ſo, I will venture to ſay there will be no danger; depart from that principle, and your ſovereignty will be firſt undermined, then attacked, and perhaps finally overthrown."

Mr. Dundas cenſured thoſe who ſuppoſed an intention in France, to incroach on our ſovereignty in India, at a time when the people of that country advanced no ſuch pretenſions, as were now ſtated on their behalf; would it not be time enough, when they did bring forward thoſe claims, for government to reſiſt them? What paſſed in the Houſe, tranſpired to the people of this country; and he could not concur with thoſe who wiſhed to make them think the peace a bad one. He could not give approbation to all the articles of peace; but was it doing good to the country to keep the queſtion up, and endeavour to make the people diſlike it? Gentlemen complained of the pride and arrogance of France: was this the way to make her leſs proud or arrogant? Mr. Dundas then examined the obſervations of Dr. Laurence, on the ſubject of the danger to us in the eaſtern ſeas, and on the apprehenſion which he expreſſed concerning the claims of the Dutch, and concluded by ſtating his ſolemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to hypothetical caſes, and entertain ſuch motions as the preſent, we ſhould, inſtead of ſtrengthening, weaken the rights of the Britiſh empire.

Mr. Thomas Grenville and Earl Temple made ſome obſervations in favour of Dr. Laurence's motion, which was oppoſed by Lord Hawkeſbury and Mr. Jones, and negatived without a diviſion, and the ſame fate attended the reſidue of a ſeries of motions for papers, which Dr. Laurence brought forward as neceſſary to the inveſtigation of this moſt important ſubject.

CHAP. XII.

Proceedings in the Houſe of Lords on the definitive treaty. Prefatory caution by Lord Stanhope; ſpeech of Lord Grenville on the treaty; addreſs moved by him; amendments propoſed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Pelham; ſpeeches of thoſe Peers; Lord Mulgrave; Lord Auckland; the Earls of Caernarvon and Weſtmoreland; Lord Ellenborough; Lord Darnley; the Earl of Roſslyn; the Lord Chancellor; Earl Camden; the Duke of Richmond; Lord Hobart; Lord Pelham's amendment carried; Motion by Lord Holland, negatived.

NOTWITHSTANDING the length and frequency of theſe preparatory diſcuſſions, the definitive treaty was debated in both

both houſes with great animation.

May. 13. Before the order of the day was gone into, Lord Stanhope addreſſed the Lords; and after enforcing the ſtanding order for the excluſion of ſtrangers, communicated, as an important piece of information, the invention, by an American, named Fulton, of a veſſel which could be navigated under water, and which comprized an apparatus for ſetting fire to ſhips. This machine was in the hands of the French government, and his lordſhip, ſolemnly cautioned the peers on the fatal uſe to which, in future wars, it might be applied, exhorting miniſters not to be unprovided with the means of counteraction.

Lord Grenville then offered his obſervations on the treaty. He began by vindicating his conduct, and that of his party, in having occaſioned the diſcuſſion of ſo many points connected with the main queſtion. Unfairneſs and irregularity had been imputed to them, but the charge was more applicable to thoſe who had reſerved the detail of their arguments to a general debate, in which it was impoſſible to come to an iſſue on the various points connected with the ſubject. He denied any intention to overthrow the treaty: whatever were its terms, Parliament was bound to accede to it.

Having made ſome further introductory obſervations, his lordſhip noticed the difference between the preliminary and definitive treaties. The terms of the latter, he contended were infinitely more prejudicial, than thoſe of the former. It had been ſtated, that in all negotiations for peace there were two grounds or baſes neceſſary to be adhered to: the *Status ante bellum* or the *uti poſſidetis*. The negotiators of the definitive treaty, inſtead of proceeding, diſtinctly upon one of theſe grounds, had applied both in the moſt prejudicial manner to this country. They had referred to the *Status ante bellum* with regard to England, by giving up all ſhe had taken during the war; and they had adopted the *uti poſſidetis* as to France, by leaving her in poſſeſſion of all ſhe had acquired. As far as appeared by the treaty, miniſters had made no attempt to reduce the power of France on the continent, but had, by conceſſions abroad, given her the means of weakening our colonial ſtrength. In direct oppoſition to our intreaties and threats, France during the treaty, ſent an armament to the Weſt Indies, and impoſed on us the neceſſity of ſending a naval force more than double in ſtrength to any we had ſent during the war. Thus the firſt fruit of the peace was the neceſſity of keeping an armament of thirty-five ſail of the line in the Weſt Indies. The more urgent and preſſing were the wiſhes of Bonaparte to ſend that armament, in proportion, ought it to have been the policy of our negotiators to have reſiſted until the preliminary articles were converted into a definitive treaty, and until he had renounced the intention of obtaining ſuch a ceſſion as he had ſince obtained in Italy.

His lordſhip then briefly adverted to the caſe of the Queen of Portugal and the Prince of Orange, and made ſome obſervations on the reſtitution of the Cape, after

which he examined the arrangements relative to Malta. Why, he aſked, after having ſtipulated that Malta ſhould be independent, and that its independence ſhould be ſecured by one of the powers of Europe, competent to its protection, was it placed under the guarantee of ſix powers, who could never be brought to agree upon any thing reſpecting it. It was a futile arrangement, and contemptible as to the ſecurity which it offered to England. He had ſtated the whole revenue of the iſland at about 34,000l. of which, however, only about 8,000l. came into the coffers of the knights. The reſt went to the maintenance of their hoſpitals, prieſts, &c. Since he had laſt ſpoken upon this ſubject, he had gained a more accurate account of their finances. It turned out that the total expence of their eſtabliſhments, garriſons, fortifications and outgoings of every kind, amounted on an average of ten years from 1788, to about 130,000l. per annum. Their revenues came to them from different nations, where the order had property.

The French langue produced - - - -	58,000
This aroſe out of the domains which they poſſeſſed in France, and which had been all confiſcated.	
The Spaniſh langue produced - - - -	27,000
Ariſing out of two convents, which had been alſo confiſcated.	
Theſe together made -	85,000

Of the remaining 45,000l. the langues of Italy produced about 20, or 25,000l. ſpringing out of property in Piedmont, Sardinia, Lombardy, &c. which was alſo confiſcated; ſo that the order only had the langues of Naples, Portugal, and their own 8,000l. amounting altogether to about 20,000l. to ſupport an eſtabliſhment of 130,000l. It was idle and ridiculous therefore to talk of the order of Malta. It was extinct as a power. The whole would come under the influence, and indeed into the pay of France. The grand maſter would be nominated by, and ſubordinate to that country.

Lord Grenville next objected to the arrangements with reſpect to the Weſt Indies. The French proprietors in the ceded iſland, were to be allowed to tranſport themſelves, and their property without moleſtation; but the Engliſh were to be ſubject to ſuch regulations as the French ſhould think neceſſary. His lordſhip alſo deſcanted on the fraud practiſed with reſpect to the Ruſſian priſoners, for whom this country had been obliged to pay, although they were armed and cloathed by France, under an expreſs convention to fight againſt this country. This was a fallacy of the moſt audacious kind! He alſo noticed the non-renewal of the treaty of Utrecht, and the aſſiſtance the omiſſion in that and other particulars would afford to the French, in the war they were determined to wage againſt our commerce.

His lordſhip then diſplayed the ſituation in which the country ſtood at the commencement of the negotiation; it was in a ſtate of war, but under circumſtances calculated as much as poſſible to alleviate

alleviate its inconveniences. We had acquired the poſſeſſion of colonies to an immenſe extent, which were valuable, not only from their military ſituation, but by affording the means of carrying on the conteſt itſelf; the produce of the Weſt Indies had been 2,000,000. annually, from which a very conſiderable revenue had ariſen; this reſource was loſt. We had by our naval power obtained ſuch a preponderance, that the fleets of France could not ſtir; now they had been ſuffered to proceed to the Weſt Indies; and we were compelled to ſend an expenſive armament to watch them. We were alſo in poſſeſſion of reſources ſufficient to have enabled us to have carried on the war, till we had obtained juſt, adequate and reaſonable conditions of peace. Had we availed ourſelves of them? No; we had left to France the whole preponderating power of the continent, and had confirmed her in the poſſeſſion of Italy. We had alſo added to France, poſſeſſions of conſiderable importance in India, but had omitted to ſtipulate that they ſhould not be fortified. But what was of infinitely more importance, our right of ſovereignty in India, ſo clearly and explicitly recognized and acknowledged by France in the year 1787, was ſet looſe by the non-renewal of that treaty in the definitive articles, and once more reduced to the form of a diſputable claim. Lord Grenville then recapitulated many arguments which had before been uſed reſpecting Cochin, the Cape of Good Hope, the reſtored iſlands in the Weſt Indies, Louiſiana, the iſlands in the Mediterranean, Sardinia and Naples.

Againſt theſe various charges, the defence reſted on the ground of an imperious neceſſity for peace; but miniſters denied the exiſtence of any ſuch neceſſity. If it was true that the country was under circumſtances of imperious neceſſity, it was not aſtoniſhing the definitive treaty ſhould have been agreed to; but what ſecurity had we that France would ſuffer us to recover from that ſtate of neceſſity, to which ſhe had reduced us. Such a plea on our part would only furniſh a pretence for going on from ſacrifice to ſacrifice; from loſs to diſgrace; till at laſt we had nothing to contend for. If it was expedient to have made this peace, it muſt have been ſo from the conſideration, that ſome advantage was obtained by it; the extenſion of our commerce, or enabling the country to adopt a ſyſtem of economy, or of obtaining ſome ſecurity for the continuance of peace. Our commerce, he contended, muſt evidently be diminiſhed in peace, for other countries would ſhare in it. As to economy, in order to be able to huſband our revenue, it was neceſſary that we ſhould be able to protect it; and it was with peculiar ſatisfaction, he underſtood it was the intention of government to adopt the neceſſary meaſures, for having a large Channel fleet ready for actual ſervice at forty-eight hours notice. With reſpect to ſecurity having been obtained for not going to war again, no man wiſhed more that ſuch might be the caſe. If it was not ſo, this country would have to commence a new war under

every circumſtance of diſadvantage; if at the end of three campaigns, we recovered what we had given up by the treaty, he ſhould think we had made a moſt glorious war.

The noble lord next adverted to the queſtion of the right of the Britiſh flag in the navigation of the eaſtern ſeas, and the claims of France and Holland to carry on a free and independent trade; and concluded by moving an addreſs aſſuring his majeſty, that the Houſe would take into its moſt ſerious conſideration the treaty of peace; that it ſhould be its firſt duty to maintain inviolate the public faith, and aſſiſt his majeſty in performing his engagements; that the Houſe could not conceal its awful apprehenſions at conſidering the ſituation which had been the reſult of the treaty of peace: nor forbear offering their thanks for ſuch proviſions as had been adopted to avert the danger; that it was impoſſible for the Houſe to ſee without alarm, the circumſtances that had attended the concluſion of the preſent peace, by which ſacrifices had been made on the part of this country, without any correſponding conceſſion on the part of France: that numerous ſubjects of claſhing intereſts had been left unſettled: that in the moment of peace, we had ſeen indubitable and convincing proofs of the ambitious projects of our rival: that theſe conſiderations had impoſed on the Britiſh government the neceſſity of meaſures of precaution: that the Houſe relied on his majeſty's wiſdom to be watchful of the power of France, and humbly thought it neceſſary to aſſure his majeſty of its ready and firm ſupport to his exertions in reſiſting every freſh encroachment on the commercial rights of the Britiſh empire: that it was deſirous of a ſyſtem of economy conſiſtent with a naval and military eſtabliſhment, adequate in the danger of the country: that it was actuated by a ſincere wiſh for peace, and, impreſſed with that ſentiment, earneſtly wiſhed his majeſty, by amicable adjuſtment, to arrange thoſe points which had been left unſettled by the definitive treaty.

In the debate on this motion, two amendments were propoſed, one by the Duke of Norfolk for omitting all the addreſs after the firſt two paragraphs, the other by Lord Pelham, ſubſtituting terms of approbation for thoſe of cenſure employed by Lord Grenville.

The Duke of Norfolk diſapproved of the addreſs, as calling on the country to go to war again, and telling France, with whom we had concluded a ſolemn treaty of peace and amity, that we meant to diſcuſs every point in a way little ſhort of having a drawn ſword in our hands.

Lord Pelham ſaid, a vein of diſapprobation of the peace was apparent throughout the addreſs; and he conſidered the noble Lord as avowing himſelf an enemy to the peace. This poſition being denied by Lord Grenville, Lord Pelham continued obſerving, that one principle pervaded the noble Lord's argument, which he thought highly unjuſtifiable, namely, the aſſumption that whatever we ceded to other countries, was, in fact, given up to France; and he cenſured the manner in which

which the ſuppoſed diſpoſitions of our late adverſaries were alluded to in the addreſs. His lordſhip vindicated the conduct of government with reſpect to the Cape and Malta; Portugal and the Prince of Orange; and with reſpect to the differences which had taken place between the periods, when the preliminaries and definitive treaties were executed, he deemed them, on a fair balance of the intereſts of both countries, not a ſufficient ground for breaking off the negotiation; the proceedings with reſpect to Italy, were more a nominal than a real acceſſion of power to France; nor was he alarmed at the claims which Lord Grenville ſuppoſed the French might advance with reſpect to India.

Lord Mulgrave alſo cenſured the unqualified reprobation which, on this, as on a former day, Lord Grenville had expreſſed of the peace. Although it was not ſuch as he could wiſh for, it was one which he ſhould prefer to a continuance of the war. The arguments relative to the inſecurity of Malta were unfounded in fact. That iſland poſſeſſed an impregnable fortreſs, which would in future render it impoſſible for the French to take it by force, and they never could have taken it had any reſiſtance been made when attacked in 1798. The inhabitants of the iſland were beſide much better affected to the Engliſh, than they were to the French. He did not think the iſland would be more ſecure in the hands of Ruſſia than of Naples; nor ſhould he leave the people to themſelves. It was not very likely the people would put the iſland into the hands of the French, the effects of whoſe fraternity had been already felt all over the continent of Europe. On many topics mentioned by Lord Grenville, Lord Mulgrave repeated opinions previouſly inforced, and obſerved he could not conceive any ſolid ground for entertaining ſuſpicions of the ſincerity of France, ſo far as related to the fulfilment of the treaty; neither was he in the leaſt alarmed at the ſuppoſed inordinate ambition of Bonaparte. He wiſhed it to be fully underſtood, on the part of France, that neither the Britiſh government nor the Britiſh people, had the moſt remote intention of violating the national faith ſo ſolemnly pledged.

Lord Auckland delivered a moſt able and argumentative ſpeech. The definitive articles on the table, he obſerved, formed the cloſing ſcene of a war, into which, as he had often aſſerted, not from conjecture nor from argument, but from a poſitive knowledge of the fact, we were unavoidably forced, for the defence of our own conſtitution, and for our independence and exiſtence as a free nation. He could look back to the whole courſe and conduct of the long and ſevere ſtruggle with fair national pride. We had loſt no dominion, but had finally made and ſecured to ourſelves acquiſitions of great importance. With reſpect to national character, it might be ſaid, without vaunting, that our navy and armies had been raiſed to a pitch of glory unexampled in all the hiſtories of mankind. And laſtly, our great object had been attained in the intire preſervation of that conſtitution, and of thoſe bleſſings reſulting from the beſt of all governments, which

our enemies, foreign and domeſtic, had attempted to deſtroy. Whatever opinions, therefore, he might have avowed reſpecting the wiſe and juſt policy of declining all pacification, till we had reduced the enormous and growing power of France, and had reſtored independence to the continental ſtates:—whatever he might have thought, even ſince the epoch of the preliminaries, as to the expediency of continuing our exertions till we had obtained, for ourſelves at leaſt, a ſolid and unequivocal ſecurity:—whatever he might now think, if he were to balance the expence, preſſure, and diſtreſſes of a prolonged war againſt the diſtruſts, agitations, and dangers of an inſecure pacification, he nevertheleſs ſaw and acknowledged the general wiſh and impatience of his countrymen to withdraw themſelves from a ſtate of war, and to make the beſt peace that relative circumſtances would allow. How that general wiſh had ariſen was a queſtion which he would not at preſent inveſtigate. He reſpected the public opinion; and the definitive treaty having been ſigned and ratified, ought to be executed with that ſcrupulous honour and good faith, which are, in peace as well as in war, the beſt and proudeſt diſtinctions of our national character.

Conſidering it his duty, as a peer of parliament, to quit all aſperity of expreſſion in regard to the people who were lately our enemies; he called their lordſhips' attention to the effects and conſequences of the non-renewal of a long liſt of treaties, which it had been the practice of more than a century to renew. He had looked into the works of all the firſt publiciſts on theſe ſubjects, and had corrected himſelf in a miſtake ſtill prevalent in the minds of many, who ſtate in an unqualified ſenſe, that all treaties between nations are annulled by war, and muſt be ſpecially renewed if meant to be in force on the return of peace. It was true, that treaties, in the nature of compacts or conceſſions, the enjoyment of which had been interrupted by the war, and had not been renewed at the pacification, were rendered null by the war. But compacts not interrupted by the courſe and effects of hoſtilities, ſuch as the regulated exerciſe of a fiſhery on the reſpective coaſts of the belligerent powers; the ſtipulated right of cutting wood in a particular diſtrict; or poſſeſſing rights of territory heretofore ceded by treaty, were certainly not deſtroyed or injured by the war. On the other hand, there were caſes in which treaties may be diſſolved without any ſpecific breach, and without any war between the parties. He would ſuppoſe that we had not made war againſt Holland, on her entire revolution and change of conſtitution and ſyſtem; ſtill our antecedent treaties with her would have been diſſolved, by her incapacity to maintain the relations to which thoſe treaties were meant to apply. And, therefore, it was ſtated by Vattel and other writers, that treaties ceaſe whenever an eſſential alteration takes place in either of the contracting parties. And this doctrine would apply to our late treaties with Savoy, Switzerland, and other countries, which are tempo-

temporary victims to the French revolution.

He then ſtated the inferences to be drawn from theſe principles, as they applied to the different countries of Europe.

With reſpect to Holland, it was not true that our non-renewal of the Dutch treaties, would liberate the ſhips and veſſels of that republic from their ancient practice of ſtriking their flag to Britiſh ſhips of war in the Britiſh Seas. That practice did not depend on the treaty of 1784, nor even on the treaty of Breda, in 1667, which were only recognitions of an exiſting right. The ſame remark would be found applicable to the ſixth article of the treaty of 1784, by which. "The ſtates General promiſed not to obſtruct the navigation of the Britiſh ſubjects in the eaſtern ſeas." That article was no compact or grant; it was only an acknowledgment of a pre-exiſting and undoubted right, in which our merchants were not to be diſturbed.

Next with reſpect to Spain. Our commercial treaties with that country were loſt and gone: but it was equally certain that thoſe treaties had ceaſed to be executed long before the war; and he could add, from perſonal experience, that we had acquieſced in their being diſregarded by the Spaniſh government. As to the ceſſion to France of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, and of Louiſiana, he had ſeen it with concern; but he ſaw alſo, that it could not have been prevented or remedied by a renewal of former treaties: for the ceſſion, in both inſtances, had taken place when the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht had been rendered null by the war, and before it could be revived by any article in the pacification. He denied, however, that the non-renewal of any treaty affected our right to cut Logwood. Our privileges in the bay of Honduras, had been given in lieu of ancient and acknowledged rights in the bay of Campeachy. Thoſe privileges having been enjoyed without diſturbance, during the war, were, in fact, confirmed and eſtabliſhed.

Laſtly, with reſpect to France. The non-renewal of the commercial treaty of 1786, naturally preſented itſelf to his obſervation. His parental affections, however, did not extend to his treaties. They did not influence him ſo far as to make him regret the loſs of the treaty alluded to. It had already paſſed through its limited period, and had no claim to a renewal, unleſs our negotiator at Amiens, could have perſuaded the French government, that the French manufacturers were able, in 1802, to reſume the competition to which they found themſelves unequal in 1786, under the tariffe then ſettled. On our part alſo, it would have been neceſſary to reduce the wine duties to the ſpecified amount at which they were fixed by the treaty of 1786; we muſt conſequently have ſacrificed the duties impoſed during the war, which produced above a million ſterling. He could not, however, quit this part of the diſcuſſion without expreſſing his ſurprize, that any ſtateſman could conſider commercial treaties, as of ſmall importance to commerce. He believed himſelf to be fully aware of the great effects of capital, of energy, and of enterprize, but he knew

at the same time, that commercial treaties are most beneficial to trade, by regulating the terms of competition, by giving personal protection, and by other collateral advantages and encouragements. In support of these opinions, he would confidently appeal to the manufacturers of Birmingham, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Paisley, who would well recollect the benefits derived, during six years, from the French commercial treaty.

Thus far he had spoken only of certain detached interests, as affected by the non-renewal of treaties. It had, however, been observed, that the great and venerable mass of treaties which had so long constituted the title deeds of so many states and empires, is utterly lost and gone. Unhappily this assertion was true. The most important acts of diplomacy, accomplished by the most enlightened of our ancestors, during a period of two centuries, were now left to moulder in dust, or to be drawn forth only for the curiosity and researches of historians. But this event, deplorable as it might be, was not caused by any omission in the definitive articles, but by the fate of war, by the existing circumstances of nations, by the inscrutable decisions of providence. The customary stipulation for the renewal of treaties, had ceased to be applicable to the new order of things on the continent of Europe.

His lordship having noticed the particular provisions of some of these treaties, came to the subject which most particularly induced him to engage in the discussion, the injury which might be produced to our possessions in India, by the non-renewal of the convention of 1787. He shewed in a most satisfactory manner, that if that convention were renounced, the injury would not be to England, but to France, who retained no possible claim in India, beyond the peaceable possession of the factories restored to her, and such liberal protection as might be granted by us to every nation with which we were at peace. He found it impossible to close this subject without referring to the Marquis Wellesley, whose provident and energetic mind had done so much toward extending and strengthening our Indian empire. That noble person who had made such gigantic strides in the paths of fair conquest and of glory, would indeed, be much astonished, if he were told, that because our forty years sovereignty was not recited in the definitive articles, it might be questioned by a power which holds Brabant, Flanders, Savoy, and great parts of Germany and Italy, by the mere pretension of recent conquest. Still it might be repeated again and again, that France might revive her old and litigated claims, and so she certainly might. She might claim Gibraltar and Jamaica; she might assert a right to the free navigation of the Thames; but if she were disposed to bring forward absurd and hostile pretensions, would any clause in any treaty prevent her? He hoped and trusted, that France for her own sake, would shew herself capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other states; and that with the name of peace, we should gradually obtain all the attributes, and all the blessings and security

of peace. He, for one, however, would watch her conduct both in the east and in the west with jealousy, but without acrimony; with anxiety, but without fear. The strange occurrences of the last ten years, had shewn the fallibility of political speculations, and had taught him a due diffidence both in his own judgment and the judgment of others. Still, however, he knew beyond all possible doubt, that though we had made great sacrifices for peace, we retained every advantage of internal prosperity and extensive dominion; and that though his countrymen had been somewhat impatient for peace, still that the national spirit was unbroken, and as high as ever. The sense of our naval and military glories would long be warm upon our minds. We knew the effect and force of the public resources and the public energy. We knew that in despite of all the expence of the war; we had already a sinking fund of nearly six millions sterling. We were prepared to resist and repel any real injury, and the united kingdom (in that word alone, we are indemnified for a great proportion of the expences of the war,) would remain happy, pre-eminent, and unassailable, as long as she should remain true to herself, to her sovereign, and to her constitution.

The Earl of Caernarvon said, that with all possible respect for the private virtues of those who composed the present administration, he could not look with confidence, or trust, to their experience or abilities, for security amidst the difficulties which surrounded us. The country at large felt more astonishment than confidence, when, on their accession to power, and desired not to be judged incapable of the arduous task they had undertaken, till they had been tried and found deficient. They seemed to think it of trivial importance to the public, whether the state vessel, exposed to the most turbulent and dangerous sea, with which it had ever been assailed, should be intrusted to known and approved abilities, or to persons who had never arrested the attention of the public, till they were placed where their errors might be irretrievably fatal to the country. They no sooner occupied the helm, than, as if inexperience was essential to the management of public interests, they pressed to their aid a noble lord, beloved by all men, but one whom flattery would not venture to qualify with the character of an able and experienced negotiator. Thus seconded, they undertook the conduct and management of the most intricate and involved interests, and opposed their private virtues, and unpractised abilities to the crafty experience of men, who for nine years of duplicity and chicanery, had acted on the hopes, fears and credulity of the whole world, till by force and cunning, unrestrained by any moral virtue, they had raised their country to that formidable eminence, from which they impressed with terror and mistrust, every nation with whom they had any political relations. Under such unequal negotiators, some disadvantages might naturally be expected, though the two nations were placed by the war in situations of no great disparity, though the respective countries felt equally the

the oppreſſions and burthens of the war, and looked with equal ardour for the bleſſings of peace. The preliminary articles, however, or rather the catalogue of uncompenſated advantages to France and her allies, at the expence of Great Britain and her allies, ſtaggered the moſt deſponding advocates for peace; but the earneſt wiſh for the return of its bleſſings, for the revival of all the relations of amity, and the peaceful renewal of friendly and commercial intercourſe, and the extinction of all the horrors of war, overweighed all other conſiderations, and the preliminary articles, approved by no perſon, gave a ſpecies of joy to all claſſes, not indeed without hopes, and even aſſurances, that ſome articles reſpecting our allies, affecting our national honour would be altered. But the definitive treaty had deſtroyed all thoſe hopes, for it had only heaped conceſſion on conceſſion, added diſgrace to diſgrace, and even contrived to remove all ſecurity for thoſe rights which ſtill remained unconceded, and, with the ſecurity to thoſe rights, they had removed even the hopes of ſtability from that peace which they had purchaſed by ſuch large conceſſions. In terms conformable to this introduction, the Earl cenſured the non-renewal of former treaties; diſplayed the evident hoſtility of France toward us in commercial matters; and diſapproved the arrangements reſpecting the Eaſt Indies. Good intention and private virtues were not excuſes for raſhneſs in undertaking, and errors in the management of intereſts on which the peace, commerce, and future importance and proſperity of this country muſt depend.

The Earl of Weſtmoreland conſidered the arguments of Lord Caernarvon as tending to make the people diſſatisfied with the peace. The noble lord muſt not be ſurprized to hear ſome of his own former arguments repeated, arguments which he appeared, in ſome degree to have forgotten. The change of ſentiments he had ſometimes ſeen, reminded him of an extraordinary metamorphoſis, related as he believed, by Swift. In a certain country the men and women changed ſexes: among other ſtrange effects of this tranſmutation, the maids of honour became officers of the guards, and the officers of the guards became maids of honour. It was, however, remarkable, that among the new maids of honour, thoſe that had been the moſt profligate became the moſt reſerved; and that among the virgins, now become military beaux, thoſe that had been formerly the moſt modeſt became the moſt diſſipated of the corps. His lordſhip then entered into a detailed and judicious vindication of the peace, obſerving, among other things, that the occupation of Louiſiana by the French would not be dangerous to the American ſtates, it would only ſerve to awaken their jealouſy againſt a power which would never be able to attack them in that quarter with any ſucceſs; and he truſted that in any future conteſts between us and France, we ſhould find theſe ſtates to be moſt friendly and watchful allies. There was one reaſon he added predominating over every other, which made it neceſſary

neceſſary for miniſters to conclude a peace—that was, the general wiſh of the people; for though he would not have miniſters be guided by ſpeeches pronounced in Guildhall or Palace-yard, they were bound to regulate their conduct according to the ſentiments of the people at large.

Lord Ellenborough, after making many ſevere obſervations on the manner in which Lord Grenville had prefaced his ſpeech, ſaid, the arguments he had heard againſt the definitive treaty, in his mind, weighed not a feather in compariſon with the ineſtimable advantages of a ceſſation of hoſtilities under the preſent circumſtances of the country. With regard to the noble lord's argument, that the public law of Europe was become a dead letter, becauſe certain treaties were not renewed, he was aſtoniſhed to hear men of talents lay any ſtreſs upon ſuch a point of reaſoning. To what uſe would the revival of all the ſolemn nonſenſe and important abſurdity contained in thoſe treaties have contributed? Were they not replete with articles totally inapplicable to the preſent political ſituation of Europe; and were they not, for that reaſon, converted into uſeleſs traſh and abſolute waſte paper? It was not, his lordſhip ſaid, in the immediate line of his profeſſional ſtudies, to dedicate much time to treaties, but he had read over thoſe in queſtion with aching eyes, and was no ſtranger to the law of nations, which was founded on principles of immutable juſtice, was leſs liable to miſconſtruction and abſtract reaſoning, and more to be relied on than any ſingle treaty, or collection of treaties; and he could aſſure the noble lord, that there were very few deviations in the writers on the law of nations upon the ſubject. The noble lord who had brought on this diſcuſſion with ſuch ſevere terms of reprobation of the definitive treaty, had forgot that he was not always the ſtrenuous advocate for the renewal of treaties, for it would be found from the inſtructions to our negotiator at Liſle, in the drawing up of which his lordſhip, he ſhould ſuppoſe, muſt have had no inconſiderable ſhare, and a copy of which was actually upon their lordſhip's table, that in that negotiation there was a particular injunction againſt the renewal of certain ſtipulations of the treaty of Utrecht. His lordſhip then combated the objections againſt the treaty as applied to India; with reſpect to Malta, he contended that the order was not in ſuch a ſtate of poverty as the noble lord had repreſented it, and that it was not at all probable that it would fall into the hands of France. As to the Cape of Good Hope, he thought we were well rid of it; for its expence was enormous and its advantage moſt inconſiderable. The Dutch never had conteſted our right to navigate the Indian ſeas; and as to the idle and paltry compliment of their ſtriking their flag to us, he thought there was not much magnanimity in enforcing that from the weaker power, which we did not require from the ſtronger; and Portugal, he believed was truly thankful for what we had done for her in the definitive treaty. The addreſs moved by Lord Grenville, was inſidious and unwarrantable. It did that by inſinua-

inſinuation which it did not dare to avow in terms. It would have been much more manly and dignified in that noble lord, if he really thought that miniſters deſerved to be vilified and aſperſed in the manner, and in the ſtyle of argument, in which they had been that day ſpoken of, to have moved an expreſs and explicit addreſs to adviſe his Majeſty to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, as wholly unworthy of his confidence. The country in general, he was perſuaded, entertained very different ſentiments of their conduct, and moſt eſpecially in reſpect to the peace they had juſt obtained. The country had not forgotten the circumſtances of peculiar gloom and depreſſion under which they came into office, and in conſequence of which men of leſs determined ſpirit might have ſhrunk from the acceptance of ſituations of the higheſt reſponſibility. He was perſuaded the country joined heartily with him in feeling, when he gave miniſters his moſt humble and grateful thanks for their ſpirit and moderation, their wiſdom and their firmneſs, which enabled them to reſcue the Britiſh empire from the dangers and difficulties with which it was ſurrounded, and he relied with confidence on their attention to ſuch meaſures as were likely to render it permanent.

The Earl of Darnley, although he had given an unqualified vote of approbation to the preliminaries, was obliged to refuſe it to the definitive treaty. He ſupported the preliminaries, although they contained nothing ſplendid, nothing gratifying to national pride, becauſe he ſaw in them nothing abſolutely degrading. There were a few points which remained to be finally ſettled by the definitive treaty, and to theſe he could not help deſiring to call the particular attention of the Houſe. He took for granted that the money due on account of priſoners would either have been put in a train of immediate diſcharge, or ſome ſubſtantial pledge given to ſecure future payment; that the Emperor of Ruſſia was ready and willing to take Malta under his protection; and that the acknowledged defect in the preliminaries, in not ſpecifically providing for the intereſts of the Prince of Orange, would have been effectually remedied. In all theſe expectations he had been grievouſly diſappointed. The definitive treaty differed materially in every particular in which it could differ from the preliminaries; and in all to the diſadvantage of this country. No man felt more ſincere reſpect for the Marquis Cornwallis than he did, but he ſhould be guilty of the groſſeſt flattery if he complimented him as an able and adroit negotiator. That he was not able to cope with the practiſed craft and ſubtlety to which he was oppoſed; the treaty itſelf but too manifeſtly and too fatally proved. In concluſion; although the addreſs moved by Lord Grenville contained a great deal that could not be controverted, yet as it alſo contained a ſtrong implied cenſure upon miniſters, to whom upon this and every other occaſion he would give full credit for the beſt intentions. It ſhould content himſelf with having thus briefly ſtated his ſentiments, and ſhould not vote for either of the propoſitions before the Houſe.

The Earl of Roſslyn roſe to correct an error into which Lord Ellenborough had fallen. The honour due

due to the Britiſh flag from the Dutch in the narrow ſeas, and within a certain boundary of our coaſts, was not an idle and trifling ceremony, not a mere form, and therefore to be undervalued, but a moſt ſerious and important right, which implied our dominion of the ſea. The maintenance of that right warmed the heart of every Britiſh ſeamen, and filled it with pride and exultation. He muſt feel great regret if the inſiſting on an honour, ſo flattering to the prejudices of our ſeamen, was to be forborne, becauſe he was perſuaded it would be a great mortification to them to be obliged to depart from a practice in which they highly delighted. Nor was our claim to this honour in the Britiſh and St. George's Channels, confined to the Dutch alone, it was due to us from all nations navigating thoſe ſeas. At the ſame time, it was no claim of right of modern date. Our right of ſovereignty at ſea originated nearly three centuries ſince. In the reign of James I. the Dutch diſputed it, and that eminent writer on the law of nations, Grotius, wrote a very learned book againſt it, but it was anſwered moſt ſatisfactorily in a book equally learned, written by Mr. Selden. That book made ſuch a powerful impreſſion on mens' minds, that the diſpute was at an end, and the right was fully recognized and eſtabliſhed. His lordſhip thought that conſidering the great achievements effected during the war, particularly in the Baltic, and in Egypt, we had a right to expect better terms than thoſe comprized in the definitive treaty, yet, as it was agreed, on all hands, that his Majeſty ought to be ſupported, in order to enable him to carry it into full and complete execution, from certain words contained in the addreſs moved by his noble friend, he lamented that, for the firſt time in his life, he ſhould feel himſelf obliged to give his vote againſt him.

The Lord Chancellor ſaid that as the Houſe had, by a great majority, given their ſanction to the preliminary articles, it was neither an uſual, nor a very candid proceeding, to diſcuſs each article of the definitive treaty ſeparately, not only in the general conſideration of it, but ſtill leſs to have made each article a ſubject of diſtinct diſcuſſion previouſly, on a motion for various papers, becauſe the definitive treaty was grounded altogether on the preliminary treaty. He had heard many objections to the definitive treaty from his noble friend (for ſo he would ſtill call him) which were not new to his mind, and which were certainly of ſome weight; but he had alſo heard many that were ſo inſignificant and trifling, that he was ſurprized at their coming from ſo reſpectable a quarter. He was not one of thoſe who were ready to ſay, that the preſent was a great and glorious peace, but he had diſcharged his duty conſcientiouſly in adviſing his Majeſty to conſent to ſign it, and he truſted, if candidly viewed, that, altogether, it would be found to be as good a peace, and as advantageous to the country, as was likely to be obtained.

The learned lord entered into a diſtinct review of the various objections urged againſt the peace, at too great length even to be briefly analyzed in this place, but ſome obſervations are ſelected, as leaſt anticipated in former diſcuſſions or by other

other ſpeakers. His lordſhip could not agree with Lord Ellenborough in reſpect to the value and importance of treaties ſolemnly executed between nation and nation; he could not think that they deſerved to be held in contempt, or treated in ſo light a manner as he had treated them. He would, however, aſſert, with his noble and learned friend, that moſt of the conditions of the treaties, the omiſſion of the revival of which as complained of by Lord Grenville, were, from the violent change that the circumſtances of Europe, and more eſpecially of France, had undergone within the laſt twenty years, wholly inapplicable to the preſent treaty; but all great and important rights, ſtood ſecured on a much ſtronger baſis than any recognition of them by any treaty whatſoever.

On the ſovereignty of India, the Lord Chancellor reinforced the arguments of Lord Auckland; with reſpect to the Prince of Orange, he renewed the obſervations advanced in a preceding debate, that the private compact made between the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries could not vitiate the treaty publicly entered into, and to which four nations were parties. In noticing the Cape, his lordſhip conſidered the reaſoning upon the idea of France, Holland, and Spain, having a right, under the article in the definitive treaty, to have a more formidable united fleet than us at the Cape, in the proportion of three to one, as altogether viſionary and ſpeculative. Had it ever been the caſe in former wars between this country and thoſe powers, or was it at all likely that it ever ſhould be the caſe in the courſe of hoſtilities that might be commenced in future? No danger, he affirmed, was to be dreaded on account of the Cape being delivered over to that power, in the hands of which it had remained for ſo many years without injury to this country or its intereſts. Equally ſecure was our right to cut logwood at Honduras, and as the gum trade from Senegal and the coaſt of Africa had been carried on by us uninterruptly during the war, he had no doubt it would continue without moleſtation.

The right of the flag, his lordſhip could not regard as a matter of ſo light and trivial a nature, as Lord Ellenborough had ſeemed to conſider it. The right was one of great national importance; but to account for its not having been inſiſted on in the definitive treaty, their lordſhips ought in candour to carry their minds back to hiſtorical facts, and to compare them with the preſent treaty. Holland had long ſubmitted to the right claimed and exerciſed by this country of the honour due to the Britiſh flag. France and Spain had pertinaciouſly refuſed to acknowledge it. Could his Majeſty's negotiator, therefore, expect to perſuade the other plenipotentiaries to admit a ſtipulation of the recognition of a right which two of the contracting powers had never acknowledged, although the other had, ever ſince the year 1515, ſubmitted to it?

The Lord Chancellor then examined at length, and explained in a ſenſe directly oppoſite to that affixed on them by Lord Grenville, the ſuppoſed variances between the two treaties. He juſtified the conduct of government towards Portugal, applauded the adjuſtment effected with reſpect to Malta, and aſ-

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ſumed juſt praiſe for the reſtoration of Egypt to the Porte, although he candidly admitted that the ſpirited and vigorous exertions of the late miniſtry had led to our ſucceſſes in Egypt, and at Copenhagen. He adverted to the argument that had been advanced reſpecting the Ruſſians made priſoners by France, while they ſerved as auxiliaries to the Britiſh army, and treated the concluſion of the noble lord who moved the addreſs, that we were liable, under the treaty, to be called on to pay for furniſhing them with cloaths, arms, and ammunition, which they were to direct againſt us, as ſcarcely worthy a ſerious argument. As to the addreſs itſelf, his reaſon for objecting to it was, that in ſubſtance and effect, though not in terms, it amounted to the very addreſs Lord Ellenborough had deſcribed; it was in fact an addreſs of cenſure and removal; and as to that part of it, which recommended inſtant negotiation and remonſtrance upon important points, ſtated, but in his opinion moſt erroneouſly, to have been neglected in negotiating the preſent treaty, he agreed with the Duke of Norfolk, that to open a new negotiation upon ſuch grounds, after a definitive treaty had been concluded in all its forms, would be to "negotiate with a drawn ſword in our hands," and muſt inevitably lead to a renewal of the war.

Earl Camden ſupported Lord Pelham's amendment, as it contained the beſt and moſt eſſential parts of Lord Grenville's addreſs, and particularly that very important advice to his Majeſty, to declare that he would concur in no farther incroachment or aggrandizement on the part of the French Republic.

The Duke of Richmond did not approve the conduct of the war in all its parts, particularly the profuſion and eagerneſs with which ſubſidies had been granted to petty German princes; and blamed the tardineſs in carrying our military plans, as to the land ſervice, into execution. He had a great reſpect for his Majeſty's preſent ſervants, but excluſive of the ſeveral omiſſions in the definitive treaty, he thought nothing ſhort of the ſtrongeſt neceſſity could have juſtified the making of ſuch a diſadvantageous peace, a peace by no means adequate to the juſt and reaſonable expectations of the country.

Lord Hobart, after ſome remarks on the inconſiſtency of thoſe who could ſupport the preliminary, and yet vote againſt the definitive treaty, denied that any change of ſyſtem had taken place in that reſpect, ſince the preſent adminiſtration had come into office. Lord Grenville, ſome time before he relinquiſhed his official ſituation, had repeatedly aſſured the Houſe that the queſtion of peace was reduced to a queſtion of terms. The preſent adminiſtration, immediately after their acceſſion to power, had expreſsly declared, upon being preſſed for a communication of their ſentiments reſpecting peace, that they would make no profeſſions upon that ſubject, they only deſired to be judged by their actions. It however was evident, that they had loſt no time in opening a negotiation, That negotiation had indeed been protracted from various circumſtances, but principally from the ſituation of affairs in Egypt. The French, in expectation of a ſucceſsful iſſue to the conteſt in which they were engaged in that country,

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were not disposed to conclude a treaty founded upon the presumption of their failure; ministers would agree to no terms which admitted the possibility of a contrary result, and thus the negotiation was protracted, until the persevering valour of the British troops had nearly effected the expulsion of the French from Egypt. With respect to a threatened invasion; there might have been a time when the reinforcements which it was judged necessary to send in support of our gallant countrymen in Egypt, might, to a certain degree, have created an idea that we had weakened ourselves at home; but long before the negotiation was brought to a conclusion, our preparations were such as to leave no apprehension upon any man's mind for the consequences of any attack which the French might have ventured to undertake. In other respects Lord Hobart considered the time of concluding the treaty as peculiarly well chosen. No doubt was then entertained of the prevailing sentiments of the people in favour of peace. Delay would inevitably have produced petitions upon the subject from every part of the country; and it could hardly be necessary for him to point out to the House the disadvantages which must have attended a negotiation commenced under such circumstances: disadvantages, indeed, of such a nature, as could leave no hope of the treaty so undertaken, being concluded upon terms, to which a government that really valued the honour and interest of the empire could possibly accede; delay therefore could only have rendered peace unattainable, and have led to dishonourable conditions. His lordship then recapitulated and enforced the arguments formerly used to shew that the Cape of Good Hope was of small value or rather an incumbrance to this country, and that Cochin under present circumstances useless to us. He entered into an ample statement, supported by the authority of M. de la Condamine, the Count de Pagan, and the author of the "*description geographique de la Guiane*, to prove that Lord Grenville was mistaken in his opinions respecting the rivers Arawari and Amazon. He made some remarks in refutation of the observations of Lord Grenville, respecting Rio Janeiro, the extension of French Guiana, and the expeditions to the Baltic and Egypt.

After some further observations from Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville, and some discussion on points and of form, the amendment of the Duke of Norfolk was withdrawn, and that of Lord Pelham adopted, the House having first divided, and the number being, for the ministry, 122, for the opposition 16.

Lord Holland afterward moved a resolution declaring, that the omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country; and more particularly the rejection of the overtures made by the Chief Consul in January 1800, appeared to have led to a state of affairs which rendered peace so necessary to the preservation and safety of the empire as to justify the important and painful sacrifices which his Majesty had been advised to make.

This motion was negatived, after a few words from the Duke of Montrose, who observed, that when Bonaparte sent his letter to his Majesty, it was to solicit the negotiation

tion of a ſeparate peace with Great Britain; he wrote alſo at the ſame time to Vienna and to Peterſburgh to ſolicit Auſtria and Ruſſia to make a diſtinct peace each of them with the French Republic. This was obviouſly an inſidious deſign to divide and ſeparate the allies.

CHAP. XIII.

Debate on the definitive treaty in the Houſe of Commons. Speech and motion of Mr. Windham; ſeconded by Lord Folkſtone; Defence of the peace by Lord Hawkeſbury; he moves an amendment; which is ſeconded by Mr. Wellſley Pole; Speech of Mr. T. Grenville; Mr. Dundas; Mr. Pitt; Mr. Grey; Sir William Young; Lord Caſtlereagh; General Maitland; Lord Temple; the Maſter of the Roll; Dr. Laurence; Mr. Bond; Mr. Williams Wynne; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Sheridan; he moves an amendment, which is rejected; that of Lord Hawkeſbury adopted.

13th and 14th May. IN the Houſe of Commons the debate on the definitive treaty occupied two days.

The oppoſition to it was led by Mr. Windham, who, in an able ſpeech of nearly three hours, detailed his objections and opinions. He began by vindicating the previous diſcuſſions which had been provoked on this important ſubject. In his view of the chief points of the treaty, he firſt conſidered Malta, where he maintained that our enemies could have eighteen ſhips of the line, while we could have only ſix, and that the whole diſpoſition of the iſland rendered the ſtipulation of neutrality fictitious. The garriſon muſt in fact be French. So far from having reſtored the order of Malta, we had made war upon it in the very ſpirit of French principles. This little order, which contained in itſelf the great characteriſtics and diſtinctive qualities of that which the French revolution ſerved to deſtroy, we had now concurred to overthrow. The little phial which contained the eſſence of the old principles, Miniſters had diluted, and not even with common water, but with water taken from the puddle. In this and in various other points there was a marked variation between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, to the diſadvantage of this country. To the reſtitution of the Cape of Good Hope, he renewed his objections, inſiſting that the queſtion of its being a free port was left intirely at the option of France. By the reſtitution of the Cape and Cochin, France gained the means of preparing an armament and landing it in India, before we ſhould have conceived in this country the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign.

On the boundaries of the French dominion in Guiana, Mr. Windham obſerved, that miniſters ſeemed to have underſtood that ſubject but imperfectly, and to have completely puzzled themſelves. The conduct of the French was a moſt groſs and ſcandalous fraud, and as ſuch was ſpoken of in the Houſe; a fraud by the French on the miniſters, if the miniſters were unacquainted with the fact; a fraud by the miniſters on the country, if they could be

ſuppoſed to have known, and not to have mentioned it to parliament. This fraud was however too bad for even the French negotiators to contend for; yet although they did not inſiſt upon its being carried directly and regularly into execution, they did inſiſt upon receiving a compenſation for it; and here it was that we heard for the firſt time of the Arawari. This Arawari was taken, upon the reſult of a negotiation, as the compromiſe between the boundary underſtood to exiſt at the time of the preliminary treaty, and the boundary attempted to be impoſed by the fraudulent treaty of Madrid. The French gained by this pretended ſacrifice all that the original attempt was calculated to procure for them: by the poſſeſſion of the Arawari, they were in poſſeſſion, in effect, of the mouth of the Amazons; which was all they ever wanted. Miniſters were ſo loſt in theſe wilds, had ſo confounded themſelves between thoſe different ſtreams, between the Amazon and the Arawari, the north branch and the ſouth branch, the Catapapatuba, and the Vincent Pinſon, that having met with a civil gentleman here, who was ſo good as to offer his aſſiſtance, they fairly put themſelves into his hands, and were led about by him, not knowing in the leaſt where they were going, till, in the end, he brought them back preciſely to the point from which they ſet out; that is to ſay, the mouth of the river Amazon. "When I look alſo," Mr. Windham proceeded, "at the ceſſion of Louiſiana to France, a point acquieſced in by the definitive treaty, it is of a magnitude that I am at a loſs to deſcribe in adequate terms. Taking the indefinite extent of Guiana, and the ceſſion of Louiſiana, we may be ſaid to give away a fourth part of the globe. We have given the command of the two greateſt rivers in the world, the Miſſiſippi in North America, and the river Amazons in the South. Rivers are the vital parts of countries: we may be ſaid, therefore, without hyperbole, to have made a preſent to France of a brace of continents. Never was there ſuch a laviſh, prodigal, thoughtleſs ſpirit of ceſſion! Miniſters have really ſcattered pearls like barley-corns; and I am amazed to ſee with what coldneſs and indifference the country has viewed tranſactions of ſuch importance, by which ſo many of the moſt valuable intereſts have been laviſhed upon their rivals, and in which ſo many ſtipulations are contained pregnant with danger and pain to themſelves."

In addition to theſe conſiderations, Mr. Windham obſerved, the whole continent of Europe was abandoned to France, and he proceeded to remark how effectually the French might aſſail our power in India. He treated with ridicule the arguments advanced on a former day by Mr. Dundas reſpecting our rights, and his magnificent phraſes about the juſtice of our cauſe. The honourable gentleman, like another Ajax, dealt his blows without mercy among the poor cattle, taking them for ſo many Trojans, inſtead of reſerving his might for foes who would furniſh full employment. From ſome parts of his ſpeech it appeared as if he had been napping, and on his awaking had imagined that we were ſtill at open war. He talked of drawing the ſword againſt any power that ſhould diſpute

diſpute our rights, and exultingly dwelt upon our ſtrength in India. This was not perhaps exactly the moment when we could ſay, "Here we ſtand upon our ſovereignty, touch us who dare." Our ſtrength in India might defy all attack; but though the diſpute was in India, the battle might be fought in Europe? Like an action at law, the right might lie in Cumberland, and the iſſue be tried in Weſtminſter Hall. The French might think us ſtrong in India, and weak in Europe. We had ſeen already how, by a cloſe ſqueeze in Europe, they had made us vomit up all that we had gorged elſewhere.

Mr. Windham then animadverted on the inſincerity of France in negotiation, as diſplayed in all the late tranſactions on the continent of Europe, and contended, that all her efforts were avowedly directed to the ruin of Great Britain. The French avowed that they acted on the Roman model; they fairly acknowledged what they meant to be, and frankly told us alſo what they meant us to be. Some indeed admitted that Europe was gone, and peace be with it! they thought come what would, we might take to our boat and eſcape. That might have been ſaid formerly; but the ſpectre of French power now purſued us in every direction. In Europe, in Aſia, in America it followed, continually ſcaring us with its threatening aſpect. In purſuing this ſubject, Mr. Windham noticed, the permiſſion given by miniſters to the French fleet to ſail to Saint Domingo, on which he deſcanted with great ſeverity. We had alſo allowed her, he ſaid, to be placed in a ſituation in which ſhe would acquire ſuch an influence over the American States, as at a future period might enable her to employ them with advantage againſt our moſt important intereſts.

Thoſe who expected that the peace would diſarm France of her hoſtility, who thought ſhe would be contented to cultivate the advantages of commerce and manufactures without animoſity towards England, muſt now ſee that ſhe purſued more than ever the grand object of univerſal empire. At every period, before the preliminaries and ſince, ſhe had expreſſed, without diſguiſe, the ſpirit by which ſhe was animated. England was not in a condition to reſiſt this ſpirit, becauſe ſhe had never ſhewn a proper foreſight of her danger. At firſt, when the principles of the French revolution were at work; when other nations were actually in conflict with them, when the havock they produced was ſeen in the example of others, it was ſaid, all this would never reach us, that the *menſtruum* might diſſolve the baſe metals with which it came in contact, but would paſs harmleſs over the pure gold of the Britiſh conſtitution. Men were not aware, that the character of the revolutionary principle was, to prey both on good and bad, nay, on the former in preference. It was not long before the pure gold of the Britiſh conſtitution was found as ſuſceptible of the effects of Jacobiniſm, as the baſer materials, which they were ſo fond of imputing to the compoſition of other governments. In the year 1792, all the eſtabliſhments of this country began to fume and hiſs, under the action of the new principles, like the verieſt piece of copper under the touch of aquafortis. But never-

theleſs there ſeemed to be a ſtrange and extraordinary indifference to the ſtate of Europe and to the progreſs of the hoſtile principle. Snug was the word. People were for leaving other nations to ſhift for themſelves; the high ſpirit and politic maxims of our anceſtors were forgotten. Even when other nations ſtood forward in the common cauſe in our defence as well as their own, there was no alacrity to participate in their exertions. The nation ſeemed not only to have no diſpoſition to engage in the war, but to diſplay a new and ſingular anxiety to avoid it.

Purſuing this part of his ſubject, Mr. Windham remarked on the conduct of the late war, condemned the ſyſtem of taking ſhips and colonies, when a powerful blow ought to have been ſtruck at the ſeat or centre of the ſyſtem from which the true principle of the war and danger proceeded. From this cenſure he excepted, the expeditions to Toulon and Quiberon. Taking to himſelf a due ſhare of reſponſibility or praiſe in adviſing the latter meaſure, he acknowledged the zeal, diligence, and activity of Mr. Dundas in conducting the war; and did not arraign the plans propoſed by Mr. Pitt, but obſerved, that the manner in which the war was carried on did not ſufficiently mark its nature. The force was centrifugal; it threw out all our operations toward the extremities. It never converged enough towards the focus from which the danger proceeded. Never was there a war carried on with ſuch an inceſſant cry for peace from the very beginning. How, in any other war, would it have been tolerated that the juſtice of our cauſe and our proceedings, in every inſtance, ſhould have been arraigned, and thoſe of the enemy defended, in newſpapers, in pamphlets, in Parliament; that every one who endeavoured to rouſe the public ſpirit was vilified and traduced? How could it have happened (if the people had been ſufficiently impreſſed with the nature of the war), that it was doubtful whether the proceſſions to St. Paul's, to celebrate three of the moſt ſplendid victories this nation had ever gained, would have been received with applauſe? How elſe could it have happened, that attempts ſhould be made to depreciate one of our moſt brilliant naval victories, and to ſhew, that the advantage was on the ſide of the enemy? To prove theſe circumſtances, nothing more was neceſſary than to examine the files of newſpapers, or the pamphlets that iſſued from the preſs during any period of the time. And what was the inference? Why, that ſuch writings never could have obtained circulation, had there not been an indeciſion in the public mind on the ſubject of the war, and a total change of the very feelings and ſentiments with which the nation had heretofore ever been actuated. If the war was not originally juſt and neceſſary, every ſhilling ſpent was too much. If it was, as ſome had conſidered it, merely a war of experiment for a ſhort time, to ſee what we could make of it, we had made too great ſacrifices. If, however, it was a war for the very exiſtence of the country, the exertions we had made had been too little for the object, too little even for our means. That our exertions, however, had not injured us, would appear by conſidering whether the country had pined

pined or thriven, whether it had become fat or lean, by its efforts. Mr. Windham here indignantly refuted the objections urged by some, in the true spirit of jacobinism, against the prosperity of the country; exposed the fallacy and malice of their assertion, that although individuals were rich, the nation was poor; and that the wealth with which we abounded was in a few hands. He lamented the effect which had been produced on the public mind by treating the balance of power as an idle chimera, and by undervaluing the feeling of national honour, France, he said, was acting upon a contest with us in peace, she was lowering our dignity, and plucking our honours. The notion that peace would hush up all our dangers, had induced us to give up to Holland the honour of the flag; which, however little important many might think it, kept up the pride and spirit of the service, and had been maintained by us for a century and a half. This it was also which induced us to submit to have the cockades taken out of our soldiers' hats in Portugal. We also allowed, under the same idea, our embassador to remain at Amiens, kicking his heels near the hall of audience as a lacquey, while Bonaparte, instead of communicating with him, set off for Lyons, designedly, as it should seem, to furnish a precedent for similar insults on any future occasion. On the supposition that Great Britain was in a state of infinitely less security than it was on the night when this treaty was signed; and comparing what it had given up with what remained, he had no hesitation in repeating his former assertion, that the fee simple of the country was worth more on the 30th of September last, than it had been since, or perhaps ever would be again. "We have now, however," he added, "signed and sealed the bond; and, as Dogberry says,

"I fear we shall never be our own men again."

In conclusion, Mr. Windham recommended that we should earnestly endeavour to correct the dissentions which the treaty of peace might create, and for this purpose that we should demand necessary explanations respecting India and other particulars left in doubt, before we surrendered Malta, the Cape, and Cochin. "I know," he said, "that some may be disposed to calculate the life of a nation like that of an individual; and, regardless of posterity, say, 'though our commerce may fail in the end, it cannot do so for a long series of years, and will, at least, last during our time.' The nation which has not more foresight or feeling than that, must inevitably perish. Great stress has been laid on what is called the failure of the predictions respecting the results of the American war. These predictions, however, have, on the contrary, been realized. Had we had America now to support us, we never could have consented to such a peace. America has been an immense resource to the enemy during the war; and the very convoy which entered France at the time of Lord Howe's victory, was thought a sufficient compensation to that country for the destruction of its fleet. Let those who think that in spite of this peace the country will still last their time, will still furnish life and heat for their ephemeral existence, for the miserable

animalculæ that are crawling upon its ſurface, let them take care they do not deceive themſelves. They may calculate ill who ſuppoſe the misfortune may not reach them. The fate of nations often comes upon them much quicker than is imagined: in this manner is Spain, of late a rich and powerful nation, all on a ſudden become one of the vaſſals of France."

He moved an addreſs exactly ſimilar to that of Lord Grenville.

Lord Folkſtone ſeconded the motion, and repeated the arguments which had been uſed reſpecting the dereliction of our naval rights, the ſacrifice of our allies, particularly the Prince of Orange and the Queen of Portugal, and the ſurrender of Malta, the beſt and only protector of our commerce in the Levant, into the very hands of our ancient and mortal foe. We had, of late, he obſerved, learned to appreciate the temporary advantage of commercial conſiderations, ſo much above all our intereſts, that little was to be hoped from a ſtate ſo beſotted with the avaricious ſentiments of ſordid wealth as we were.

Lord Hawkeſbury, in defending the treaty, argued that, although ſome commercial queſtions were not finally arranged, it was better to leave them for future adjuſtment, than longer to defer the negotiation. He had always objected to the diſcuſſion of the treaty in parts, becauſe if ever there was a ſubject which ought to be diſcuſſed all together, it was a treaty of peace. The parts muſt be examined with reference to each other, and not diſtinctly; for though in one part ſomething unfavourable might appear, yet that, upon a review of the whole, would perhaps turn out to be a conceſſion, in order to obtain ſome advantage in another part.

The queſtion had properly divided itſelf into two heads: firſt, whether the terms of the definitive treaty were conſiſtent with the baſis of the preliminary articles; and, ſecondly, whether, if any departure from the preliminary articles had taken place, that, or any events which had occurred during the negotiation, were of ſuch conſequence as to induce miniſters to refuſe to conclude the treaty?

Before he ſhould enter on theſe points he called the attention of the Houſe to the circumſtances of the country when the negotiation for peace began. We were left almoſt alone to contend with France; Auſtria obliged to comply with a peace dictated by the enemy; the German empire at her mercy; deſerted by our allies, except two, Portugal and Naples, neither capable of affording us any effectual aid; we ſaw ourſelves, inſtead of being at the head of a formidable confederacy, menaced by a league of our old allies, under the influence and direction of France. In this dilemma a peace was the wiſh of all perſons, and miniſters, being preſſed to negotiate, laid down three principles as the rule of their conduct: firſt, the complete integrity of the Britiſh empire; ſecondly, fidelity to our allies; and, thirdly, to obtain compenſation out of the conqueſts we had made, to counterpoiſe the acquiſitions of France on the continent.

Treating on the events that occurred pending the negotiation, he agreed it was impoſſible to view ſome of them without anxiety and alarm: but it was gravely to be conſidered, how far they ought to have

have influenced the progreſs of our negotiation; or whether it would have been juſtifiable to break off the treaty. He was no advocate for the opinions of ſome perſons, that we ought to be inſulated in our politics as in our geographical ſituation, and that we ſhould have no concern in continental affairs; nor could he, on the other hand, ſubſcribe to the doctrine, that we were on all occaſions to volunteer in them. God forbid that we ſhould not be influenced by obligations of honour; or that we ſhould give up the reputation of the country, by declining to protect any country from injuſtice! but a ſtrong caſe ſhould be made out to perſuade us to an effort attended with riſk to ourſelves. The ſame reaſons which would have induced an interference in favour of the Ciſalpine Republic, would urge us to inſiſt upon the reſtoration of the Netherlands to Auſtria, of Holland to the Stadtholder, and of Savoy to the King of Sardinia. Even had we been diſpoſed to reſiſt Bonaparte in this meaſure, how could we have accompliſhed any thing without the aid of the continental powers? and the event was ſcarcely announced, when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him, that of Vienna acquieſced, and Ruſſia ſhewed no ſymptom of diſſatisfaction. The ceſſion of Louiſiana was not an indifferent object; but Louiſiana was an old French ſettlement, and during the negotiation of the peace of 1763, which was generally thought the moſt triumphant peace this country had ever concluded, this ſettlement was privately transferred by France to Spain; and that tranſaction was much more groſs than that now complained of, becauſe Louiſiana was referred to expreſsly in the treaty. As to the political advantages which France could derive from this poſſeſſion, he doubted whether they could be of much conſequence; but he was certain they were not of ſuch conſequence as to have juſtified miniſters in rejecting the peace. He denied that this poſſeſſion would give France much influence with the United States, and ridiculed the notion that it would enable her to ſwallow up America.

The principal omiſſion charged on the treaty was the non-revival of the ſeveral commercial and political treaties, and two particular conventions. Such a revival on a view of the articles, would not be found deſirable. From the treaty of Weſtphalia, up to that of 1763, it was the practice, as the ſyſtem of Europe was perpetually changing, to renew former treaties, with ſuch alterations and additions as ſuited exiſting circumſtances, until at length thoſe treaties became ſo confuſed, inconſiſtent, and contradictory, as to contribute more to augment litigation than to produce the adjuſtment of any difference. To prove the impropriety of renewing all former treaties, his lordſhip recapitulated ſome of their principal ſtipulations, beginning with that of 1748, and ſhewing that, either in themſelves, or as precedents, they would, in preſent circumſtances, be diſhonourable and injurious. On the whole, he thought it indiſputably better to leave commercial arrangements to be hereafter adjuſted, than to poſtpone the concluſion of the definitive treaty, even if the country was to be left in the ſtate it was in before the preliminaries were ſigned. Our

manufactures must find their way to general consumption, as they had, even during the war, and France would suffer far more than ourselves in a war of duties and exclusions.

The differences complained of between the preliminary and definitive treaties related to five points: prisoners, Portugal, Newfoundland, the Cape of Good Hope and Malta.

With respect to prisoners, his lordship observed, that in the treaties of 1763, an article was inserted that each belligerent power should maintain its own prisoners; it was an article which humanity and justice approved, and was sanctioned by the best modern authors on the law of nations, among whom, was Vattel: but the French disputed this principle with us in the late negotiation; alleging, that they did not grant it to any of the other powers with which they had concluded peace. When, therefore, they afterwards acceded to it, we could not claim a modification in our own favour, by refusing to allow a deduction for the subsistence of the Russian prisoners who were soldiers in our pay, and under our disposal when captured.

On the subject of Portugal, Lord Hawkesbury repeated the explanations already afforded, with the addition, that ministers, thinking Portugal capable of making a much better defence than she had, had sent advice as to the means, and, among other things, recommended the removal of their general, whom age rendered incapable of commanding. This advice had not been adopted, and they would not therefore intrust any portion of the British army to an incapable commander; but notwithstanding this conduct of Portugal, they took means to communicate to her the progress we were making in negotiation, and the prospects that we had, exhorting her to hold out as long as possible, that she might obtain better terms; yet she concluded a separate peace. We afterwards stepped in, and by our interference reduced the extent of the cessions that she had herself agreed to make in Guiana; an instance of liberality scarcely to be parralleled. We so arranged it for her, that her navigation of the river Amazon is perfectly secured, and not at all exposed to that interruption from the possessions which the French had obtained by the treaty, that gentlemen on a former evening so strenuously maintained, upon the authority of a map not quite so accurate as they had been taught to believe.

In Newfoundland, no concession was made; that arrangement being precisely as the matter stood before the war. With regard to the Cape of Good Hope, there was no material difference between the preliminary and definitive treaties. The terms respecting Malta might not be so good as might be contrived; but they were certainly as good as circumstances would permit. Gentlemen could not expect that we should retain it ourselves; for, when we blockaded it, we issued a declaration, that it was not our intention to retain, but to restore it to the order of St. John, under certain regulations. The first object of those regulations was to meliorate the condition of the Maltese, and at this Gentlemen seemed

seemed to level their principal hostility; they were averse to the privileges granted to the inhabitants; they did not seem to think of the important point we had gained, in the abolition of the three French *langues*, which had such domineering influence in that island, leaving only the Russian langue, and creating a Maltese langue. Gentlemen would not be so disturbed at the creation of this langue, or at the privileges given to the natives, if they would recollect the conduct of those natives during the siege, when, under a British officer, they were so active in their exertions to annoy the French, and to second our views: surely such men were intitled to our peculiar protection, and had some claim to be relieved from the oppression to which they were liable under the ancient constitution. Was it not of consequence to the security of the island, to conciliate the population to the order, and thus enable that order to establish a formidable militia for its defence? A power to guaranty it, with a view to preserve it from the dominion of France, was also chosen; that guarantee was first offered to Russia; but such was the change in the politics of the courts, that Russia refused; and it was therefore put under the protection of Naples, a country which had the deepest interest from the contiguity of the island of Sicily, to take care that Malta should not fall into the hands of France. This was not all; we had the guarantee of Austria, and the principal powers of Europe, for the independence of the island. Under all these circumstances, there was no real departure in the definitive treaty from the basis of the preliminary articles; and no event which occurred in the interim, could excuse a departure from the negotiation.

On the subject of retaining a port in the Mediterranean for the benefit of our trade to the Levant, Lord Hawkesbury repeated his former statements of the advantage the Dutch maintained over us in that quarter, by the greater wisdom of their quarantine laws. He expressed astonishment, "that while the opponents of the peace made so many observations on the advantages which France would acquire by the possession of Louisiana, they should omit all notice of the benefits which would accrue to us from the conquest of the Mysore; the destruction of that power which was the staunch ally of France, and the inveterate restless enemy of this country."

In the West Indies, our superiority to France was not less evident than in the East. Our colonies almost trebled in produce during the war, with the addition of one of the most fertile islands in the West Indies, containing a most capacious harbour, and forming the first naval *depôt* in that quarter. Indeed, if the naval and commercial means of the two countries were duly compared after the events of the war, the power of France would in most respects appear more specious than solid, while ours would be found solid and safe, and supplied moreover with the means of extending itself by the extent of our capital. The extended dominion of France was liable to fall to pieces; its extent was matter of weakness, and the multipli-

multiplicity of her objects must frustrate their accomplishment. The comparative superiority of our resources, when our superior capital was attended to, could not therefore be denied.

It might be asked, what was our security for the enjoyment of these advantages? He should answer by saying, that we had made an honourable peace, a peace that secured all the vital springs of our strength and power. He was ready to admit, that the state of the world was such as could not prevent us from considering the peace insecure; but all history, and even his own experience, taught him, that the apprehension of that insecurity should be no obstacle to the conclusion of peace, on honourable terms. In support of this principle, he cited the speech of King William, after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, which contained the sentiments which parliament should now entertain; not to permit the enemy to do that in peace which they were not able to effect in war. He did not pretend to say, that the security of peace was no consideration; all he should ask was, could a better peace have been secured, had the contest been protracted longer? If not, was it not better to take the chance of it, such as it could be obtained, under all the circumstances of our situation?

In acceding to that peace, there was another motive which weighed heavily with him, and which, no doubt, must have had great weight with the House: he meant the internal state of France. France had now abandoned the principles and maxims of the revolution, and was rapidly reverting to the ancient principles of religion and civil order. The current ran that way; and would it be wise, by renewing the contest, to replunge her in all the horrors from which she had lately emerged, and which threatened to agitate the rest of the world? Much had been said of the ambition of France, and of the views of her present rulers; but the ambition of France was the ambition of the French people, and was the same under the monarchy, as under her present form of government. Neither view should make him hesitate respecting the eligibility of a peace, which enabled us to escape out of a disturbed state of things, with our financial system and all our resources intire. It was not merely an alleviation of their burdens that the people languished for; but they were anxious for peace, because their patience was worn out by the war. They sighed for the termination of a struggle which had lasted nine years, and which they were reluctant to continue without any definitive object. If our interests remained intire, if our honour was preserved, for what purpose should the war have been longer persisted in? Of those who thought the peace dishonourable, that it affected our vital interests, and left us in a state of doubt and insecurity, he could not expect the support: but he was as confident, that those who thought our honour had been preserved; that the terms on which peace had been concluded, were as good as, under all the circumstances of our situation, could have been expected; and that a peace which left our resources entire

should

ſhould be adhered to, that they might be huſbanded for vigorous reſiſtance againſt any future incroachment, would vote for the amendment which he ſhould propoſe.

The amendment moved, expreſſed the gratitude of the Houſe to the king for communicating the treaty; and ſtated, that the Houſe having approved the preliminaries, was ſatisfied that his majeſty had conſulted the true intereſts of his people in concluding a definitive treaty on the ſame baſis. Although parliament regretted the great changes which had taken place on the continent, they ſaw with ſatisfaction, that the wild and deſtructive deſigns which threatened this country had been fruſtrated; that his majeſty had not only preſerved his dominions intire, but gained vaſt and valuable additions, calculated to ſecure our commerce and maritime ſuperiority. That parliament would anxiouſly cultivate the bleſſings of peace, and relied on his majeſty's known diſpoſition to adhere with ſcrupulous fidelity to his engagements; but entertained a perfect confidence, that his majeſty would not fail to employ that vigilance and attention which the ſituation of Europe demanded; and, above all, would uniformly determine and prepare to defend againſt every encroachment, the great ſources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the empire. That his majeſty's faithful ſubjects would at all times be ready to ſupport the honour of his crown, and the rights, laws, and liberties of their country, with the ſame zeal, energy, and fortitude which they had invariably manifeſted during the war, now happily brought to a concluſion.

Mr. Welleſley Pole having ſeconded the amendment, Mr. Thomas Grenville delivered his ſentiments againſt the peace. He treated as an exaggeration, the aſſertion of Lord Hawkeſbury, that the people were worn out with the war, and clamorous for peace. The ſpirit of the people, he affirmed, was alive to their liberty and independence, even in the lateſt period of the war, and they continued to think it neceſſary up to the very ſigning of the preliminaries. He reprobated the argument, that if this peace was not accepted, no other could be obtained, and recapitulated the objections againſt the treaty which had been ſo often urged in the courſe of the diſcuſſions, ſtill contending that in all parts of the globe, the intereſt and honour of Great Britain were ſacrificed.

Mr. Dundas directed his principal obſervations to objects connected with India. He had no heſitation in ſaying, that when he heard of the manner in which the Cape of Good Hope was to be diſpoſed of, he heard it with regret and ſorrow. He had always conſidered that place as a great acquiſition to this country. He was of that opinion in theory before we had it; he was confirmed in that opinion by experience of the uſe of it, ſince it was in our poſſeſſion. He looked upon it as a good *depôt*, and a place for the reception of our troops when we had occaſion to ſend them to India; by their being landed and refreſhed there, they went to India full of health and vigour, and were in every

every reſpect fit for immediate ſervice. He looked upon the Capê and Ceylon as our two great bulwarks. His opinion, which no connexion, however cloſe; no friendſhip, however cordial; no attachment, however ſincere, ſhould induce him to withhold, was, that the Cape of Good Hope ſhould not have been given up, and had he been in adminiſtration, nothing ſhould have induced him to be a party in agreeing to a peace upon any terms by which this country was to abandon it. But, although this was his opinion, he did not hold it to be any part of his duty to join thoſe who took ſo much pains to render the peace an object of diſapprobation with the people: he ſaw no good that was likely to ariſe out of that conduct. In 1783, when a peace was made, it was admitted to be neceſſary on all hands, yet that peace was afterwards made uſe of by parties, in that and the other Houſe of Parliament, as an organ to deſtroy the adminiſtration who made it. He did not like the purpoſe for which the parties then decried that peace; as little did he like the courſe which was taken now, which he could not help regarding as a conſpiracy for the purpoſe of ſupplanting the preſent miniſtry.

Mr. Pitt, who only ſpoke for the purpoſe of reſiſting a motion of adjournment, which however was carried, aſſured the Houſe that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the tone and ſpirit of the addreſs, as it was amended, as well as with the arguments ſo ably and ſucceſsfully uſed by his noble friend.

Mr. Grey ſaid, however he might be diſpoſed to vote againſt the addreſs, he was leſs inclined to oppoſe the amendment; for, though he could not help thinking that the dangers of the country were greater by the definitive treaty than by the preliminary articles, yet he was convinced, upon the whole, that his majeſty was well adviſed to put an end to the conteſt, even on thoſe terms; the war had failed in all its objects; our ſucceſſes, however ſignal, had been ſeparate, and their great end had been conſequently defeated.

Sir William Young, on the ſubject of Malta, obſerved it had been ſaid, that the treaty gave a preponderance to the Malteſe langue; they were to fill at leaſt half the offices of ſtate, and might be expected to form a ſufficient militia for the protection of that iſland. Gentlemen who held that language ſeemed little acquainted with the iſland of Malta or its inhabitants; he had himſelf reſided there for ten weeks, and had better opportunities of being acquainted with the ſubject. In the whole iſland there were not five men who could be called merchants; and could it be expected that an order which valued itſelf on its high nobility, could aſſociate with perſons of the deſcription of gold workers and ſellers of coral, in the adminiſtration of the iſland? If a few could ſo far degrade themſelves, their votes would be loſt in the opinion of the majority; and the iſland of Malta would then, inſtead of being reſtored to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, be in fact given up to the democracy of the Malteſe. In the reſidue of his ſpeech, he cenſured the ceſſion of Louiſiana, and, connecting the poſſeſſion of that territory with the conqueſt of Saint

Saint Domingo, augured the acquisition of Mexico by France, whose ambitious views he traced through all her conduct with respect to the various states of Europe. He supported the original motion.

Lord Castlereagh made a long and able speech in vindication of the peace: he restated and illustrated many of the arguments already used in answer to those who disapproved the stipulations of the treaty, and demonstrated by a clear display of facts relative to exports and imports, that this country was in no danger of being supplanted or eclipsed by the growing commerce of France. He was convinced that we had come out of the combat, in a situation which would enable us to meet any danger that might threaten our independence or our honour. The exertions we had already made had enabled us to sit down in peace, if the world would allow us to continue so; and, under the circumstances in which we found ourselves placed, he thought it well to discontinue the contest, since we could discontinue it in perfect consistency with our safety. He trusted that a vigorous establishment would be preserved, and that we should be ready to stand forth in any contest which might be necessary for the maintenance of our rights, our independence, or our honour.

General Maitland applied himself principally to answer the speech of Sir William Young. On the subject of Louisiana, he observed, that when formerly possessed by France it had been useless; in the hands of Spain it was not improved, and if we, though possessors of Canada, could not injure America, how could France do so from the mere circumstance of holding Louisiana. After making many remarks on the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, the General concluded with some statements respecting Malta, contending, from the experience of the war, that it was not so essential to our interests as some supposed. Lord Nelson, even when it was in the hands of the French, had pursued, beaten and annihilated their whole fleet.

Lord Temple renewed his objections to the peace, affirming, that it was not likely to be secure, nor had we gained by it, the vaunted objects of the war, indemnity for the past, or security for the future. He censured the commercial details advanced by Lord Castlereagh, as applicable to the monarchy, but not to the present state of France. He again reprobated our conduct toward our allies, the danger to which our Indian possessions were exposed, and the surrender of the honour of our flag.

The Master of the Rolls professed his intention to confine himself to two points, as he could, only by so doing, bring his argument within moderate compass. He noticed first, the assertion, that the definitive treaty ought not to have been concluded, because France, after the signature of the preliminaries, gained a great accession of power. The gentlemen on the other side, he observed, had not shewn what part of those acquisitions, or how much of that power, had been the consequence of the peace. It was to the events of the war that France was indebted for that increase of her

her power. Did those gentlemen mean to contend, that the war ought not to have been undertaken? He was persuaded, that, had as was the condition of Europe at the present moment, it would have been much worse, had it not been for the war. It might be said, there was not a necessity for making peace; it would, however, be recollected, that the dictates of prudence were a ground of necessity to a wise man; and certainly, if there existed no visible means of bettering the condition of a country in a state of war, every thing concurred to induce and to render it a matter of good policy, in that country, to conclude a peace. After shewing how impracticable it was for this country to prevent the growth of French power without a continental alliance, the master of the Rolls argued, that the treaty ought not to have been broken off on account of the transactions respecting the Italian republic, nor could ministers, with prudence, have pressed for any cession of territory by way of compensation. Could the retention of a West India island counterbalance the power of France? The contrary was felt in the negotiation at Lisle. He had heard no definitive proposition made as to the propriety or expediency of continuing the war: it seemed, according to the arguments of gentlemen on the other side, that we were to carry it on, merely for the purpose of taking the chance of whatever might occur. According to those arguments, we were to continue the war for the mere purpose of not being at peace. We were to go on merely for the possibility of a change in the affairs of Europe; and if this did not happen soon, we might exhaust our resources before it did happen; and might, at last, be under the necessity of making peace upon terms much less honourable and advantageous. He considered it a great triumph, that we were enabled to make peace retaining our ancient constitution unimpaired, and quoting the opinion of Mr. Burke, on the danger of Jacobinism, insisted that Bonaparte was rendering an essential service to the world, if, whether from policy, fear, or whatever cause, he seriously employed himself in extirpating that detestable principle.

The importance of Louisiana, he contended, had only been discovered within the last few nights; it had formerly been in the possession of France without any such discovery, and the danger to arise from its bringing that country in contact with America, might indeed take place in the course of ages, but could not speedily occur. The Master of the Rolls then reviewed the arguments on the omission to renew former treaties, the practice, he said, was not uniform; and it should have been stated for what purpose they ought to be renewed; for unless gentlemen could shew him some benefit to be derived from that renewal, he could see no reason for it. If, as was said, all treaties not renewed fell to the ground, there were some which he could not regret; and he treated as whimsical the observation, that while we could derive no claims from these expired treaties, France could by virtue of them, advance several pretensions injurious to our interests. We were not to implore

France

France to enter into commercial negotiations; the offer ought to come from her. The definitive treaty gave her nothing but the factories and poſſeſſions which ſhe had at the commencement of the war. In all his reading, he had never met with the aſſertion which was now ſtarted, that France might paſs by the commencement of the war, and mount up to any intermediate period, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing claims. If this doctrine of claims which were not claimed, was to be ſet up, it would be neceſſary to bring all the exertions of imagination, and the ſuperinduction of every probability, into a negotiation, and to chooſe a perſon of the moſt lively fancy to aſſiſt every embaſſador; he muſt retire to his cloſet, and invent and contrive every thing that his imagination could ſuggeſt, that might be made the ſubject of claim or diſpute by the adverſary, and then let them all be inſerted in the treaty.

Dr. Laurence objected to the mode which the advocates of the peace purſued, of raiſing ſeparate queſtions on each particular point, and aſking how far every one would juſtify a continuance of the war. The reaſon why Louiſiana was formerly of no value in the hands of France, was, that the attention of the old government was principally turned to Canada. The ceſſion of Louiſiana in 1763, bore no analogy to the late clandeſtine proceeding; it was not known until after the treaty was ratified; and the reaſon of the ſurrender was well known; it was given over to the Spaniards as a purchaſe for Minorca, which the French were to transfer to us. Five years ago, when France ſent her expedition to Malta, ſhe profeſſed that her principal object was to extinguiſh the ſyſtem of its government and religion, as it was ſaid, by the then governors of France, to be the centre of ſuperſtition and ariſtocracy; and they could now boaſt of having accompliſhed their object, for the new organization of the conſtitution of Malta, left ſcarcely a veſtige of the venerable old ſyſtem; it innovated upon all that time had conſecrated; and the iſland itſelf, inſtead of being under one influence, was placed under a *picnic* guarantee; the whole of this plan being prepared and carried into effect without the conſent, or, in a great degree, the knowledge of the knights of the order. He would not plead for the indiſcriminate renewal of all our political and commercial treaties; but there were ſome which he thought it would have been wiſe to revive, and not to rely ſolely on the treaty before the Houſe, in which nothing definitive was to be found, and yet it was to form the baſis of the future ſyſtem of Europe; the principles and practice of all former ſtateſmen being rejected. He contended, on the whole, that miniſters gave up more for the hollow armed truce which they had obtained, than they ſhould have done, had the war been unſucceſsful throughout. Among the faults of omiſſion, Dr. Laurence reckoned the inſecure condition of the Britiſh merchants ſettled in the ceded colonies. It would be a good opportunity of putting the ſincerity of France to the teſt, to propoſe ſome arrangement on thoſe topics, before the reſtitution ſhould be made. With reſpect to the

the ſuppoſed public ſolicitude for peace, he had no heſitation in ſtating it as his firm belief, that if a liſt of the conceſſions to be made to the enemy had accompanied the firſt news of the peace, inſtead of being the ſubject of exultation, even with the common people, the peace would have been received with ſtrong murmurs of diſcontent. The people of England required to be led; they were influenced by the character of thoſe above them; and that formed not the leaſt part of their praiſe; they were capable of great exertion, and patient of ſuffering; they combined in their character the extremes of the good qualities of other nations; they were conſtant in their fortitude, loyal in their ſentiments, and elevated in their ſpirit; they were above the idea of ſubmitting to any peace that was diſhonourable and diſadvantageous, and they had too much good ſenſe to value one that was inſecure. If, from the imprudent temerity in which this treaty had been concluded, and the looſe terms in which it is drawn up, hoſtilities ſhould ſoon commence, the fault would not be in the circumſtances of the period at which the negotiation began, as aſſerted; not in the conduct of the predeceſſors of miniſters, but in the miniſters themſelves, who entered upon the negotiation and followed it up almoſt to a termination, without reſorting to parliament for counſel in any ſtep of their progreſs. The conſequences would be attributable to them, ſhould thoſe apprehended ariſe from a peace which left ſo much open for diſcuſſion, conſtituting ſo many grounds of diſpute and diſcord.

Mr. Bond juſtified, and Mr. Williams Wynne expreſſed his ſentiment againſt the treaty.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer conſidered the motion of Mr. Windham as proceeding from a genuine diſapprobation of the peace, and from a wiſh to cenſure the meaſure and thoſe who had adviſed it. He had deemed any peace with the preſent government of France inadmiſſible. When the peace was made, and before he knew the terms, he had treated the peace itſelf as a death blow to the proſperity of the country; and had always gone the full length of ſaying, that any peace with France in its preſent ſtate was inadmiſſible. Theſe, he ſaid, were not his ſentiments, and ſhould they, or the addreſs founded on them, be adopted by the Houſe, they could not fail of leading to a ſpeedy renewal of the war. Profeſſing himſelf ſatisfied to reſt the defence of the peace on what had already been ſo ably and eloquently advanced, he propoſed only to notice a few ſeparate topics.

On Louiſiana, he remarked, that France when poſſeſſed of that territory and Canada alſo, was unable to cope with Great Britain, nor could ſhe now hope to do ſo, when the United States of America, for the purpoſe of reſiſting her encroachments at leaſt, would be friendly to us. There was not in Louiſiana, a ſingle port wherein a ſhip of the line could enter, and at Fort Hillſborough, ſuch a veſſel could not anchor, without taking out her guns. Nor was there any danger to our commerce in that quarter, from the ceſſion of this place to France. The improvement which had taken place in making

making copper bottoms to our ſhips, and other circumſtances, gave us other great advantages in that quarter, as it enabled us to alter the courſe of our navigation, by going through the windward paſſage, inſtead of the Gulph of Mexico, ſo that we ſhould never be annoyed in that quarter by the French.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then noticed the points in which the definitive varied from the preliminary treaty. The obſervations on the ſubject of Portugal, after ſo much had been ſaid in explanation, he conſidered as wilful miſrepreſentation. On Malta, he repeated the ſtatements already made, and inſiſted on the effect of the guaranty. On the other heads, priſoners, the Cape, and Newfoundland, he did not conſider it neceſſary to offer any remarks; but he would aſk, whether this treaty was or was not, under all the circumſtances, fit to be entertained by the Houſe, and worthy of its ſupport? He was not deſiring that it ſhould be praiſed. He had never thought of this treaty, nor of the preliminary articles, with any ſentiment of exultation; he had ſatisfied himſelf, and he remained ſatisfied, that it was, upon the whole, the beſt meaſure that could be taken. He had long been of opinion, and he truſted he ſhould never change it, that there was no extremity of diſtreſs which the nation would not rather ſuffer, than permit its honour to be tarniſhed; for honour was another word for ſtrength; but if he were aſked, under ſuch circumſtances, and after an additional proof of the ambitious views of France, and of its power by the tranſaction at Lyons, if this country had abſtained from making remonſtrances, or from taking any ſtep to ſignify to our adverſary the feelings of his majeſty on that occaſion? He would anſwer, that gentlemen who argued a caſe like this, had many advantages over a perſon in his ſituation. They would eaſily put queſtions which it was impoſſible for him to anſwer; and they might ſtate obſtacles which it was difficult, if not impoſſible, for a miniſter to remove in the way of argument, in a manner that was at once ſatisfactory to thoſe who made the objection, and conſiſtent with the duty of the miniſter. He would only ſay, that it was matter of great ſatisfaction with him and the reſt of his majeſty's miniſters, that they were determined, in the event of the failure of the negotiation, to have laid before the Houſe every document which they poſſeſſed on the ſubject, and afford the Houſe complete information upon it.

Having cloſed this portion of his argument, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made many obſervations on the extended power of France, and the hopeleſs ſtate of the continental nations; ſtill maintaining the ſuperior poſition of this country, both in a commercial and political view. "The earneſt wiſh of his majeſty's government," he ſaid, "is that the bleſſings of peace may be continued, and we wiſh to take every meaſure conſiſtently with the honour of government, and the ſafety of the country, to preſerve theſe bleſſings; and I am impreſſed with a thorough conviction, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, that the probabilities

of the continuance of the peace now concluded, are not less than the probabilities of the continuance of the different pacifications which have taken place at the various periods of the last century: I mean, if the country should be disposed to make provision for its own security, without which, peace cannot be lasting. We must not suppose, that France is free from the disposition to take advantage of our weakness, if we should appear at any time to be weak; but, let us guard against weakness, and take care to give to ourselves the security which we have the means of giving. By this course, we shall at once inspire ourselves with confidence, and discourage those who may incline to be our enemies. I know nothing in the circumstances of the present time, I know of nothing in the disposition of the government of France, nor in the disposition of the person at the head of that government, to warrant any apprehension that the peace now concluded may not be lasting. If this country be true to itself, I think a just expectation may be entertained that it will be lasting. This country is now in a state of acknowledged strength and indisputable power. It is on an eminence, and may continue so, by a fixed determination to pursue a right course; which is, not to invade the rights of others, nor suffer others to invade its own. By adopting the sentiment expressed in very correct words by my noble friend, (Lord Hawkesbury) on a former occasion, that is, by a system of conciliation and firmness, I am confident that peace may be maintained, and the pre-eminence of this country preserved as high as it is at present; I can hardly wish it to be higher, but I trust it will never be lower. It is the wish of my heart, and it shall be my constant, unremitting endeavour, to preserve as much as I am able, the happiness of this country, which now is the admiration of surrounding nations."

At two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Sheridan delivered his opinions in a singularly brilliant speech. "I have heard," he said, "that there are about twelve or thirteen parties among us; nay, some carry the number much further. Now I scarcely expect a single vote with me beyond that little circle of a constitutional party, who have for the last ten years been the objects of so much unqualified abuse; but those men who have so often been held up to public opprobrium, are the very same whose every prediction has been fulfilled, and every fear realized. The discussion of this necessary but disgraceful treaty of peace to night, is a confirmation of the propriety of their political conduct during the whole course of the war. I support the peace, because I feel confident that no better terms, considering all circumstances, could be obtained. The predecessors of the present ministers had left them no choice, but between an expensive, bloody, and fruitless war, and a perilous and hollow peace. They have chosen the best of the alternatives. After some observations on the remark of Mr. Dundas, that the opponents of the peace were merely conspiring to turn out the present ministry, and affirming that it would have been better to have made peace when Bonaparte offered it,

it, in 1800; Mr. Sheridan proceeded: "It is lamentable to see you all split into miserable parties, when your great enemy is uniting all possible means of extending his power. You are squabbling about the measuring of ribbands and tapes, and the paltry revenues of Malta, when much greater objects are before you. The events of every day seem to call more and more for the expression of a public feeling, that the time will come when the French encroachments and oppression must cease, and when the voice of this country must be clearly raised against their atrocities and tyrannical conduct."

On the assertions that we had preserved our honour, relinquished nothing, and gained much by the peace, Mr. Sheridan animadverted with great severity. We had not prevented French aggrandizement, not rescued Holland, not recovered Flanders; security and indemnity had afterward been the objects of the war; in the pursuit of them we had sacrificed near 200,000 lives, and 300 millions of money; and we had gotten Ceylon and Trinidad. "I should propose," he said, "that as we have given to our heroes titles from the places where their laurels were won, our St. Vincents, Nelsons of the Nile, &c. so we should name Ceylon, Security Island; and call Trinidad, the island of indemnity.

Mr. Sheridan then noticed the degraded state of the continent; particularly Germany, Holland and Italy; and the danger that Switzerland, that innocent, virtuous, suffering country, would soon undergo a division among her powerful and generous neighbours. The state of this country, so much vaunted, would have been far better, he contended, had the war never been undertaken, or had it been terminated sooner. On the subject of Jacobinism, he did not admit the doctrines of the Master of the Rolls. "My alarms," he said, "begin when the alarms of some persons cease. Some danger was always allowed; but to suppose the people of this country so miserably infatuated as to fall in love with dirt, and blood, and guillotines, with all the atrocious deformities of Robespierre; and that now, when France is "covered with glory," though certainly without liberty or any thing that much resembles it; there should be nothing to dazzle and captivate, is out of my comprehension. If there be in this country men of dangerous ambition, Bonaparte is the man to hold out to them, by his ambitious and successful conduct, an example much stronger than any thing that could attract the people in the exhibitions of riot and murder, unsociality and ferocity of manners. But they say, he has begged pardon of God and man by his piety and penitence. Yes, the pious, prostrate Bonaparte has begged pardon of God for making a tool of the Sovereign pontiff, by bringing back the prelates of the Gallican church, and, with the salaries of curates, constituting them, spies and informers. How has he begged pardon of man? By coming down on that honest, simple, hospitable people, the Swiss, and destroying the independence earned by the bravery of their ancestors. How has he acted to us? Why by condescending to receive our humi-

liating ſubmiſſion of every thing we had acquired by the proweſs of our army and navy. I muſt truſt to our valour to defend us againſt his armies; and I pray heaven to protect us againſt the effects of his penitence and piety."

It would have been wiſe, Mr. Sheridan maintained, to have ſurrendered Malta to France, and kept the Cape for ourſelves, and on this point, he quoted a former ſpeech of Mr. Dundas, who ſaid that the miniſter who, on making peace, ſhould give up the Cape, would deſerve to loſe his head. After ſome further remarks on Malta, which ſhould have been retained if poſſible by Great Britain, to keep the Britiſh flag flying in the Mediterranean, "like a great ſea mark, ſaving thoſe that eye it," Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the opinion that the reſtitution of colonies would make France commercial, and divert the attention of Bonaparte from military projects. "I do not know," he ſaid, "what France will be; but I do know that ſhe is now a hard Iron republic. Bonaparte, from his military education, and the ſort of company he has kept, they allow, is as yet a little rough; but then, if we could only catch him and clap him behind the counter he will become perfectly civil and quiet. When I was reading the treaty, I thought all the names of foreign places, viz. Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Cochin, Martinico, &c. all ceſſions. Not they: they are all ſo many traps and holes to catch this ſilly fellow in, and make a merchant of him." Mr. Sheridan then made ſome humorous alluſions to the ſtatue propoſed to be erected of Mr. Pitt, which he ſaid ſhould be ſet up near the Bank of England, and compoſed, not of gold, for of that he had not left us enough, but of *papier maché*, and old bank notes. He alſo deſcanted with great pleaſantry on the ſtate of parties, where the ex-miniſters were all diſtinct and ſeparate, and yet they and the individuals in office were all right honourable friends. The miniſter, he obſerved, had not taken the ſtrong ground, he might have aſſumed in defending the peace, that the arrogance of his predeceſſors obliged him to put up with indignity. "The miniſter," he ſaid, "takes no ſtrong ground of defence: I wont ſay he dare not take it. There he ſits to receive the attacks of the new confederacy, who are not great in numbers, but in talents. The ex-miniſter is mounted on a kind of hill fort to fire down on the aſſailants, but the garriſon is all manned with deſerters from the principles of the war. I ſhould like to ſupport the preſent miniſter on fair ground: but what is he? A ſort of outſide paſſenger; or rather a man leading the horſes round a corner, while reins, and whip, and all, are in the hands of the coachman on the box*. Why not have an union between the two miniſters, or, at leaſt, ſome intelligible connexion? When the ex-miniſter quitted office, almoſt all the ſubordinate miniſters kept their places. How was it that the whole family did

* In this part of his ſpeech, Mr. Sheridan alluded to Mr. Pitt's place in the Houſe, which was on one of the upper ſeats, above the treaſury-bench.

not

not move together?—Had he only one covered waggon to carry away friends and goods? Or has he left directions behind him, that they may know where to call? Ariſtophanes, a Greek author, whom I muſt tranſlate for the benefit of the country gentlemen, tells a ſtory ſomewhat in point. He ſays, that Nycias ſat ſo long in one poſture, (perhaps as long as the ex-miniſter ſat on the Treaſury Bench), that he adhered to the ſeat; ſo that when Hercules came to ſnatch him away, in the ſudden jerk a certain portion of his ſitting part was left behind him. Of the ex-miniſter I would juſt ſay, that no man admires his ſplendid talents more than I do. If ever there was a man formed and fitted by nature to benefit his country, and to give it luſtre, he is ſuch a man. He has too much good ſenſe, taſte and talent, to ſet his mind upon ribbands, ſtars, titles, and other appendages and idols of rank. He is of a nature not at all ſuited to be the creature or tool of any court. But while I thus ſay of him no more than I think his character and great talents deſerve, I muſt tell him how groſsly he has miſapplied them in the politics of this country. I muſt tell him again how he has augmented our national debt, and of the lives loſt in this war. I muſt tell him he has done more againſt the privileges of the people, increaſed more the power of the crown, and injured more the conſtitution of his country, than any miniſter that I can mention." Mr. Sheridan then ſtated his belief that the late miniſtry, no more reſigned on account of the Catholic queſtion, than they did becauſe they could not diſcover the longitude, and concluded by moving as another amendment, "that the omiſſion of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country, and more eſpecially the rejection of the overtures made by the chief conſul of France, in January 1800, had led to a ſtate of affairs, which rendered peace ſo neceſſary as to juſtify the important and painful ſacrifices which his majeſty has been adviſed to make for the attainment of it."

After ſome converſation, this amendment was negatived without a diviſion, and that of Lord Hawkeſbury adopted by a great majority, the numbers being 278 to 22.

CHAP. XIV.

Sir Edward Law appointed Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench on the death of Lord Kenyon, and made a peer, by the title of Lord Ellenborough; Mr. Perceval Attorney-general, and Mr. Manners Sutton Solicitor-general. Death of Francis Duke of Bedford, Eulogy on him by Mr. Fox. Notice of a motion for an inquiry into the Conduct of the late Adminiſtration given at an early period of the Seſſion by Sir Francis Burdett; the motion often deferred; at length made; ſpeech of Sir Francis Burdett; his motion ſeconded by Mr. Sturt; oppoſed by Earl Temple, and Mr. Archdall; the motion negatived. Notice of motion by Lord Belgrave, in approbation of the conduct of the late adminiſtration; and of one by Mr. Nicholls, thanking the King

for having dismissed them. Speech of Mr. Nicholls in support of his motion; of Lord Belgrave in proposing an amendment conformable to his notice of motion; Sir Henry Mildmay proposes another amendment, but withdraws it; Mr. Erskine also proposes an amendment and withdraws it; the amendment supported by Mr. Wilberforce and Sir Robert Peele; the original motion by Mr. Grey; Lord Hawkesbury speaks in favour of the amendment; Mr. Fox against it; observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Belgrave's amendment carried; and a motion by Sir Henry Mildmay for separate thanks to Mr. Pitt. His birth day celebrated by a very numerous company.

IN the debates in the House of Lords recapitulated in a preceding chapter, the name of Lord Ellenborough appears; this was the title conferred on Sir Edward Law, late attorney-general, who was raised to the peerage, and appointed chief justice of the King's Bench on the death of Lord Kenyon. This virtuous and upright magistrate was regretted by all who knew how to value his integrity, discernment, and loyalty. In his hands the law was made the protector of religion and good morals, and his example never counteracted the lesson his judicial acts were intended to teach. On the removal of Sir Edward Law, the honourable Mr. Perceval was advanced to the situation of attorney-general, and Mr. Thomas Manners Sutton to that of solicitor-general.

In the course of the spring, died also Francis Duke of Bedford. His grace being succeeded in his title by his brother Lord John Russel, member for Tavistock, Mr. Fox, in moving for a new writ for that borough, pronounced a pathetic eulogy on the deceased peer.

March 16. Rising in great agitation, and frequently pausing in the course of his speech through affectionate emotion, Mr. Fox declared he did not address the chair with an unusual preface, on a matter which was generally a mere motion of course, for the sake of expressing his private feelings. Sensibly as it affected him, the loss the public had sustained was infinitely greater: and it was from this conviction, from having witnessed the deep grief that had pervaded every rank, that he was induced to deviate from the common order of proceeding, and offer a few words in submitting to the House a motion arising from the decease of the Duke of Bedford. His loss was to be the more deplored, as he was carried off at a period of life at which the character is formed by a course of actions, which offer a pledge that what was to follow would correspond with what had preceded. He was old enough to have practised all the virtues that make mankind happy, and not too old to make us apprehensive, that by the course of nature we were so soon to be deprived of them by death, or that their exercise was likely to be damped by the absence of that ardour and enthusiasm which commonly attend on youth. Every thing in his composition was made to raise our wonder. His merit was the greater, not only because he was intirely the work of his own hands, but because virtue was greater in high stations, as it was more difficult, and as it embraced

braced a wider diverſity of objects. He was not ſo much diſtinguiſhed from others either by his birth or opulent fortune, as by a peculiar character, which he owed intirely to the native force and vigour of his own mind. This led him to the purſuit of utility, which became the prevailing motive, and the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of all his actions. He was born to a ſituation in which it is moſt difficult to keep pure the affections of the heart, and to cultivate the faculties of the underſtanding. When yet a child, he came into the poſſeſſion of his honours and his fortune: he was ſurrounded by dangers which have perverted and corrupted the beſt diſpoſed minds: he ſaw nothing in the world but what was fair and inviting. Under theſe circumſtances, would it have been ſurpriſing if his heart had been hardened, if his views had become contracted, if he had wanted the common ſympathies with diſtreſs, if he had thought of little elſe but the exceſs of ſelf gratification? The Roman ſatiriſt had juſtly obſerved, *Rarus enim ferme ſenſus communis in illa fortuna;* but it was not ſo with the Duke of Bedford; for it was not the leaſt remarkable part of his character, that in the midſt of affluence and the means of enjoyment, he had taught himſelf all the virtues of adverſity. No man ever put himſelf ſo low in his own eſtimation, or others more high. He uſed to conſider himſelf comparatively as nothing, and to exalt, in proportion, the cauſe, the intereſt, and the objects of thoſe for whom he lived; for at a period of life, and in an age that preſented all the allurements of ſociety, the conſtant undeviating object of all his cares, was how to make others more happy, more rich, more ſatisfied with their condition and circumſtances in the world. "If his condition was that of celibacy, Mr. Fox proceeded, it was only ſo in one ſenſe, namely, that he has left behind him no children to lament his untimely end, and to imitate his brilliant example. But if all thoſe are to be conſidered as our children whom we cheriſhed and protected, whom we have rendered happy by our good offices, and whom we have bound to us by all the ties of affection and gratitude, no man ever had a family more numerous, or was more piouſly mourned; for he watched over the cares, and adminiſtered to the wants of thoſe who came within the ſphere of his benevolence, whether they were his relations, his friends, or his attendants, with all the providence and all the feelings of a father." Mr. Fox then praiſed the deceaſed nobleman for his warmth and conſtancy in friendſhip, his continual improvement in knowledge and virtue, and his attention to objects of public utility, which he purſued to ſuch an extent, that if it had pleaſed Heaven to ſpare him ſome years longer, he would have found that his, almoſt princely, fortune, was not equal to it, and that his zeal for the moſt laudable and uſeful purſuits might have involved even him in embarraſſment and difficulty.

The political opinions of the Duke, Mr. Fox obſerved, differing widely from thoſe of the majority of the Houſe, might, inſtead of forming a ſubject of panegyric, rather ſeem to require exculpation and apology. To thoſe who felt ſo, the only apology he could offer was,

that there were ſome families in whom it might be remarked, that the love of public virtue was hereditary; and that if the Duke of Bedford might be thought to have carried this ſentiment too far, and even to have retained ſomething of a high ariſtocratical demeanour; yet, in times which we were taught to look upon as the beſt, the times of Athens and of Rome, thoſe who were moſt eminent were always thoſe who were moſt influenced by the example of their anceſtors. It could not have been unnatural to have remarked in one of the family of the Claudii, a partiality and predeliction for the privileges of the patricians. It was not unnatural in a deſcendant of the great Earl of Bedford and Lord Ruſſell, to be animated by a fervent love, and to diſcover more than a common leaning toward the rights and liberties of the people of England. After ſome further remarks on his political conſiſtency, and a deſcription of the virtuous ſenſibility he diſplayed in his laſt moments, Mr. Fox concluded in theſe terms. "Let it not be ſuppoſed, that ſafely as I might truſt to the generous indulgence of the Houſe to ſtate my feelings of the excellent man whoſe death we deplore, I have taken this unuſual opportunity of expreſſing them only to ſtrew flowers over his grave. No! It is for the ſake of impreſſing his great example upon the public; it is that men may ſee it, that they may feel it, that they may talk of it in their domeſtic circles, and hold it up, whenever it can be imitated, to the imitation of their children, and of poſterity. Thus it is, if we can ſuppoſe him now to look down upon us, and to be ſenſible of what is tranſacting in the world, we may be ſure that he rejoices that his death is as uſeful as his life, ſince its effect is, beyond all others, to teach mankind, according to the philoſophical, although perhaps the too ſanguine notion of a young orator of ancient times, that although the actions of vice are confined in their influence to the immediate miſchief they produce, virtue lives again in its example, and is made to endure for ever."

From a very early period of the ſeſſion, the attention of the Houſe of Commons had been frequently directed to a motion promiſed by Sir Francis Burdett, for an inquiry into the conduct of the late adminiſtration, who, as he phraſed it, had been the authors and promoters of the late bloody calamitous and diſaſtrous war. From the 13th of November to the 12th of April this promiſed motion was deferred for various reaſons. Sometimes, it would be inconvenient to the friends of Mr. Pitt; ſometimes to his opponents; at one time the receſs was too near, and the Houſe too thinly attended; at another it was judged expedient to poſtpone the motion till the definitive treaty had been ſigned. Againſt theſe delays ſtrong remonſtrance was once made by Mr. Elliſon, who ſaid he had travelled 170 miles on purpoſe to attend the diſcuſſion, but the poſtponement was countenanced by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Horne Tooke.

The ſpeech with which, after ſo much delay and preparation, Sir Francis Burdett prefaced his motion, was afterward publiſhed in the form of a pamphlet, but the bookſeller, by omiſſions and leaving ſpaces in the printing, avoided the danger to which an unmu- April 12.

unmutilated publication might have expoſed him.

"The time," ſaid Sir Francis Burdett, "has at length arrived, when laying aſide conjecture and uncertainty, we are enabled (from a knowledge of facts, and circumſtances that have paſſed before our eyes) to form an opinion of the principles and conduct of thoſe men, who have, for many years, ſwayed and guided the councils of this nation; and on various occaſions during that time, thoſe miniſters have boldly avowed themſelves reſponſible for the meaſures they purſued, which were often arraigned, though obſtinately perſiſted in. Now, I preſume we may be permitted to make up the national account of blood and treaſure, and ſhew to the people what has been received in return for the dreadful expenditure of both. Therefore, I conſider it our duty to inveſtigate the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, for the various, and varying objects pretended by them, for engaging the country in the late ruinous war,—and for continuing a conteſt in which ſo much blood and treaſure have been waſted, and the ſinews of the country ſo much weakened; but above all, it is our duty to take particular notice, and give the moſt pointed attention to all thoſe ſtriking and dangerous alterations which they have dared to make in the laws and conſtitution of the country; and it is our duty to look with the moſt ſcrutinizing eye on the ſeveral unprecedented acts of theirs, by which they have for many years carried on open war againſt the long eſtabliſhed rights, the property, the peace, and the domeſtic ſecurity of the people."

One of the objects which would preſent itſelf to inquiry, was the origin of the war, and although it had been decided by miniſters, and their notoriouſly corrupt adherents, that it was a juſt and neceſſary war, he would now appeal to the ſober judgment of the Houſe, from that deciſion obtained by corruption. Now that the falſehoods, frauds, and artifices of miniſters, were made manifeſt to the world; now that their fallacious and arrogant aſſertions had been uniformly contradicted, and by their counſels, the country was brought to ſo perilous a ſituation; ſurely he ſhould not be told there were not juſt grounds for inquiring into the deceptions practiſed by thoſe falſe prophets and tricking impoſters. "We ſhall find," he proceeded, "that, under falſe and ſtrange pretences, the fundamental laws of the land have been altered; every bulwark of the conſtitution removed; every thing taken away but corruption and abuſe, which have been ſhamefully augmented in the midſt of general and national diſtreſs; there is no condition or ſituation in the country, from the higheſt to the loweſt, conſidered individually as private citizens, or collectively as conſtituted authorities, which has not been materially altered. The ſituation of the King, the ſituation of the Queen, the ſituation of the Prince of Wales, whoſe rights have been as little reſpected as the meaneſt ſubject; the ſituations of both Houſes of Parliament—of the judges—the laws—the magiſtracy—the militia—the Bank of England—the City of London—the Weſt Indies—Scotland—and proſtrated Ireland—alſo the condition of the people at large.—All, all have been totally changed, under pretence of reſiſting

resisting innovation and change. To effect this unnatural change was the real and ultimate object of the war.—"My sounding steps," (thought the minister) "will not be heard amidst the din of war,"—a war, not directed against enemies abroad, but against the liberty, property, manners, laws, customs, and habits of the people at home. I maintain that it was against the very existence of the rights of the people, that his Majesty's late ministers conspired to have the war."

Omitting to notice their want of success in foreign enterprizes, as too notorious, he would describe their victories over the people of this country, who unfortunately confided in them, and in that respect their success had been complete indeed. The liberty of the press, violated by placing printers and publishers intirely at the mercy of government, under new and unconstitutional restraints. He must be a bold man indeed, who would venture to put pen to paper to express his sentiments, at a period when a second conviction for a constructive libel, would subject him to transportation to Botany Bay; at a period when a libel was a thing not to be defined. A scare crow in a garden had been called a libel; the gestures of a deaf and dumb man might be deemed a libel; and the very motions of our hands might also be considered libellous. The judges of law and equity, were rendered dependent on the crown by large salaries or pensions bestowed upon them after they retired from the judgment seats; star chamber sentences had been pronounced for the most trifling political offences; men convicted of libels had judgment suspended over them for years, and let fall to crush them whenever they became obnoxious to ministers. "Juries," he said, "have been threatened with a writ of attaint by an attorney-general, for daring to assert their privilege, and giving a verdict contrary to his opinion; a new trial (for the first time in this nation) has been granted in a criminal case; the freedom of speech has been violated; above fifty persons together are not permitted to discuss their political grievances, under the penalty of death by military execution; and trial by jury in most cases taken away where the revenue is concerned."

The income tax he censured as establishing an inquisitorial power; the sale of the land tax, as a confiscation of property to an immense amount, accompanied with circumstances of delusion and fraud; and to these might be added innumerable wanton, harassing, and disproportioned penalties, to inforce this overgrown system of taxation, converting England into an Excise office, and one part of the people into spies and informers to prey upon the other.

From these points, Sir Francis Burdett turned to the subject of secret imprisonment, treating it as part of a system invented for the purpose of altering the good old provisions respecting treason, and introducing constructive treasons. The effect had been that of undermining the morality and corrupting the integrity of the people; ministers had triumphed over the ancient manners which characterized Englishmen; they had destroyed all sense and patriotism in public men. "Ministers," he added, "have new modelled the police upon the plan

plan of the old despotism of France, and have created a *lieutenant de police* under the title of third secretary of state, a station unknown to the constitution. They have selected needy creatures, dependent upon themselves, and invested them with the sacred character of magistrates. They have erected secret and murderous dungeons, under the controul of those corrupt magistrates. They have sent the money of the people out of the country, and have brought over foreign mercenaries, thinking them fitter instruments of tyranny than our own soldiers. They have, year after year, suspended the habeas corpus act; arrested indiscriminately such persons, not whom they had proof against, but against whom they expected they might be able to extort evidence. Knowing what they did, they could not but know that all men must be against them, and therefore they suspected every one. Having chosen victims, they commenced their inquisition; the process of which was varied, according to the supposed temper and disposition of the prisoner. Some were loaded with irons, and plunged at once into all the horrors of Cold Bath Fields, to suffer the torture of hunger and cold. Others underwent a different treatment; they were sent to messenger's houses, where they were indulged with food and fire, and comfortably lodged; the messenger's business being to pump his prisoner, and perpetually to represent to him the terrors of Cold Bath Fields and Governor Aris, hoping, good naturedly, that he might escape them by giving information, or as they termed it *singing out*. In this state of preparation, the prisoner was brought up to be examined, when the first question asked by the dignified magistrate who presided at these inquisitorial proceedings, was in the cant phrase of a thief-taker, whether the prisoner would sing out or not? Most of these unfortunate men, having no song gratifying to the ear of the worthy magistrate, and preferring cold and hunger to giving false information, were sent to Coth Bath Fields, and recommended to the care of Governor Aris. Thrust then, into a solitary cell in this prison, where thirst and hunger, and every species of cruelty is practised and endured, unpitied and unseen, exposed even to personal violence, and having suffered it in several instances from the brutal ferocity of Aris, cut off from every consolation which the most inhuman have seldom denied their victims; even wives and children excluded; in this close, cruel, illegal custody, have ministers kept men without charge, without knowing their accusers, and without daring to bring a man to trial. At length, some at the end of two, some at the end of three, one has been imprisoned the greatest part of seven years, with ruined fortunes, broken health, broken hearts, almost, are they permitted to rejoin, witness and partake the misery of their starving families. To crown all, ministers have prevailed upon this House to reject the petitions of men they have thus treated, and to pass a bill of indemnity for these ministers and gaolers. A plain proof which of the two broke the law, the accused or the accusers. But, this is not merely a bill of indemnity; had it been so, it would have been sufficient to have secured ministers, after a strict inquiry into their conduct, against the

the legal damages which might have been awarded. But it was further neceſſary to reject petitions, ſtating the horrid facts of which themſelves were aſhamed; it was neceſſary to clear your gallery when theſe petitions were read; it was neceſſary to bar up the doors of the courts of juſtice, in order to prevent any well authenticated account of their conduct from coming before the public.

We have heard much of the bleſſings of our happy conſtitution, but look at the real ſituation of the country; five hundred and fifty millions of debt, with barracks and baſtiles erected in every part of the nation, the habeas corpus act deſtroyed, for the frequency, long continuance and facility of its ſuſpenſion, has totally annihilated the confidence of the ſubject; an army of ſpies and informers, an inquiſition of property, an inquiſition of political opinion, a ſhackled and corrupted preſs, a gagged and beggared people, penſioned juſtices, eventually ſalaried judges, vague laws, threatened juries, an executive magiſtrate not accountable, a degraded ariſtocracy, a confiding parliament, and irreſponſible and indemnified miniſters. What is there in this ſyſtem ſo admirable to recompence the people of England for the immenſe ſacrifices they are called upon daily and hourly to make for its ſupport?"

Sir Francis Burdett then adverted to the ſtate of Ireland, noticing firſt, the excellent public ſpirit which prevailed there at the cloſe of the American war, when left to herſelf the country exhibited the grand ſpectacle of a volunteer army, ſelf raiſed, ſelf paid, ſelf cloathed, ſelf armed, not ſubject to martial law; a debating army, chooſing its own officers, canvaſſing public meaſures, ſubmitting to no other articles of war than public opinion, to no other mutiny bill than private honour. From this happy ſtate corruption and fraud occaſioned the country to decline. Places were multiplied, and monopolizing natives appointed to fill them; while the formation of a national debt, the eſtabliſhment of a national bank, which at firſt pleaſed the vanity of the inconſiderate, were, in fact, ſtores gathered from the people, and ſwept into the granaries of the Engliſh miniſter, to be diſtributed by the hands of his factor, known by the name of ſecretary to a lord lieutenant; theſe ſupplies, were ſo abundant, that the price of a ſeat for one election only, roſe from eight hundred to two thouſand pounds in the Houſe of Commons; and in the Houſe of Lords from little or nothing, to three, four, and five thouſand pounds. The people, at firſt gratified by the ſound of an independent parliament, found to their coſt it was of them the parliament was independent, and wholly dependent upon the will of the Britiſh cabinet. Then the queſtion of parliamentary reform was introduced into Ireland, and the people were not in a ſmall degree induced to promote it by the eloquent ſpeeches of Mr. Pitt; but the right honourable gentleman having, in the mean time, become prime miniſter of England, ſtrengthened by troops returned from America, and ſupported by a majority of the owners of the repreſentation, whoſe fortunes, and whoſe families were made by this ſyſtem, reſiſted every movement towards that reform to which he before led the

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way. The friends of this object being continually baffled in their purſuit from 1783 to 1791, found it neceſſary, in order to effect their purpoſe to embrace every deſcription of perſons, and to avoid all religious prejudices, the rock on which reform had hitherto ſplit. To this end, ſome of the moſt enlightened and ſtrenuous advocates of reform compoſed a teſt, conceived in the following terms:—"In the awful preſence of God, I declare, that I will, as far as in me lies, endeavour to promote a brotherhood of affection and union amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and that I will perſevere in my endeavours to procure a full, equal and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland in parliament." Thus the work of reconciliation and union was in rapid progreſs. Many ſocieties of the coaleſced ſects, better known by the name of United Iriſhmen, were formed, and every thing wore an aſpect favourable to peace, mutual affection and reform. The parliament itſelf, in 1793, took up the ſubject, and ſeemed to evince ſo much fairneſs in the entertainment of it, that no fewer than eleven committees of the Houſe of Commons ſat in the ſeſſion of that year, for the purpoſe of taking the ſtate of the repreſentation into conſideration. Theſe meaſures alarmed the miniſtry, and they paſſed the notorious convention bill, the object of which was to quaſh the united ſocieties, and to prevent all political meetings. From this time the meetings, which had hitherto been held openly, were convened privately; became numerous in proportion to the means taken to obſtruct them, and perſeveringly maintained their principles of union and reform. Attempts at reform without union, would not have alarmed. Religious bigotry would have eaſily fruſtrated them. It was the union of Iriſhmen that ſtruck terror to the ſoul of miniſters; becauſe by the diſunion of the proteſtant, the catholic, and the preſbyterian, they were able to hold Ireland in a ſtate of abject ſubmiſſion. Recourſe was therefore had to the diſunion of the ſects, and the papering and racking ſyſtem was adopted, which expelled from their habitations thouſands of families, by a proceſs the moſt atrocious. A paper of notice was paſted againſt the doors of the cottages of the catholics, commanding the inhabitants to quit their abode in five or ten days, and proceed to the province of Connaught, or they ſhould be ſent to hell. Theſe mandates, not being at firſt complied with, the fanatics who had iſſued them, repaired to the houſes of the unfortunate catholics, ouſted the whole family, and racked, and ſet fire to the miſerable hovel and its contents. Such tranſactions could not fail to attract notice; many of the authors of them were committed to priſon; his Majeſty's attorney general was ſent to the theatre, where theſe tragedies had been acted, to proſecute the offenders, who were all acquitted except one, and he was pardoned. After this, which ſerved as a manifeſto to every agent of government —after ſuch a pardon, it is not to be wondered at, if thoſe catholics, who had not yet been papered and racked, ſhould, dreading a repetition of the ſame ſyſtem, and having no protection from law, proceed to deprive the Orange Men, (who were the authors of theſe proceedings) of their

their arms, themſelves having been kept diſarmed. This proceeding anſwered the purpoſe of miniſters; it afforded opportunity of diſuniting Iriſhmen of different perſuaſions, of protecting one ſect, and ſtirring it up to take vengeance on the other. As the ordinary forms of law were tedious and uncertain, they determined to fling off the cumbrous load of ſtatute, and employed an army, the officers of which erected a military tribunal, where they ſat, tried, ſentenced, and condemned; not a few individuals only, but whole tribes of the people were ſent on board tenders. Engliſh fencibles, ancient Britiſh fencibles, and Hanoverian fencibles, were ſent over, and ſuch a ſcene of arſon and maſſacre enſued, that the whole nation groaned. At length the people roſe; thouſands loſt their lives in battle, and thouſands were afterwards deſtroyed, for it was after the battles the horrors of war began. Thus was engendered a cordial hatred between the parliament and the people; and now was the time for the Engliſh miniſter to put the finiſhing ſtroke to the deſign he had been ſo long ſecretly carrying on. Having conſpired with the parliament againſt the people, he now conſpired with the army againſt the parliament; and to effect this object, the parliament was to be ſtigmatized as ſo full of low ignorance that it was unfit to govern a nation, and Ireland, as the only means of reſcuing her from the danger with which ſhe was threatened, was called into union with this country. Having dwelt ſometime on theſe topics, he exclaimed, "When I reflect upon the enormities which have been committed in that country, I really feel aſhamed of my ſpecies, aſhamed of being a man. Robeſpierre only inflicted death upon his victims; the inquiſition itſelf abandoned torture; and no Sicilian tyrants, not one nor all the twelve Cæſars, exceeded the cruelties that had been practiſed in Ireland. And can we permit this to be waſhed in Lethe, and forgotten? Is not the time arrived, or is there no time for inquiry into ſuch unprecedented conduct? And ſhall we allow miniſters, by a miſerable juggle and ſham change of adminiſtration among their own creatures and partizans, to eſcape unqueſtioned; and the people of England and Ireland to be diſgraced? Hitherto, failure abroad and unconſtitutional acts at home, have been deemed good parliamentary grounds of inquiry. It is high time to inquire into, and have defined, the real objects of the late war. It is fit to inquire, if ſuch a peace as the preſent is ſafe and honourable, and why negotiation was rejected before.

The ſituation of the country, he contended was in many reſpects ſimilar to that in which it was placed at the cloſe of the American war. On that occaſion he cited ſeveral of Mr. Pitt's ſpeeches, reflecting on Lord North and his adminiſtration, and declaring to the people that they had no choice but ruin or reform. "I call," he ſaid, "upon the gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland to ſtand forward at length in defence of the rights of the people at large. This is their natural poſition, the poſt of intereſt as well as honour; and let us all, before it becomes too late, ſet about reforming thoſe abuſes, which diſguſt the country, and weigh the people to the earth. Conſider our

next war with France will probably be carried on in Great Britain; and if you wish for energy you must not be out of love with democracy. If you want virtue you must give it motives. If you want patriotism, you must afford a Patria, by a fair government embracing and taking in the people, by restoring to the people their rights, and giving them security for their enjoyment, by a fair representation in this House. Thus by uniting all classes in one common interest, you may defy the power of France, aggrandized as she is; or of the world, could it be placed in one giant arm. And what is more, you may defy wicked, corrupt, and profligate ministers. I now require, on the part of the people, that justice which at the close of the American war, Mr. Pitt demanded. I demand inquiry, in order that punishment should follow guilt, as an example to ministers hereafter, and as the previous and necessary step to reform, which can alone secure the people in future. If, after a war the most burdensome, bloody, and calamitous, this country ever was engaged in, ending in a peace, which places it in a situation critical and perilous beyond all former example; if, after the most flagrant and daring violation of the laws and constitution, no inquiry shall be granted into the conduct of those who have been intrusted with the administration, I shall indeed believe, that the destinies of France, (a term much used of late in this House) do lead that country to universal empire, and this to be enslaved and destroyed by a set of the most rash, wicked, and unwise men that ever were intrusted with the affairs of a great nation."

The motion was, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the late administration at home and abroad during the war, and it was seconded by Mr. Sturt.

Earl Temple, in opposing the motion, thought it necessary to apologize for occupying time in answering a speech the most extraordinary he had ever heard, and in which there was more assumption, and less argument than in any that had ever been delivered within the walls of that House. The honourable baronet had not thought it necessary to adduce any new grounds on which to rest his motion: the topics and principles he had dwelt upon, were the very same which he and his friends had repeatedly advanced before, and upon which the decision of the House had been invariably the same. His lordship distinguished the acts of the late ministry from those of their successors, insisting that to the former nothing could be imputed which had taken place since February 1801. The origin and the objects of the war had already been frequently discussed and determined by the House; yet the honourable baronet persisted in mistaking both, and in supposing them to be aggressions on the part of England, and an anxiety to restore the French monarchy: no assertion had ever been more completely refuted, and no position more clearly proved than that it was the object of the war to repel that system of jacobin philosophy and of jacobin politics, which aimed at nothing but the overthrow of every civilized government; but more particularly at the annihilation of the British constitution, which was their envy as much as our

our boaſt. The ſpeech of the honourable baronet might perhaps be well ſuited to a tavern audience; it contained rounded periods, bold epithets, lofty declamation; he talked of baſtiles and impriſonment; but the very ſame language was held in France previous to the revolution, and maddened the people into a determination to demoliſh the baſtile. When lo! one poor priſoner only was diſcovered in it; and after France had imagined that ſhe had thus laid low the towers of deſpotiſm, ſhe ſoon ſaw almoſt every caſtle of the kingdom erected into dungeons to immure her children. The honourable baronet had alſo aſſumed that the only object the united Iriſhmen had in view, was parliamentary reform. To anſwer this aſſertion, he would content himſelf with reminding the Houſe of the declarations made by Arthur O'Connor, and by the two Sheers, by which declarations it appeared that parliamentary reform the Iriſh traitors never looked to, but only held it out as a maſk to cover their real deſigns. After ſome further obſervations, Earl Temple declared that in his heart and ſoul he believed Mr. Pitt to be the ſaviour of the country, and the real author of the ſtrength, energy, reſources, and proſperity which ſhe had diſplayed during the war, and which ſhe was now likely to enjoy in peace.

Mr. Archdall ſaid, after the melancholy information from the honourable baronet, that the late miniſtry had levied war againſt the Iriſh as a people, he naturally wiſhed to riſe early in the debate, if it were only to aſcertain his own exiſtence. This miniſterial warfare levied againſt Ireland, conſiſted in acts of conceſſion from the commencement of the war till the union of the parliaments; acts of repeated conceſſion, and diſappointed conciliation. He mentioned the different popular acts paſſed there, particularly the Militia Bill, to which Ireland chiefly owed its preſervation at this moment; but the force raiſed under, which was not what the honourable baronet had recommended, a debating army; and the Roman Catholic Bill, of which the Catholics had expreſſed an opinion, by publiſhing, that they ſhould for ever remember with the moſt lively gratitude the benefits which they had received during the Earl of Weſtmoreland's adminiſtration; under Lord Weſtmoreland's government, he ſaid, more good laws had been made for Ireland, and that country was left in better circumſtances, than in all the governments of all the lords lieutenants, from Lord Wentworth down to Lord Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Lord Weſtmoreland's ſucceſſor. After mentioning this laſt nobleman with great reſpect, he ſaid, the next government was a government of ſelf defence; it was aſſailed by rebellion and civil war, and was obliged to repel force by force. Could the honourable baronet ſay, that commotion ſhould go ſo far, and no farther, and that the hand which might raiſe a ſtorm could be ſure to allay it? As to the free quartering of the army, which he had reprobated, he ſhould not defend, nor blame it. All he ſhould ſay was, that it was not an act of the late miniſtry, but of the great and regretted character, who was then the commander in chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby. Having made ſome further obſervations on Ireland, Mr. Archdall

ſpoke

ſpoke in terms of triumph of the glorious effects of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, not only in preſerving the throne, and the civil and religious eſtabliſhments at home, but alſo in affording charitable aid to ſufferers from abroad. "Let other nations," he ſaid, "when they think of this, tell the honourable baronet, what is now the Engliſh character abroad. And let this united nation, when it looks back to the contraſt; on the one hand, their miniſtry calling forth the virtues of the country, and placing them in uniſon with thoſe of the ſovereign; on the other, a ſelfiſh and diſaffected party, in their jacobin uniform, of threadbare ſophiſtry and patch-work declamation; who once were troubleſome, and might have become formidable, in the courſe of this war of principles, as well as power, had they not been defeated by arguments as well as by facts, and at laſt driven into obſcurity with the indignation of the public. Let this be recollected, and the honourable baronet have the pleaſure and the pride to tell what is now the Engliſh character at home." On the perſonal character of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Archdall beſtowed a high eulogy. Having noticed ſome leading points in his public conduct, he ſaid, "If after this, ſome one ſhould come forward to criminate his merits in the parliament which had witneſſed them, even he would preſume to ſpeak what the right honourable gentleman need not condeſcend to ſpeak for himſelf, that to this Houſe it would be enough to ſay, as his illuſtrious father ſaid before him, *"You know theſe hands are clean,"* and to his accuſer it would not be too much to ſay,

"Diſce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis ——."

In the reſidue of the debate little occurred worthy of notice; Sir Francis Burdett was not ſtrenuouſly ſupported, nor was it conſidered neceſſary on the other ſide to enter into a detailed refutation of the aſſertions ſo often advanced, and ſo perpetually diſproved. Mr. Jones inſiſted that ſome inquiry ought to be inſtituted into the conduct of a miniſtry who had dilapidated 258 millions of the public money, who had granted 583 penſions, and created 95 peers. Lord Belgrave propoſed an amendment, thanking the late miniſters, for their great and eminent ſervices in the exertions they made to preſerve to us unimpaired the bleſſings we enjoyed during the whole of the late conteſt. Mr. Pitt was deſirous that the principal queſtion ſhould be met directly, and the amendment withdrawn. This was at length agreed to, and on a diviſion, the number for Sir Francis Burdett's motion was 39, againſt it 246.

After the diviſion, Lord Belgrave gave notice, that he ſhould bring forward the ſubject of his amendment in the ſhape of a motion, and Mr. Nicholls having afterward declared his intention to move a vote of thanks to the king for having diſmiſſed his late miniſters, it was determined that both propoſitions ſhould be diſcuſſed on the ſame day.

Mr. Nicholls's motion was, for an addreſs to his Majeſty, thanking him for having removed the Right Honourable William Pitt from his councils. He had been induced, he ſaid, particularly to ſelect this right honourable gentleman, not merely becauſe he 7th May.

formed the moſt prominent character in the late adminiſtration, but becauſe circumſtances applied to him excluſive of the reſt of his colleagues in office. He then proceeded to review the origin and conduct of the war, deſcribing its firſt objects to have been the reſcue of Holland and the expulſion of the French from Flanders; in both theſe efforts we had failed. Another object was to deſtroy the effect of French principles, but they were now more than ever recommended by ſucceſs. This ſubject led him to the trials for high treaſon, and the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, and thus, he ſaid, had Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of warding off diſtant, and perhaps imaginary dangers, plunged the country into a conteſt for the deſtruction of French principles, and the diminution of French power; and who was there bold enough to ſay, that at the concluſion of this conteſt the power of France was not augmented to a degree which could not be contemplated without anxiety and alarm? In ſaying this, he did not mean to cenſure the peace, but the war which had rendered ſuch a peace neceſſary, and compelled us to ſubmit to the high language of France. In the conduct of the war, the miniſter had acted in contradiction to certain axioms of Machiavel; one was, never to truſt the repreſentations of emigrants; another, never to rely on the deſtruction of the finances of an enemy. In the progreſs of his ſpeech he reviewed all the events of the late war, imputing intirely to Mr. Pitt that its conduct had been unproſperous, and its termination ſuch, as to make men rejoice in the peace, merely becauſe it was a relinquiſhment of a war which had been ſo pregnant with diſaſters.

Mr. Nicholls then proceeded to notice the conduct of Mr. Pitt as a peace miniſter, directing his attention firſt to four principal objects: the income tax; the meaſure for the redemption of the land tax; the ſyſtem of paper money; and the addition of two hundred fifty-eight millions to the national debt. On each of theſe topics he inſiſted at ſome length, and argued, that in none of them was there any thing from which the public had derived advantage. By theſe meaſures the funds might be kept up; and the capitaliſts might be gratified, but the tradeſman was reduced to wretchedneſs. Every article of conſumption was enhanced in price, and thouſands had periſhed in the poor houſes. He then deſcanted on the uſe of corruption by Mr. Pitt, contending that thoſe arts as employed by Sir Robert Walpole, compared with thoſe of the right honourable gentleman, were trifling; and alluding, in illuſtration of this opinion, to the number of peerages granted, and penſions confirmed during his adminiſtration. In the reſidue of his ſpeech, Mr. Nicholls treated on the improper conduct of Mr. Pitt with reſpect to Catholic emancipation, and particularly his requiring thoſe perſons to look up to him as their patron and ſupporter; on the civil liſt, and the manner in which the claims of the heir apparent had been reſiſted during his adminiſtration; and he conjured the Houſe to watch with a jealous eye over the deſigns of an individual who ſeemed to aim at an influence, by which the throne itſelf might be controuled.

Mr. T. Jones ſeconded the motion.

Lord

Lord Belgrave roſe to propoſe an amendment, obſerving he could hardly think the honourable gentleman meant ſeriouſly to preſs his motion, as it was notorious that Mr. Pitt had reſigned his ſituation, and had not been diſmiſſed his majeſty's ſervice. The acts of the late adminiſtration had all ſeparately been approved by parliament, but the Houſe was now called upon to bring into view the general merits and demerits of government, and upon a conſcientious reviſion of their whole conduct during the war, to decide either in favour of, or againſt the motion he intended to ſubmit to their conſideration; and he was far from wiſhing any gentleman to vote with him who did not feel intirely ſatisfied that their merits very much outweighed their defects. He thought, indeed, that conſidering, with the ſmalleſt portion of candour, the various difficulties of the public ſervice, and particularly the unprecedented difficulties of the late conteſt, and the liability of man to err, it would not be conceived very extraordinary, if the late government ſhould occaſionally have betrayed, in their conduct, the imperfection of human nature. In the motion he intended to propoſe, he included thoſe miniſters who had been principally concerned in conducting the affairs of the nation in the arduous and perilous conteſt in which it had been engaged. But he meant certainly to point both the vote and his remarks chiefly to the late chancellor of the exchequer, who had been, for ſo many years, the leading member of his majeſty's councils, and to whom the country was, above all others, indebted for its diſtinguiſhed character in the eſtimation of mankind.

In ſupport of theſe opinions, though averſe to entering into details, his lordſhip preſented to the contemplation of the Houſe, the ſtate of the country at the end of 1792, and aſked, whether, comparing their preſent ſituation with that in which they were at that period, they did not feel themſelves very much in the condition of mariners, who had juſt eſcaped the dangers of the moſt tremendous ſtorm they had ever encountered, and who looked back upon the ſcarcely ſubſiding waves with emotions of calm delight, and unſpeakable ſatisfaction? Let them now view the veſſel of the ſtate having weathered the ſtorm, and riding in triumph and ſecurity in her native port; and then conſider whether ſome credit was not due to thoſe that had ſteered her uninjured through a ſea ſo threatening, ſo awful, and ſo tempeſtuous? In the late war, the country had not only France to contend with, but French principles, ſupported by arms. They had not only a foreign enemy, but a domeſtic one to alarm and increaſe their difficulties. In the early part of her revolution, the deformity of her principles was ſomething veiled by appearances ſo ſpecious and alluring, that they for awhile infuſed their fatal poiſons even here, and the diſaffected availed themſelves of the deluſion to ſpread their ſnares, and weave their treaſons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and eſpecially the latter country, where the materials to work upon were found more combuſtible, and better ſuited to their diabolical deſigns.

Purſuing this ſubject Lord Belgrave noticed the progreſs of the war; our numerous triumphs by ſea,

our conquests from the enemy, without any loss on our part; the prosperous state of India, under the wise administration of Lord Wellesley; and lastly the union with Ireland, which effectually frustrated the darling hope of France to disunite the two countries for ever. He extolled the sinking fund, as a system wisely contrived to uphold the public credit, and to ease the burthens of posterity; noticed the income-tax as excellent in theory, though somewhat defective in operation; and, in fine, contended that the late minister might be truly said to have established a system of finance, by means of a rigid adherence to the integrity of the sinking fund, in times even of great peril, which might be called the magna charta of public credit, which no future minister would venture to depart from. Lord Belgrave then made an animated eulogium on the personal character of Mr. Pitt, who, for seventeen most trying years, had directed his majesty's councils with unsullied integrity, with intire personal disinterestedness, with the most laborious diligence, with perfect devotion to its interests, and with constant zeal and anxiety for its happiness and prosperity.

His amendment, seconded by Mr. S. Thornton, was, that "it is the opinion of this House, that by the wisdom, energy and firmness, of his majesty's councils during the late arduous contest, supported by the unparalleled exertions of our fleets and armies, and by the magnanimity and fortitude of the people, the honour of this country has been upheld, its strength united and consolidated, its credit and commerce maintained and extended, and our invaluable constitution preserved against the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies."

Mr. Grey objected to the amendment as irregular, and was supported by Mr. Fox; Mr. Wilberforce argued on the opposite side, and the Speaker decided against the objection.

Sir Henry Mildmay, cordially agreeing in the amendment, declared that to Mr. Pitt the people were indebted for the preservation of their laws and their religion; and the king for the crown he wore. Allowing great merit to his colleagues in office, Sir Henry wished, however, to confine the vote of that night to Mr. Pitt, and offered an amendment to that effect, but was informed it was, at that period, irregular.

Mr. Erskine vehemently reprobated the amendment, and conjured the House, as they valued their dignity, their character, their honour, not merely in the present age, but in all future times, not to give their sanction to a proposition so monstrous. If the assertion in the original motion, that the king had dismissed Mr. Pitt was unfounded in fact, why did not the noble lord make that a distinct affirmation, and use it as a ground for rejecting the motion. He descanted at great length on the metaphor of a ship, used by Lord Belgrave, and insisted that on his principle those who had taken upon themselves the management of the vessel of state, and had deserted their posts in a moment of peril, were not only not to be forced to account for this extraordinary conduct, but to be loaded with praises, and have honours lavished on their heads. After treating on other topics for some time, Mr. Erskine returned to this part of the subject,

ubject, and obſerved, there was one way in which it could be ſatisfactorily proved that the right honourable gentleman had not deſerted his duty. It might be ſaid that certain circumſtances diſqualified him for oſtenſibly undertaking the work of peace; that he only retired a moment behind the ſcenes; but that, though his face was hid from public obſervation, his comprehenſive eye watched over all the varied parts of the political machine; that every thing continued ſubject to his controul; that the reſtoration of that peace, which was received with ſo much gratitude throughout the country, was his work. Admitting all this to be true, it was a fact known only to a very few perſons in the Houſe, and therefore it was a fact upon which the Houſe could not proceed to act. The whole of this tranſaction he wiſhed to ſee cleared up, before he could poſſibly even conſent to entertain the amendment which the noble lord had propoſed.

It was another objection to the amendment, that it purpoſed to include ſome of the moſt prominent characters of the late adminiſtration, who were buſied in declaiming againſt the peace; who, by every exertion in their power, were endeavouring to convince the Houſe and the public that it was ruinous and diſgraceful; and were doing what in them lay to prepare the way for the renewal of hoſtilities. Was this the way to conſolidate or cement peace betwixt the two nations? Was this the way to convince the government of France that we were deſirous of cultivating a good underſtanding? He ſhould alſo object to the motion becauſe Mr. Pitt had adviſed the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures in 1800. The Houſe could not have forgotten the time when this rejection took place. It was when Italy contained not a ſingle French ſoldier; when it had been traced and retraced by the footſteps of the Ruſſian troops, and the French armies had totally withdrawn from it; it was when the ſtates of Europe had not fallen into that degraded ſituation in which they now preſented themſelves; it was when terms of peace, much more moderate and conſiſtent with the independence of Europe, could have been obtained; it was at ſuch a moment as this that language of the moſt barbarous and diſguſting kind was employed to the chief conſul of France. It was not merely that we refuſed to treat, but that we refuſed even to liſten to a propoſition for that purpoſe. It was not that we ſent back a refuſal, couched in the language of conciliation, but that the offer was treated with the moſt offenſive contempt. The rejection, accompanied with all theſe circumſtances, was ſanctioned by the Houſe. The bitter pill was ſwallowed, but if it were to do again, was there one man in the Houſe who would agree to its repetition!

Cenſuring as unfair the proceeding of Lord Belgrave, who, inſtead of meeting the original motion with a direct negative, had evaded it by a pompous interpolation, Mr. Erſkine propoſed, as an amendment, that a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the late adminiſtration, and cauſes of their reſignation; but being informed that the forms of the Houſe did not allow of the mo-

tion being put, he withdrew it.

Mr. Wilberforce was glad the oppoſition party had choſen the reſignation of Mr. Pitt as their ſtrongeſt ground of argument, for it was weak as could be imagined. That his remaining in office was accounted by them ſo eſſential to the intereſts of the country, was a high compliment to his talents. It was only neceſſary to attend to the conduct he had purſued ſince his reſignation, for from that might be formed the beſt judgment of the motives which induced him to reſign. The magnanimity with which he had ſupported the miniſtry which had ſucceeded him; the ſpirited and diſintereſted manner in which he had come forward to approve the peace which they had made, proved the greatneſs of his mind, from which the Houſe could not withhold due applauſe. Mr. Wilberforce did not, however, wiſh to vote praiſes to him excluſively, for his meaſures were all ſubmitted to the review of the reſt of the Cabinet, and modified and amended by their united wiſdom. As particular grounds of his admiration of Mr. Pitt, he cited his energy in exciting the ſpirit of the country to repel ſurrounding dangers; the diſintereſtedneſs and public ſpirit with which he looked forward to the advantage, the relief, the proſperity of future ages, and the magnanimity he had ever ſhewn, both in conducting the war and approving the peace. He ſtrenuouſly adviſed the exiſting adminiſtration to follow the glorious example thus placed before them, and, after vindicating Mr. Pitt from the groundleſs charge, ſo often advanced and ſo often refuted, of having been the author of the late war, concluded by giving his hearty aſſent to he amendment.

Sir Robert Peel bore teſtimony to the unrivalled knowledge of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in the commercial concerns of the country. He alſo extolled his diſintereſtedneſs, having been the benefactor of his country, and neglected no one's intereſt but his own. "It has indeed been ſaid," he proceeded, "that though he did not enrich himſelf, he ſecured his influence by beſtowing penſions and titles on others. But he had no occaſion to have recourſe to ſuch arts; he had ſecured ſufficient ſupport by honourable meaſures; three parts of the Houſe, who were incapable of being bribed, were his friends." He thought the Houſe ſhould beſtow on him ſome more ſolid mark of approbation than a vote of thanks. It would be diſgraceful to the nation to allow ſuch a man to retire to languiſh in poverty. "I, for one," he ſaid, "would be happy to contribute to prevent this; not from any perſonal motives, for I have not the honour of being acquainted with the Right Honourable Gentleman, but on account of the great and important ſervices which he has rendered his country."

Mr. Grey ſaid Mr. Pitt's admirers had confined themſelves to general eulogium and declamation, or to an aſſumption of facts which it behoved them to prove. The amendment was not only unprecedented and unſupported by argument, but inſulting to an oppreſſed people, who were groaning under the fatal effects of his miſconduct. It had been ſaid, that to Mr. Pitt the King was indebted for his crown.

crown. *Non tali auxilio!* the crown never was in danger, and if it had, there was a ſufficient ſhare of loyalty and good ſenſe in the country to defend it without any aſſiſtance from him. It was ſaid the veſſel of the ſtate had outrode the ſtorm, and was ſecure in port. In what did this ſecurity conſiſt? "Look to France, and ſee the ſituation in which we are left!" Mr. Grey then inquired why we could not, at any former period, as well as now, have made peace with the French Republic. Jacobiniſm was no more dreadful at any former time than at the preſent. Had Robeſpierre been allowed to conſolidate his power, and to ſeat himſelf quietly on the throne, would he have been leſs ſafe to be treated with? If he had found it for his intereſt, would he not have ſuppreſſed the clubs, ſilenced diſcuſſion, ſhackled the preſs, and, after worſhipping the Goddeſs of Reaſon, inſtalled Chriſtianity in the church of Nôtre Dame? Theſe things had been done by one of whom ſuch atrocities are related during his campaign in Egypt; and why might not the ſame line of conduct have been purſued by the other governments of France who had vexed that ill-fated country?—ill-fated in having loſt its liberty, although fortunate in conqueſt and aggrandizement; but theſe were poor compenſations for being reduced under the yoke of deſpotiſm. The attempts which Mr. Pitt had made to negotiate, Mr. Grey aſcribed entirely to misfortune; tranſient ſucceſs at all times ſerved to make him reject overtures of accommodation with the moſt unbounded haughtineſs. "I approved of the preliminaries," Mr. Grey proceeded, "and I would by no means give a vote which would endanger the renewal of the war; but I feel myſelf ſtrongly inclined to alter my opinion, and my mode of acting, not only by events which have ſubſequently happened, but the manner in which the peace is defended. What is the boaſted port in which we are now riding ſecurely? France has attained that power and thoſe boundaries which few men in France, at the beginning of the conteſt, conſidered more than an idle dream. Her preſent limits are the Ocean, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the Alps. Indeed ſhe has gone beyond the Alps, and the Italian Republic is no longer to be conſidered but as one of her departments." To theſe circumſtances he added the probability that France would increaſe her commerce, rival us on the ſea, exclude us from the continent of Europe, and cut us out from Africa, while ſhe carried on trade with great advantages in India; and from her formidable new poſition in America, would make the United States dependant, and controul the whole of our commerce to the Weſt Indies. To prove the fallen ſtate of this country, he would only appeal to the right honourable gentleman's colleagues in office. Inſtead of expecting approbation, did it not lie on him to clear his character? He might be innocent, but was not the reduction of a great nation to comparative imbecility and inſignificance, *prima facie*, evidence of miſconduct which he and his friends were bound to repel?

The financial embarraſſments with which Mr. Pitt had contended, muſt have ariſen from his own faults. When our trade was ſo

extenſive, when our credit was ſo high, could they ariſe without miſmanagement? It was poſſible they might, but it was too much to aſk the Houſe, without inquiry and without proof, to believe that they did. In the war, diſſention relaxed the efforts of the confederacy, and at laſt diſſolved it. This he attributed to the ſelfiſh principle on which the conteſt was conducted. Could we expect that the confederacy would keep united, when it was ſeen that we were aiming at the aggrandizement of our own power? Diſtruſt was generated, together with a ſimilar deſire of plunder in all our allies. While we were purſuing ſchemes of conqueſt in the Weſt Indies, the emperor attempted to gain a new barrier for himſelf in the Netherlands, and took poſſeſſion of Valenciennes in his own name. When we began to ſtruggle for what were called Britiſh objects—when an attempt was made by our troops upon Dunkirk, diſmay and diſgrace attended our ill-directed efforts. Mr. Grey then returned to the events which had occurred ſince the preliminaries were ſigned; Elba, Italy, and Louiſiana, all theſe things permitted, without a remonſtrance, a proof that England was excluded from the affairs of the Continent. When ſuch was the ſad reſult of the meaſures of the late adminiſtration, parliament was gravely called upon to hail them as deliverers. It was above a year ſince theſe gentlemen had retired from office, leaving the country in a ſtate of unparalleled danger, and we had juſt concluded a peace which we reckoned ourſelves happy in obtaining, though unattended by ſecurity. At ſuch a moment, and on ſuch men it was propoſed to confer a mark of honour, which neither the miniſters of Queen Anne nor the conductors of the ſeven years' war ever received. They were to be repreſented as having raiſed higher the glory of the country, and more effectually promoted its proſperity than a Chatham or a Marlborough.

Mr. Grey then aſcribed the aggrandizement of France and diſgrace of the country to the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures. In his approbation of the preſent peace, Mr. Pitt was not ſupported by his late colleagues, who had declared their ſentiments againſt it. Gentlemen on the other ſide had aſſumed that the Britiſh troops, when oppoſed by equal numbers, were always ſucceſsful. Had they forgot Dunkirk, where we yielded to inferior numbers? Had they forgotten the fatal and diſgraceful expedition to Holland, where a Britiſh army was obliged to capitulate to an inferior force? They ſhould recollect the expeditions againſt Ferrol and Cadiz, and the hiſtory of that armament meant to aſſiſt the Auſtrians in Italy, but which did not reach the Mediterranean till the fate of Europe had been decided in the plains of Marengo, and which, but for an accident, would have ſailed into the port of Genoa, then in poſſeſſion of the French. The ſucceſs in Egypt was far from being to the credit of the late miniſters, they deſerved cenſure and puniſhment for having expoſed theſe brave men to dangers too great in the ordinary courſe of human events, to be encountered with the ſmalleſt hope of victory. Our troops were victorious chiefly from their own diſcipline,

cipline, ſkill, and heroiſm; but, in no inconſiderable degree, from the miſconduct of the enemy. Returning to the ſubject of finance, Mr. Grey allowed to Mr. Pitt financial talents and knowledge, but declared that his raſh and dangerous attempts at innovation had involved the country in greater difficulties than it had ever been entangled in at any former period. In what did he deſerve the thanks of the Houſe? Was he to be thanked for having more than doubled the national debt, and for having expended during the late war more than was expended during the wars of Queen Anne, and of King William, nay, all the wars ſince the Revolution? The reſtrictions on the Bank; the income tax; did they intitle him to the thanks of the country? Even the ſpirit of the ſyſtem of the ſinking fund, his great meaſure, was abandoned, and the burthen transferred from the preſent Houſe of Commons and impoſed on future parliaments and poſterity. Here then were ſpecific objections againſt the financial merits of the right honourable gentleman, in which, however, his ſtrong hold was ſuppoſed to conſiſt. And ſhould not the Houſe, therefore, pauſe before they proceeded to an unqualified vote of praiſe on his general adminiſtration? The argument that he had kept up the funds, Mr. Grey treated as inconcluſive, and, in ſupport of his opinion, cited Hume, and referred to the Hiſtory of Holland, to prove that the Houſe ſhould look for better criteria of the ſecurity and honour of a nation than the mere price of ſtocks. "That the right honourable gentleman poſſeſſed great talents," ſaid Mr. Grey in concluding, "no man is readier to acknowledge than I am; his eloquence, his dexterity at debate may be unrivalled; but his talents are rather ſhewy than ſolid, and better calculated to defend bad, than to produce good meaſures: his government was moſt iniquitous and oppreſſive in many reſpects, and utterly deſtitute of true policy."

Lord Hawkeſbury, in anſwer to the obſervations of Mr. Grey, began by juſtifying Lord Belgrave's amendment, which, as he properly obſerved, aroſe out of Sir Francis Burdett's motion and ſpeech, and that, in fact, after the deciſion of the Houſe on that occaſion, the preſent motion of Mr. Nicholls was unneceſſary. He reſiſted Mr. Grey's arguments reſpecting the origin, conduct, and termination of the war, by repeating the facts ſo often ſtated reſpecting its nature and principles, and re-eſtabliſhing the known truth that England was not the aggreſſor. He denied that jacobiniſm was as dangerous now as when the late war began. The preſent government of France had publiſhed to the world a recantation of every principle of jacobiniſm, and of every other principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner as ſatisfactory, (as far as profeſſion could be ſo) as the moſt ſanguine friends of the war, or the moſt decided enemy of jacobin principles could deſire.

In anſwer to ſome other obſervations of Mr. Grey, he ſaid, there never was a time, from the commencement of the war to January 1800, in which we had any chance whatever of any peace. The honourable gentleman had complained that no propoſition came from us when we or our allies had been

been ſucceſsful; that our attempts at negotiating were always in the hour of diſtreſs. He muſt have forgotten that a propoſition to negotiate had been made by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, at Baſle, which was a period when the Auſtrians had been ſucceſsful. He then took a view of the obſervations on the negotiation in 1800, and maintained that it was not probable we ſhould have had better terms at that time than the preſent. The French were then in poſſeſſion of various places, which he enumerated, Genoa, Malta, Egypt, &c. ſome of which they afterwards loſt, and obſerved alſo, that Auſtria and Ruſſia were at that time willing to continue the confederacy and proſecute the war. To the objections againſt the peace, he obſerved, that the ſtate of Europe was not ſo ſecure as could have been deſired; but when he came to think of the advantages and diſadvantages of peace and war, and compared them together, there was not much room for doubt remaining with him as to the courſe which this country ought to purſue.

The honourable gentleman had then gone into the conduct of the war, and had enumerated what he conſidered failures, and certainly ſome events deſerved that name, for certain expeditions had failed of their intended objects; but as far as regarded the ſeparate concerns of this country, there never was a war more eminently ſucceſsful; there never was a war in which more was acquired, and what was acquired contributed more to the credit or the valour of our fleets and armies; or gave a better proof of wiſdom in council. He believed this was the firſt war in which no Britiſh colony had been wreſted from the crown; where we were ſo triumphant in the Weſt and in the Eaſt; in the Mediterranean; in every quarter where the Britiſh force had been ſeparately employed; and he contended it was impoſſible for the Houſe to conſider theſe things without not only admiring the ſkill and valour of the Britiſh force, but without alſo paying a tribute of praiſe to the wiſdom of the council by which they were deviſed.

It had alſo been aſſerted that by this war the national debt had been doubled; that might be true; but the national debt had been doubled by every war ſince the Revolution. But when the nature of that debt, and of the taxes laid on, was conſidered, there would be found no blame imputable to his right honourable friend, unleſs they could ſhew that the war could have been conducted with leſs expence; he conſidered this a proof of the merit of Mr. Pitt, not becauſe the debt was ſo great, (that was matter of regret to him and to every body), but becauſe the burthens to ſupport this debt had been ſo laid on as to affect in ſo ſlight a degree only the commerce, the proſperity, the comfort, and the domeſtic happineſs of the people. His lordſhip then made a ſtrong eulogium on the wiſdom and firmneſs of Mr. Pitt with reſpect to the ſinking fund. If this plan had been adopted ſoon after the period when our national debt commenced, and perſevered in, as his right honourable friend had done in this, we ſhould, at the commencement of each war, have had little or no debt upon our hands.

Lord Hawkeſbury then vindicated the meaſures taken during the war

war for preſerving the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. No man regretted thoſe meaſures, or rather the neceſſity of them, more than he did, for he ſhould always regret the neceſſity of laying any reſtriction on liberty, as it had been recognized by our ancient conſtitution; but it was the practical excellence of our conſtitution, that it had the means of applying temporary remedies for evils as they aroſe; and that was one reaſon why we had in reality ſo much liberty in general. In a country which did not poſſeſs the power of laying temporary reſtraints on liberty, it was impoſſible to have much of it at any time, becauſe, whenever a ſtate became endangered by the exceſs of liberty, without the means of checking that exceſs, ſuch a ſtate muſt be overturned; but a power of checking it on an emergency enabled us to have liberty to its utmoſt extent at other periods. The noble lord concluded by taking a view of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and made many excellent obſervations on that great event, which made an important feature, he ſaid, of the adminiſtration of his right honourable friend, and for which he deſerved the higheſt commendations; which had already produced many good effects, but which poſterity would regard with admiration, aſtoniſhment, and gratitude to its authors.

Mr. Fox approved neither of the original motion nor of the amendment. The latter he cenſured as evading the main queſtion; it was a general lumping amendment, by which army, navy, (already repeatedly and juſtly thanked by the Houſe) and his Majeſty's councils were praiſed: and, in fact, a general edict of praiſe was to be iſſued. The Houſe itſelf was to be complimented; and the repreſentatives of the people muſt be placed in a very awkward ſituation, in being called upon to vote their own thanks, and in apportioning their own ſhare of this general piece of flummery. The motion had been introduced by many juſt and pertinent remarks; but he could not vote an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty for diſmiſſing the late firſt lord of the treaſury, till he actually knew that he was diſmiſſed. Rumour repreſented the the tranſaction in a very different light. If it was true that Mr. Pitt reſigned becauſe he was unable to carry into effect the plan which he deemed neceſſary for improving the ſituation of the Catholics, then, however hoſtile in other reſpects to the meaſures and principles of the right honourable gentleman, he ſhould beſtow the full ſhare of merit upon that conduct, and ſay, that "nothing in his adminiſtration became him like the leaving it." Still Mr. Fox conſidered him open to cenſure, for not having moved in the Houſe that the plan of civil and religious liberty, no leſs recommended by juſtice than by policy, ſhould actually be carried into execution. At any rate, if thoſe who reſigned were ſeriouſly actuated by the motives aſſigned, they ought to have transferred to their ſucceſſors the reſponſibility of oppoſing a plan which they had deemed of ſo much public importance. Mr. Fox thanked the preſent miniſters for giving peace to the country, but ſtill applauded the firm and manly conſiſtency with which many members of the late adminiſ-

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tration oppoſed the meaſure. From this it was evident, at leaſt, that ſeveral members of the cabinet were not mere ſtop-gaps, as ſeemed to be inſinuated, for ſuch men as Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, the late Secretary at War, could not be ſuppoſed mere nominal members, under the controul even of Mr. Pitt. Theſe men were at variance with the latter on the ſubject of the peace; it was abſurd to vote thanks to Mr. Pitt, with the inference that all the members of the cabinet, however differing in opinion from him, were to be comprehended. Mr. Fox then proceeded to conſider and contraſt the ſituation of the country as the late adminiſtration found, and as they left it. He contended that this country was the aggreſſor in the war, becauſe the uſual and proper means of negotiation were not uſed to prevent the war.

He treated the war as unſucceſsful, becauſe the ſpecific objects for which it was undertaken had not been accompliſhed. The war prolonged the reign of the monſter Robeſpierre, becauſe Frenchmen, from a laudable feeling, which, in ſome caſes, might be carried too far, thought not of their domeſtic tyrant, but looked only to the Engliſh and Auſtrians, by whom they were aſſailed. The ways of Providence are inſcrutable, and the means by which its ends are brought about beyond our inveſtigation. The fortune of Bonaparte had been conſpicuous, and, along with his great and extraordinary qualities, had ſmoothed his way to eminence. Among the circumſtances by which he was favoured, might be claſſed the treatment he had received from the Britiſh government: in fact, he had important aids in the incapacity, the folly, and intemperance of our miniſters, of which he had prudently availed himſelf. He then reviewed with great ſeverity the conduct of the war in its various circumſtances, and the meaſures taken for domeſtic ſecurity during its progreſs, blaming particularly the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus, and the ſelection of low and obſcure perſons as cauſes of terror and objects of vengeance. Mr. Fox ridiculed the unexampled attempt to bolſter up a miniſter's reputation by a vote of thanks. He ſaid that, in future times, people on finding a vote of thanks to a Lord Chatham, (who muſt be included) would certainly conceive it to be a miſtake of the date, and ſet down 1762 for 1802. He likewiſe ridiculed the *qui pro quo's* that would ariſe from confounding William Pitt the ſon with William Pitt the father. He next took a view of the late miniſter's financial ſyſtem, and ſtrongly reprobated the income tax. Adverting to the incroachments on the conſtitution, he admitted that occaſions (to be carefully watched, however) might juſtify temporary abridgements of liberty, but, if the rights of the people were to be lightly taken away in every war, and on flimſy pretexts, not a ſhadow of freedom would remain. He touched on the ſtate of Ireland, when inſurrection, ready to burſt forth, was ſubdued by ſuch ſeverities. He admitted that cruelties had diſgraced both parties, ſo that it was difficult to ſay which inſpired moſt horror, the atrocities, in ſome caſes, of the inſurgents, or the cruelties with which they were ſuppreſſed. He ſhewed the evils that

that had arisen from the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and asked if the late minister was to be thanked both for sending and recalling him? He expressed, in strong terms, his horror at the use of torture to extort confession, and his astonishment that, in an age like this, torture should be justified by grave and learned characters. No man could view the aggrandizement of France without dismay and anxiety. The war too had destroyed that connexion with the continent and influence in Europe, which, well understood and applied, was of so much importance. As a whig, he could not but lament the change. The system of the advisers in this reign had produced two great catastrophes; the separation of America, by straining power too close, and the dissolution of continental connexions, by improperly directing it to the purposes of pillage and plunder. This was because the system never contemplated any thing but the extension of power, and totally overlooked or opposed the interests of liberty.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer affirmed that, in point of fact, Mr. Pitt had resigned, and from motives which, though not necessary to be explained, were influenced by a deep and honourable sense of duty, such as had ever actuated him. He adverted to what had been said respecting Maret's overtures to this country in 1793. He believed he himself was very zealous to accommodate matters, but the truth was, he had no powers to negotiate, and was not therefore attended to. He then took a review of the negatives given to the overtures of Mr. Wickham and other persons, and assured the house of the very deep regret felt by Mr. Pitt at these repeated failures. He never saw affliction more keen, or distress more visible, than in the mind of his right honourable friend, on being obliged to continue the war. He vindicated the general conduct of hostilities, and highly praised the financial talents of the late minister.

The debate was prolonged some time by discussions, chiefly relating to Ireland, and on the question being put, Lord Belgrave's amendment was carried by 222 votes against 52. Another amendment by Sir Henry Mildmay, proposing express and separate thanks to Mr. Pitt, was carried, after some attempts to turn it into ridicule by additional amendments, the numbers being 211 to 52.

28th May. These attacks on the character of Mr. Pitt, far from weakening his claims to the public regard, excited the enthusiasm of his friends. His birth-day was commemorated by a festival, which, as no tavern was sufficiently large to accommodate the numerous party, was given at the hall of the Merchant Taylors' Company. On no similar occasion was ever witnessed so large a concourse of men, eminent in rank, station, and talent, and never was such a celebration distinguished by so much genuine enthusiasm. The frequent use in the late debate of the metaphor of a ship, probably furnished the idea of a song, in which Mr. Pitt was celebrated as "The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm," and which was received by the company as a tribute not less elegant than just.

CHAP. XV.

Proceedings of Parliament on the subject of Finance. The outstanding Exchequer Bills funded; secret service money reduced; purchase of one third of the Duke of Richmond's annuity; indemnification of Earl St. Vincent's and Lord Grey; opposition to these measures. General measures of supply; description of the supplies voted; the ways and means; terms of the loan; the taxes opposed; debates on the tax on malt, hops, and beer; on the increase of the assessed taxes; on the tax on imports and exports. Lottery; measures taken to prevent illegal insurance; highly applauded; additional duties on lottery office licences; act for suppressing little-goes. Repeal of the Income-tax; and of the additional duty on printing paper and milled boards. Project of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for consolidating the sinking funds; adopted. Resolutions respecting finance moved by Mr. Tierney and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; those of the latter adopted. Statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the civil list; the King's Message to Parliament on the subject; claims of the Prince of Wales in respect of the Duchy of Cornwall submitted to the House by Mr. Manners Sutton; observations of Mr. Fox on the occasion; answer of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Sutton postpones his motion till after the debate on the King's Message; debate on the King's Message in the House of Lords; speech of Lord Pelham; his motion; amendment moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, supported by Lord Holland and the Earl of Caernarvon; opposed by Lord Hobart, Lord Moira, and the Earl of Westmoreland; and rejected. Debate in the House of Commons; speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; his motion; opposed by Mr. Fox; speech of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Tierney; and Dr. Laurence; the motion carried. Mr. Manners Sutton moves for a Committee on the claims of the Prince of Wales; the order of the day voted; the claims referred to the Court of Chancery. Provision made for the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge. Other matters of inferior importance. Financial measures for Ireland; Sums voted for public purposes; terms of the Loan. Restrictions on the Banks of England and Ireland continued.

THE business of finance occupied considerable attention in the course of the session. The committee of supply found it necessary, according to the varying aspect of the times, to deliver various estimates and temporary proposals of expenditure. These occasioned frequent debates, in which not only the conduct of government with respect to the peace was censured, but Mr. Robson, and some other members advanced objections against the propositions in all their parts. In these debates, however, in general, there is nothing contained worthy of notice.

The first financial operation of the session which claims attention is the funding of the outstanding exchequer bills. They amounted to 8,500,000*l.* and the chancellor of the exchequer, after a meeting with the holders of these securities, arranged

ranged a plan, by which they were to be converted into ſtock with a benefit to the proprietors of 2*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* per cent. Mr. Addington detailed this plan to the Houſe of Commons in a clear and able ſpeech; it was oppoſed by Mr. Dent, but Mr. Tierney expreſſed his moſt complete and cordial aſſent to the plan, deſcribing it as highly advantageous to the public, and cenſuring the oppoſition to it, as unfair and inſidious. On a ſubſequent day, the miniſter gained great applauſe from the Houſe, by ſtating that inſtead of 140,000*l.* the ſum originally intended, he ſhould want only 50,000*l.* for ſecret ſervice money.

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Among other miſcellaneous ſervices, the chancellor of the exchequer required the ſum of 144,611*l.* 2*s.* to purchaſe one third of an annuity of 19,000*l.* granted to the Duke of Richmond, by acts of the 39th and 40th of the preſent reign, and 45,332*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to indemnify Earl St. Vincent and Lord Grey, from the conſequences of the adjudications againſt them in the ſupreme court of the admiralty, for having detained neutral veſſels at Martinique, and other of the French Weſt India iſlands. The propoſition reſpecting the Duke of Richmond was oppoſed by Mr. Robſon, who conſidered it ill timed at the preſent moment, when economy was ſo neceſſary, and the public could ſo ill ſpare ſo large a ſum. The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Steele replied that the treaſury had no option; by the act of parliament, the duke had, at any time, a right, peremptorily to prefer his claim, upon giving two months notice. It was not in the power of the treaſury to refuſe compliance with this demand: they were bound when called upon to purchaſe as much 3 per cent. conſols, as would yield an annuity equal to that of his grace. Mr. Robſon alſo oppoſed the indemnification of Earl St. Vincent and Lord Grey. Lord Rodney, he obſerved, inſtead of being indemnified for taking neutral property, had been a great ſufferer in conſequence of what he ſeized during the American war. He alſo contended that, at all events, the public ought not to pay the enormous charge of law expences. The chancellor of the exchequer anſwered, that the caſe of Lord St. Vincent's was widely different from that of Lord Rodney. The former acted in obedience to an order of council; the latter proceeded upon his own authority only; the law expences ought in reaſon to be paid, as well as the other ſum; they amounted only to 8000*l.* a ſum which Dr. Laurence conſidered ſurprizingly ſmall. On the following day, when the report of the committee was brought up, Mr. Robſon returned to this ſubject, and made ſome obſervations on the conduct of Lords St. Vincent's and Grey, which drew on him ſome ſevere animadverſions from Mr. Vanſittart, Captain Malcolm, and Sir Edward Law, then attorney general.

March 24.

For the general ſervice of the year, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the embodied financial arrangement commonly called the Budget. The ſupplies already voted, he obſerved, were as follow.

April 5.

Navy.

Navy.

		£.
Exclusive of the ordnance for sea service		7,770,896 0 0

Army.

Great Britain	6,188,204 0 0	7,708,334 10 5
Ireland	1,520,130 10 5	

Ordnance.

Great Britain	829,166 0 0	954,166 0 0
Ireland	125,000 0 0	

Miscellaneous.

Great Britain	260,482 0 0	423,689 15 9½
Ireland	163,207 15 9½	
Reduction of the national debt		200,000 0 0
Corn bounties		1,620,218 0 0
Deficiencies of malt duty, 1800		400,000 0 0
Interest on exchequer bills, discount on loan, &c. as per disposition paper		1,137,073 0 0
To pay off exchequer bills in possession of the Bank		3,000,000 0 0
Deficiency of £1,200,000 voted for the service of 1801, out of the duties on goods imported and exported		410,000 0 0
Amount of civil list debt		990,053 0 0
Making the sum already voted in the Committee of Supply		24,614,430 6 2½
Whereof the amount of sums voted for Great Britain		22,806,092
Ireland		1,808,338
		£24,614,430

These supplies were however, for five months only, the estimates for the remaining period should be made as speedily as possible, and there would remain to be voted for the navy, army, ordnance, &c. for seven months, and some for miscellaneous services. The ways and means as they now stood were as follow:

Ways and Means.

		£.
Duties on pensions, offices, &c. and malt duties		2,750,000
Surplus subscription on exchequer bills funded		180,874
Loan to be provided for by	Great Britain £.23,000,000	
	Ireland 2,000,000	25,000,000
Amount of ways and means voted on or before 5th of April		27,930,874

Mem.

Mem.—Remains to be voted.
Surplus consolidated fund to 5th of January, 1803.
Exchequer Bills on supplies, 1803.
Lottery.

Loan to be contracted in Ireland.

Stock created by Loan, 1802.

	Capital Stock.	Interest
3 per cent. consol. ann.	£.14,950,000 0 0	
3 per cent. reduced ann.	13,800,000 0 0	
3 per cent. deferred stock to be added to consols -	1,601,375 0 0	
	30,351,375 0 0	
Interest on the consols and reduced -		862,500 0 0
Ditto on the def. stock from Jan. 5, 1808. - - -		48,041 5 0
Management on the whole - -		13,658 2 0
Stock created by ex. b. fund	11,138,062 10 0	
Interest, together with £7,796. 12s. 10½d. ann. - -		431,043 0 4½
£1 per cent thereon - - -		112,222 12 6
Management - -		5,099 16 9¼
Stock charged on income duties	56,445,000 0 0	
Interest thereon - -		1,713,016 13 4
Management on ditto		25,621 10 0
	97,934,437 10 0	3,211,202 0 0

The above charge to be defrayed by the following taxes:

Malt and Beer - -	2,000,000
Assessed Taxes - -	1,000,000
Duty on exports and imports	1,000,000
	£.4,000,000

The interest on the deferred stock, amounting to £48,041 5s. to be defrayed out of the short annuities, which would expire the 5th of January, 1808.

The terms of the loan were £65. 3 per cent. consols, £.60 reduced, Deferred stock, £.6 19s. 3d. making together £.131 19s. 3d. for every £.100 of money.

The terms of the loan, Mr. Addington contended, were extremely advantageous to the public, and he declared that it was his intention to propose a repeal of the income tax.

The taxes which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed did not pass without animadversion. That on malt, hops, and beer was censured by Mr. Whitbread, as peculiarly oppressive on one particular class of tradesmen. The brewers would have small cause to rejoice in the repeal of the income tax, if a

houſe which brewed 200,000 hogſheads, were obliged, as would be the caſe, ſhould this tax be adopted, to pay to the ſtate a direct contribution of £.10,000. a year. When Lord Chatham impoſed the beer tax in 1760, the public brewer received an allowance in the way of drawback, which in a great meaſure indemnified him againſt the loſs which he would otherwiſe have ſuſtained; in the adminiſtration of Lord North, when the tax was impoſed in 1780, the ſame ſyſtem had been purſued, and at a ſubſequent period, during the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, this allowance was not withdrawn, when, in conſequence of the Spaniſh armament, an additional tax on beer was impoſed. The policy purſued by parliament hitherto on this point, was uniform, and, in every one of the acts of legiſlature on the ſubject, the allowance granted in the way of drawback, was preciſely declared to be for the protection of the public brewer againſt thoſe who brewed only for purpoſes of private convenience. Similar objections were urged againſt the bill in other ſtages, but they were fully and ſatisfactorily anſwered.

The augmentation of the aſſeſſed taxes, which was very conſiderable, was oppoſed by Mr. Robſon, Mr. Jones, and ſome other members, as peculiarly oppreſſive on the lower claſſes, and particularly on thoſe, who not having property to the amount of 60*l.* per annum were not liable to the income tax. In anſwer, the moderate amount of this impoſition, compared with the income tax, was urged, and it was obſerved that a great portion of the increaſe fell only on the opulent.

The tax on imports and exports was thus explained by the miniſter. He propoſed it, he ſaid, without any reluctance, becauſe he had the pleaſure to know it was approved of by the moſt conſiderate part of thoſe on whom it was to fall: it was a ſubſtitute for the convoy duty, and he believed it would not be found to be materially inconvenient to the branch of trade on which it was to operate. He propoſed to get rid altogether of the preſent mode of taking the duty, to do away the ſyſtem of aſcertaining it *ad valorem*, in ſome caſes, and to make certain regulations in others, as explained by a ſchedule which comprized 500 articles of duty, which would be conveyed all at one view. The duty on imports, with certain modifications, was to be increaſed, and that upon exports to be diminiſhed. This could not be ſaid to be a duty that would operate to the injury of trade, for it had been already tried for three years, and during that period our trade had rapidly increaſed. It was intended to increaſe the charge on imports from 3*l.* to 3*l.* 12*s.* and in the application of the duties they were to be made to attach on ſpecific articles, according to a ſchedule; inſtead of being impoſed *ad valorem*. On the exports it was propoſed that the duty ſhould be reduced from two to one per cent. He wiſhed it to be underſtood, however, that theſe regulations were not to apply to the Eaſt India Company, who were ſatisfied with the preſent arrangements. The higheſt amount of the tonnage was to be one ſhilling to all parts, with the exception of the Eaſt Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. On the tonnage to the Eaſt Indies, the tax to be impoſed was to be three ſhillings,

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while it was to be two ſhillings and ſixpence to the Cape. In its further progreſs this tax was vehemently oppoſed as injurious to commerce; an exception favourable to Ireland was decried, as attending to elevate that part of the united kingdom at the expence of the other, and the members for ſeveral trading towns and ports made repreſentations of the injury it would produce to their conſtituents. In conſequence of theſe efforts, ſome alterations were made in the plan, and particularly, the exemption required for Ireland was not inſiſted on.

30th April. Beſide theſe ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer propoſed a lottery, for the ſervice of the united kingdom. The great object he had in view, he ſaid, in conſidering the plan which he was about to lay before the committee, was not only to make ſuch an arrangement as might be beneficial to the public, by producing a large ſum to come in aid of the ways and means; but after the beſt conſideration he could give the ſubject, and the moſt accurate information he had been able to obtain, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the practice of low inſurance; a practice fraught with the moſt ſerious evils at all times, and particularly miſchievous under the preſent circumſtances of the country. For any who had not enjoyed unuſual ſources of intelligence, it was quite impoſſible to conceive the extent to which theſe dealings were carried on, or the miſchief they produced. If he were to ſtate the ſums paid in premiums, the number of clerks employed in theſe inſurance offices, and the crowds of perſons hired by the office keepers to go about to the public houſes to entice the unwary to engage in tranſactions which muſt certainly reduce their families to indigence and themſelves to ignominy, he was ſure he would procure the favour of every friend to morality, and to the happineſs of the lower orders, for a plan which profeſſed to remedy theſe abuſes. It was obvious that the inducement to inſure was in proportion to the advantage which might poſſibly be derived from inſuring. Inſurance was a contract between the inſurer and the office keeper, by which the latter, upon receiving a certain premium, engages to give the former a certain ſum, if a certain ticket ſhall come up on a certain day. The greater the number of days of drawing, the greater ſum may the inſurer receive, and the ſtronger is his temptation to inſure. If there are forty days of drawing, he may get forty guineas; but if ten days only, then never more than ten guineas. As the time of drawing was contracted, the chance of great gain, upon paying a ſmall ſum, would be diminiſhed, and in the ſame proportion the gambling ſpirit among the populace. It was therefore propoſed to have three lotteries, and that the drawing of each ſhould be completed in eight days. It was likewiſe thought deſirable that for this year there ſhould be none in Ireland. One inducement to this was, the advantage of having the new regulations extended to the whole lottery concerns of the empire, and of having them immediately under the controul of government. Beſide, the Iriſh lottery had always been on a ſmaller ſcale; the tickets were cheaper and more numerous; the time taken up in drawing was longer, ſo that there was a wider door open for theſe il-

legal practices. He therefore hoped there would be no objection to the plan of conſolidating the two together. He was aware that the effect of theſe alterations might be to check the bidding. The contractors of courſe had nothing to do with inſurance, but their profits muſt in ſome meaſure, depend upon the dealings of thoſe to whom they ſell the tickets. He truſted, however, from the known ſentiments of the Houſe, that they would think a proportion of the benefit to be derived by the public well ſacrificed, to a ſyſtem which ſhould add ſafeguards to the virtue of the people, and prevent the fatal effects of profligacy. He was happy to ſtate, that whatever the tendency of the plan, in that point of view, might be, the advantage the public would derive was ſtill very conſiderable. The ſum produced would amount to no leſs than 555,000*l.* Two thirds of this (370,000*l.*) would be received by Great Britain, and one third (185,000*l.*) by Ireland. He was extremely happy to be able to ſay, that if the changes introduced by him ſhould not gain the great end they had in view, at leaſt they could do no harm, and were not purchaſed by the ſacrifice of any great preſent advantage.

This plan was highly extolled by Mr. Corry and Mr. M. A. Taylor. The former obſerved, that the evils in Ireland reſulting from illegal inſurance were much greater than even in this country; to him the vice and wretchedneſs introduced into Dublin by lottery inſurance had given the moſt heart-felt pain. As a further regulation, it was eſtabliſhed that every lottery office in London and Weſtminſter, ſhould pay a licence duty of 50*l.*; but that ſuch licenſed office ſhould be only liable to a duty of 10*l.* for any agency office it might chuſe to eſtabliſh in any part of the country. That every office in the country ſhould pay a duty of 50*l.* and have the ſame reduction for agency offices in any part of the united kingdom, except in London, Dublin, or Edinburgh.

In addition to theſe ſalutary meaſures for preſerving the property and morals of the lower claſs, a bill was introduced for ſuppreſſing an inferior and more fraudulent ſpecies of lottery, called Little Goes. The regulations of this ſtatute were ſo extenſive as to include many modes of gambling which had long been carried on with general toleration, ſuch as raffling, as practiſed at the watering places, and ſome other modes of adventure. Lord Holland decried the bill; contending, that it was beneath the dignity of parliament to paſs a law to prevent children playing for gingerbread; but the Lord Chancellor found little difficulty in perſuading the Houſe that its objects were of a nature far higher and more important than the ſports of children.

The repeal of the income tax alluded to in the ſpeech of the chancellor of the exchequer in opening the budget, had been propoſed at an early period of the ſeſſion. Before the Chriſtmas receſs, Mr. Jones had given notice of his intention to demand the repeal, and afterward, he required ſome papers reſpecting its produce, but his application was reſiſted as being at leaſt premature, till the war was effectually terminated by the definitive treaty. The meaſure ſeemed however to be anxiouſly deſired by almoſt all claſſes of the people; and petitions were prepared March 29.

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againſt it from many quarters, when the chancellor of the exchequer declared his intention to move the repeal. He was deſirous, however, that it ſhould be underſtood that his ſentiments with regard to its juſtice and expediency remained exactly what they were. Peace alone could admit of ſuch a meaſure. The ſubſequent mention of the matter when he propoſed the taxes for the year introduced a debate in which the conduct and meaſures of Mr. Pitt were vehemently attacked by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Grey, but defended by the ex-miniſter himſelf with his uſual force and ſucceſs. The repealing act does not appear to have occaſioned any debate during its progreſs.

Another tax repealed in conſequence of an application to parliament from the parties affected by its operation, was that recently impoſed on printed paper and milled boards. The petition, Feb. 15. ſigned by more than two hundred booksellers and printers, was brought up by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who ſtated, as its ſubſtance, that the laſt additional duty on printing paper and milled boards had greatly affected the trade of printing and ſelling books; that the tax was peculiarly oppreſſive upon the petitioners as a trading body, as it fell directly and wholly upon their capitals, and but ſlowly on the public, becauſe in printing an edition of any book they were obliged immediately to purchaſe the whole of the paper, on which the duty had been previouſly paid, notwithſtanding that the edition may be many years in ſale, or may never be ſold; that in order to ſell books at a moderate price, and to lay upon each copy as ſmall a proportion of the expence of copyright and of firſt ſetting the preſs as poſſible, they are compelled to print a greater number of copies than can be ſold for a conſiderable time, and are obliged to purchaſe heavy ſtocks of paper before a copy can be printed; that to prevent the increaſe of their ſtocks, they have forborne to print new editions of ſeveral deſerving works, and in ſome inſtances have been induced to print ſmaller editions of them than they formerly did, in conſequence of which the expence of printing, &c. has neceſſarily been laid on ſmaller numbers; this has obliged them to raiſe their price, which advance of price has greatly diminiſhed their ſale. With regard to the export trade of printed books, that Mr. Lefevre ſaid, was, he feared, on the point of annihilation, becauſe, as the petitioners ſtated, there had been printed, and were now printing, various editions of the beſt Engliſh authors upon the continent, which could be ſold at half the price that Engliſh bookſellers could print and ſell them; a circumſtance that muſt materially injure, if not totally deſtroy, the export of Engliſh books. That although a drawback of four fifths or two-pence per pound was allowed on printed books exported, it was an inadequate relief, and did not enable the trade to meet foreign competitors in foreign markets. This petition was afterwards referred to a committee; evidence was heard in ſupport of, and in contradiction to its contents, but the Houſe finally decided in its favour, and the required relief was granted. Feb. 26.

When he introduced the taxes for the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer alſo adverted to the eſta-

bliſhment ſounded for redeeming them, and relieving the nation from their preſſure. He intended to deviate from the uſual courſe, but wiſhed the Houſe to underſtand that he conſidered himſelf treading on tender and ſacred ground. There was not in that Houſe, nor in the country, nor in the world, an individual more deeply impreſſed than himſelf, with a conviction that the ſinking fund was the ſheet anchor of this country, and had been our conſolation on the ſubject of finance; and if he were to make a propoſition, which could, in the ſlighteſt degree, ſhake that fund, or retard its progreſs in the redemption of the public debt, he ſhould meet and he ſhould deſerve to meet, the reproach of every man who felt as he ought to do, and as himſelf he was ſure did, for the true intereſt of his country. The committe would recollect, that in 1786 the plan was firſt ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Houſe, and then a bill paſſed, by which one million was appropriated to the reduction of the national debt. All the compound intereſt of this ſum was made to accumulate, and it was veſted in the hands of commiſſioners, who ſhould receive the annuity thus accumulating, until the whole ſhould amount to the ſum of four millions annually; and when that period arrived, it was declared to be in the power of parliament to ſay, whether that ſhould continue to increaſe, or be applied in the reduction of taxes. In the year 1792, it was provided that one per cent. of every loan, or further ſum borrowed, ſhould be applied in the ſame manner as the million was in 1786: that was, to operate as a ſinking fund for the extinction of ſuch loan, in like manner as the other fund was applied to the reduction of the debt. Now he intended to propoſe that theſe two powerfully operative ſinking funds ſhould be conſolidated, and work their purpoſe together, for the reduction of the whole debt as it now ſtood, and, however paradoxical it might appear, yet it was true, that the whole of the debt could thus be extinguiſhed in a ſhorter period, than by keeping each to its ſeparate operation, according to the former ſyſtem, becauſe by the new plan, the operation of accumulation would not ceaſe when it amounted to 4,000,000*l.* Upon the advantages of the latter ſyſtem he expatiated with great ability; by it, he ſaid, the extinction of the whole debt would be accompliſhed in forty-five years, a debt which muſt now be conſidered as upwards of 500,000,000*l.* He was confident that if this ſtatement he had made ſhould prove to be accurate, it was highly deſerving of attention: his great object was, to do juſtice to the preſent time, and alſo to make proviſion for the welfare of poſterity. It might be ſaid the benefit to be derived to the public by the reduction of the taxes, after the ſinking fund had obtained its maximum, would be prevented by this plan, but it ſhould be conſidered, that, independent of this plan, there would be to be provided 900,000*l.* to ſupport the fund of 1 per cent. for the reduction of the capital accrued ſince the laſt proviſion was made for ſuch reduction. The plan thus intimated was afterward ſubmitted to the Houſe, many papers required for elucidating it, granted, and many queſtions reſpecting it readily anſwered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It did not paſs without much inveſti-

investigation, and some opposition from Mr. Tierney and Mr. Banks. Mr. Boyd supported the measure, and Mr. Pitt warmly approved it. The effect of the plan, he said, would be to improve and invigorate the sinking fund, and enable the country more effectually to support any struggle in which she might hereafter be engaged, than ever she could be if the plan was not adopted. There certainly would be a period in which the debt would be less rapidly discharged, than by the old method; the progress in the beginning would be slow. The question then was, the time when the quantity of stock to be bought up, according to the present plan, would be greater than by the old sinking fund? From the best calculation he was able to make, that effect would begin to operate in about fourteen or fifteen years time. Fifteen or sixteen millions would then be in the hands of the commissioners, and be applicable to the public service in case of a new war.

June 17. At a late period in the Session, Mr. Tierney, according to his annual custom, brought forward a series of resolutions respecting the national debt

22d and resources, which were met by another set of statements by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

25th These strings of resolutions were afterward the subject of a debate, Mr. Tierney expressing himself merely desirous that those proposed by him should be placed upon the journals, and declaring himself very indifferent whether this was done by their being negatived, or the previous question being put upon them. He also declared he had been anxious to guard against infusing despondence into the public mind. He saw no ground for despondence, but only a necessity for a strict attention to our finances, by which, and by which alone, we might overcome our difficulties, though they were undoubtedly formidable. It should be recollected that there was a great difference between this peace and the last, as the last succeeded a most disastrous war, and during the late war our trade had flourished to an unexampled degree. If the amount of our taxes had been raised by the war, there was, surely, nothing very extravagant in supposing that it might be diminished by peace.

Sir Francis Baring also declared it his solemn opinion, that in peace our trade must suffer severely. These observations gave rise to some others, tending to a refutation of them, and in the end, Mr. Addington's resolutions were carried without a division. *

The state of the civil list, and some objects connected with it engaged a considerable share of the attention of Parliament. Before the Christmas recess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that he had taken great pains in examining the expences of the civil list for the last fifteen years, and he was happy in stating from his own knowledge, that instead of improvidence and waste in its management, as had been too generally believed, the utmost economy had been observed, consistent with the nature of the expenditure. In some

* See them together with those moved by Mr. Tierney, in the Appendix to the Chronicle, P. 242*.

instances, it had been less than its amount; and in the course of fifteen years, in two years only did it exceed it. Indeed, when he reflected on the increase in the price of every article since the year 1782, he could not help thinking, that the present incumbrances on the civil list were comparatively small. He expected he should, soon after the recess, be charged by his majesty with a message on the subject, when, he doubted not, that the expenditure would appear so provident, that the king would find the House, as it ever had been, ready to support the dignity of his majesty and that of his illustrious family. When the communication was made, it was his intention to propose its being referred to a committee. The House would then have an opportunity of receiving the most minute information; and he had no hesitation in saying, their decision would give to the most benevolent of sovereigns, whose greatest care was the safety and happiness of his people, a fresh proof of their anxiety for his ease and happiness, and that of his illustrious family. When the House had an opportunity of inspecting the accounts, they would be able to judge how much was necessary; they would not give less, and his majesty did not require more. He was sorry severe difficulties had fallen upon persons in consequence of the situation of the civil list, which he wished to see done away; at the same time, it would not be necessary to lay any fresh burthens upon the people, as he thought the colonial possessions of his majesty were fully adequate to face the burthens on the civil list. The colonial property of the crown here alluded to, the minister afterward explained to signify the lands of the Charaibes in St. Vincent's, and some other possessions.

The message alluded to by the minister was sent to both Houses, stating that his majesty felt great concern in informing them, that the provision made by Parliament for defraying the expences of his household and civil government had been found inadequate to their support; and a considerable debt had in consequence been unavoidably incurred. Accounts for the information of members were laid on the table of the House of Commons, and on a motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to a committee of 21 members. Feb. 15.

On this occasion, Mr. Manners Sutton, Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, addressed the chair respecting certain claims of his royal highness. It was pretty generally known, he said, that the Duchy of Cornwall belonged to the crown till the birth of a Prince of Wales, and that it was then separated from it, and instantly vested in the heir apparent. The infant prince was, on his birth, Duke of Cornwall, and intitled to the revenues of the duchy. These were, in general, allowed to accumulate during his minority, and afforded a fund from which his establishment might be formed upon his coming of age. In this instance they had not been secured for the benefit of the prince, but applied to the uses of the civil list, for which, had it not been for this, other resources must have been found. Some might imagine that this was a question between his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, but in fact it was a question between the Prince of Feb. 17.

Wales

Wales and the public. Had it been otherwiſe, his royal highneſs never would have applied to the Houſe, and would have ſacrificed intereſts of much greater moment, to his duty, affection, and reſpect, for his father, and his ſovereign. His royal highneſs's claim was againſt the public, and it was a claim of right; the public had received the revenues to which he was intitled. When the ſubject was ſtarted a few years before, doubts had been expreſſed from a moſt reſpectable quarter; but he was convinced that theſe doubts would not for a moment have been entertained, had the information been then poſſeſſed which he was now ready, at any time, to lay before the Houſe. All precedent and principle was in his favour. The period during which the arrears had accrued was from 1762 to 1783. The ſum was little ſhort of 400,000*l.* and, with intereſt from the time it was payable, now amounted to 900,000*l.* It might be ſaid, there ſhould be an allowance for the expences incurred by his royal highneſs's education, and that a deduction ſhould be made for the ſums of 12,000*l.* and of 16,000*l.* which had been paid into the privy purſe. Giving credit for 100,000*l.* on theſe accounts, 300,000*l.* would ſtill remain, which if veſted in the funds, would now have amounted to between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* That this claim had not been ſatisfied would appear from the following ſtatement:—In 1783, 60,000*l.* had been voted to his royal highneſs to defray the charges incurred by him on ſetting out in life. In 1787, 181,000*l.* had been voted him out of the civil liſt, to pay his debts, and to be laid out on Carleton-houſe. In 1795, upon his marriage, 28,000*l.* had been voted him for the payment of his debts, and 56,000*l.* to complete Carleton-houſe. It would be unreaſonable to conſider the money expended on Carleton houſe, as voted perſonally to the prince, as it was realized for the good of the crown. Thus the ſum voted to his royal highneſs did not exceed 250,000*l.* a ſum much below what he was intitled to upon coming of age. His income, the honourable gentleman was ſure, would not for a moment be conſidered as, from its amount, in any degree a compenſation to him for his juſt demands. In 1742, 100,000*l.* a-year had been voted to Frederick Prince of Wales. That prince's family was then very ſmall, and the Houſe of Commons had no other object in view than to enable him to ſupport the ſplendour becoming his elevated rank. When the preſent prince firſt received a ſeparate eſtabliſhment, the annual ſum allowed him did not exceed 50,000*l.*; in 1787, this was raiſed to 60,000*l.* and in 1793, upon his marriage, to 125,000*l.* 75,000*l.* being ſet aſide to liquidate his debts. His royal highneſs was obliged to reduce his eſtabliſhment, and to avoid every expence not abſolutely neceſſary. If in 1742 Parliament thought 100,000*l.* a ſufficiently ſmall ſum to ſupport the rank of the heir apparent, when the riſe was conſidered in all the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, it ſurely had not exceeded in liberality to his royal highneſs, and no one could imagine that debts due to him by the public had been diſcharged by theſe allowances. The honourable gentleman hoped he had ſaid nothing which could excite an idea that his royal high-

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nefs had ever felt either difappointment or diffatisfaction. On the contrary, his royal highnefs was deeply impreffed with a fenfe of the obligations under which he had been laid, as often as his concerns had come before the Houfe. He confidered, and at all times was ready to declare, that the Houfe had behaved faithfully to the public, and generoufly to him. Whatever tended to remove prejudices from the character of one in whom the loyal and well difpofed were all fo deeply intereffed, he was fure muft be univerfally intereffing. Having laid this ftatement before the Houfe, he had nothing to propofe, and it thus could not derange the mode of proceeding determined upon by the right honourable gentleman. He left it to the Houfe to conffider what fteps it would be proper to take. It would be moft painful to him, if in the exercife of his duty he fhould fay any thing which might be conftrued into cenfure of the late or prefent adminiftration. Perhaps there was no blame any where, as, though his royal highnefs's rights undoubtedly exifted, they had never been aferted.

The ftatement of Mr. Manners Sutton made a profound impreffion on the whole Houfe. Mr. Fox agreed in his pofitions, and applauded the wifdom with which he had unfolded them. He denied, however, that the claims of his royal highnefs had never been aferted; they had never been fo effectually aferted, he would allow; but he had himfelf advanced them on feveral occafions. He was of opinion that the difcuffion ought to be preffed. The fums voted to pay his royal highnefs's debts ought to be deducted, whatever might be faid of the 60,000*l.* granted him on coming of age. But it was the duty of the Houfe, either immediately to allow him the remainder, or to declare his demands groundlefs. He had laboured under hardfhips, and fuffered vexations, which to an individual of any rank muft be almoft infupportable. His whole private affairs had been difclofed; his debts had been ftated and commented upon, when if he had received what was due to him, he never would have found occafion to apply for affiftance. "If he were diffatisfied," faid Mr. Fox, "I am the perfon whom he ought chiefly to blame: the meafure of appropriating 75,000*l.* a-year to the liquidation of his debts was of my propofal. His royal highnefs knows, that befides the refpect I owe him as heir apparent to the crown, he has ever had my beft wifhes for his honour, profperity, and happinefs. I therefore found it painful to propofe fuch a ftep; but I confidered it as my duty. I thought 125,000*l.* by no means too large an income to be granted to his royal highnefs. If Frederic, Prince of Wales, in 1742, was allowed 100,000*l.* 125,000*l.* was by no means an increafed allowance. Why, then, did I fuggeft and fupport a fcheme which reduced it to 50,000*l.*? His allowance was at firft too fmall, and the debts incurred through this ill-judged parfimony I thought the Houfe bound to difcharge. But, when a fettlement had been made, and his royal highnefs, though imprudently, had profeffed himfelf fatisfied, I did not think it conffiftent with his honour to accept of money from the public to pay the debts which he had fubfequently

sequently incurred." From this reasoning on the subject of the Prince of Wales, Mr. Fox drew an application unfavourable to the king's request; insisting that the sum granted by Parliament for the civil list, at the beginning of the reign, ought to have been definitive, and its expenditure strictly limited. To prove the evils of a contrary supposition, he reasoned in this manner. 'If a sovereign wanted money, not for purposes adverse to the interests of the country, but for purposes in which the country was not concerned, might he not go between tories and whigs to see who would give most? and might not political men barter the public money for royal favour? If the debts of the king were to be paid, the case was the same. He readily allowed his affairs to be involved, in the prospect of parliamentary assistance; and a minister was selected, not from his capacity, not from his esteem with the public, not even from personal favour; the only criterion of merit was compliance and profusion. As this was injurious to the constitution, so was it injurious to the prince himself. The crown became dependent upon parliament. No one would suspect him, he said, of a wish to make the crown independent, but this sort of dependence was highly unworthy of it. The prince was tempted into expence, and to extricate himself might be forced to practices unbecoming his station.

Against these sentiments, Mr. Pitt, anxiously, and immediately entered his protest. "I trust," he said, "it never will be very generally thought that parliaments at the beginning of a reign should deprive themselves of the power of occasional liberality, when they make no new grant, but only a commutation—when they are not paying the tribute of gratitude or expressing the ardour of their affection, but setting apart public money to public purposes—but providing for the splendour of the monarchy, which is a vital part of our constitution, and which the experience of every day shews more and more to be essentially necessary to the well being of the nation.

In consequence of this debate, Mr. Manners Sutton informed the House, it was his intention to bring the question as early as possible before Parliament. But as a question of the utmost importance to his majesty had already been submitted to the House, his royal highness, from a principle of deference, and respect, was desirous that the consideration of a subject referring to his interest, should not interfere with that which related to the more serious concerns of his majesty. Feb. 21.

The proceedings in the House of Lords on the king's message, were in some degree regulated by those of the Commons; as they deferred their discussions till the committee appointed by the lower House presented a report, and requested a copy of that report for their satisfaction and information.

In both Houses, the debate on the royal message was on the same day. March 29.

In the upper House, Lord Pelham briefly recapitulated the statement of expenditure laid before the House, divided as it was into distinct classes. Under class the first were arranged—1. The pensions and allowances to the royal family;

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2. The salaries of the chancellor, the speaker, and the judges of England and Wales; 3. Salaries to ministers to foreign courts, being residents at the said courts; 4. The approved bills of all tradesmen, artificers, and labourers, for any articles supplied, or work done for his majesty's service; 5. The menial servants of his majesty's household; 6. The pension list; 7. The salaries of all other places payable out of the civil list revenues; 8. The salaries and pensions of the high treasurer, or commissioners of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and 9th, and lastly, occasional payments. His lordship explained upon each of these several classes, in what manner the decrease or increase had arisen, either in diminution or excess of the estimate, shewing, that as far as regarded the establishment for his majesty personally, and the splendour and dignity attached to the crown, no increase whatever had arisen. In like manner he shewed that by class 2, that of the salaries of the chancellor, the speaker, and the judges of England and Wales, there had been a decrease, which he accounted for by some of their appointments not having been immediately filled as they became vacant. In the 3d class, the increase upon the salaries to ministers resident at foreign courts, he admitted that there had been an increase of 129,643*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* which necessarily arose from the interruptions which occurred during the progress of the war in our relations with several foreign courts. On class 4, there was an excess of 74,090*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* In the fifth class, the menial servants, he stated, that there was a decrease of 605*l.* 18*s.* 5½*d.* On the pension list, class 6, there was a decrease of 114,402*l.* The largest increase, his lordship said, was in the occasional payments, which was 995,908*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* to which might further be added the sum of 51,679*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* being the amount of warrants issued under this head, but not yet paid, as stated in the account of debts, making the total excess 1,047,587*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.* His lordship descanted summarily on these several circumstances, and observed, that in sixteen years it appeared that the excess over the estimates, and the accumulated debt, amounted to little more than one year's whole amount of the sum voted for the civil list. It was, he said, to be recollected that the money allotted to defray the expenditure of the civil list was in the nature of an annuity. That it was not subject to the fluctuating increase of produce of any of their lordship's private estates, but let all the varying circumstances of the times be what they might, it produced neither more nor less than the given sum allotted, and therefore, as every one of their lordships was infpired with the same loyalty to their sovereign, the same zeal and readiness to support the splendour and dignity of the crown, and the same sentiment as to the necessary ease and accommodation of his majesty personally, he had no doubt but that they would unanimously concur in support of the address, which he was about to move. It consisted of two parts,—a profession of their loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person, and a declaration of their readiness to concur in such plan for the relief of the civil list from the incumbrance upon it, which should be laid before, and

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appear to them to be wisely calculated to meet the object of his majesty's wishes.

To this address, Earl Fitzwilliam, after noticing the evasion of the operation of Mr. Burke's act, moved an amendment, purporting that the House would proceed immediately to inquire into the causes of the excess and debt that had arisen in the course of the last sixteen years.

This amendment was supported by Lord Holland, and the Earl of Caernarvon, who analyzed with great minuteness the various particulars of expenditure, censuring some as unfit, others as excessive, and the account itself as deficient in precision. They insisted that Mr. Burke's act was meant to prevent any future excess from arising, and insisted that there was a great difference between the increased expence in the establishments of private gentlemen and noblemen, and in that of his majesty. It should be considered that his majesty was exempt from all those taxes which every subject, except members of the royal family, was obliged to pay; in the income tax alone there was a saving to the civil list of 90,000*l*. But it was useless to defend the arrears in question on the ground of all the necessaries of life having risen in price, because it was stated that the excess did not take place in consequence of the high price of provisions or the war; that it was not occasioned by any extraordinary expences in the household establishment of his majesty. They wished, therefore, to hear no more arguments relative to the high price of provisions, or the war. That was a milch cow that had served ministers sufficiently. They censured ministers for suffering sixteen years to elapse, in every one of which this debt was accumulating without ever applying to parliament on the subject. Lord Holland said, he would vote with ministers on this occasion, if they entered into a proper inquiry, and if the mode adopted for discharging the debt should be by a sinking fund; by setting apart a certain portion of his majesty's income for the payment of the arrears, in the same manner as was done in the case of the Prince of Wales's debts. He saw no reason why it was not as just to do so in one case as in the other. The excess of the king's expences he looked on as a circumstance big with danger to the country, and one which parliament ought to examine with great jealousy.

On the other side were Lord Hobart, Lord Moira, and the Earl of Westmoreland. They defended the account and the expenditure in general; but Lord Moira was of opinion that the expenditure ought to be clearly explained, and that the civil list ought not to be encumbered with several payments which now proceeded from it. He reminded their lordships, that the main argument insisted upon in all the inflammatory pamphlets published during the war, calculated to excite disgust and disapprobation in the minds of the inhabitants of this country against the form of government under which they lived, was the great expence attending the support of the person of the monarch and his establishment, the assertion insisted on being that his majesty cost the nation a million a-year. It would therefore be well worth while to have the nature of

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the appropriation of the ſum voted for the civil liſt explained to the public, that men might ſee how very ſmall a portion of it was attached to defray the king's perſonal expences, and how much greater a part was neceſſarily expended in ſupport of the ſalaries of the high officers and judges of the land, in ſupport of the due adminiſtration of equity, juſtice and law, and how much more went again to the public ſervices of the ſtate. The effect theſe groſs falſehoods had on the public mind was well known. He would tell the moſt enthuſiaſtic demagogue that the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy was as economical as that which belonged to any republic whatever. He would appeal to the example of hiſtory in all ages, and in all countries, and aſk him whether the moſt galling and vexatious democracy that ever exiſted, could conduct the affairs of its government with more economy than a monarchy? The annals of all nations, and the univerſal experience of mankind, warranted him in ſaying, that a democracy was the moſt expenſive, laviſh, and extravagant of all governments. It was one eſſential part of ſuch a government, that one man having but a temporary and precarious poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, would ſtudy only to keep up the ſtipendiary intereſt which he had in it, and would take more of the public money for the purpoſe of enriching himſelf, of making the moſt of his uncertain ſituation, and of bribing thoſe who were to keep him in his power, than the whole expence attending the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary monarchy. The poet Milton had ſaid, in ſome of his works, that the trappings alone of a king would be ſufficient to ſupport the whole expence of a republic. That great man muſt certainly have been blinded with enthuſiaſm, or guilty of groſs adulation; for no government in this country was ever more expenſive than the commonwealth under which he lived. The ſplendour and trappings of the crown were as uſeful to the ſtate as they were conducive to the dignity of the monarchy, yet theſe trappings formed but a very ſmall part of the eſtabliſhment, the principal part of which was applied to purpoſes of ſuch utility, that the ſtate could not exiſt without them—ſuch as courts of juſtice, &c. The gloomy retreat of a ſingle tyrant might keep up a ſhort-lived ſyſtem of economy in the ſtate over which he preſided; but that could add nothing to the happineſs of a people. The king of a country fixed and permanent in his ſituation, could have no inducement either to exerciſe an extraordinary parſimony or profuſion: and that ſituation ought, even on principles of the moſt rigid economy and ſelfiſhneſs, to be ſupported in a manner as affluent and ſplendid as poſſible, for ſo it would be rendered as uſeful to the public as it muſt be honourable to the individual.

On a diviſion the numbers were; for the amendment 4, againſt it 60.

The Houſe of Commons being formed into a committee of ſupply, and his majeſty's meſſage, and the report of the ſelect committee referred to it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered into a long and able explanation of the cauſes of deficiency. There was in the report, he ſaid, that which might be an appeal to the generoſity of the committee. There was in it an irreſiſtible appeal to its juſtice. There

was in it alſo matter for regret, and not a little for aſtoniſhment. The Houſe had full materials from which to form a judgment: there was now recorded on the journals of parliament, a plain, clear, diſtinct, and ſatisfactory ſtatement of what really are the charge and expenditure of his majeſty's civil liſt, and which, he hoped, would afford a compleat anſwer to a variety of comments made, ſome of which were the reſult of ignorance, others partook rather more of the ſpirit of diſaffection. It would now appear how ill founded the ſuppoſition was that his majeſty's income, proceeding out of the civil liſt to himſelf was enormous; the contrary was the fact, and he truſted, that all aſſertions to that effect would now be ſet at reſt for ever. He truſted it would be no longer ſtated any where, that his majeſty enjoyed any advantage, with reſpect to income and revenue, beyond what was really enjoyed by any of his illuſtrious predeceſſors. The ſources as well as ſize of the revenues of our kings, in ancient days, afforded them the means, not only of filling their coffers, but of carrying on meaſures of great preſſure on the people, whether they were willing to bear them or not. In the times to which he alluded, the king had the diſpoſal of the whole of the revenue of the country, except at ſome time of public exigency, when, on account of ſudden, or increaſed demand upon the ſtate, it became neceſſary for the monarch to reſort to the Houſe of Commons. It was on ſuch occaſions, and on ſuch only, that the Commons had the privilege of reſtraint on the conduct of the executive government, a privilege which now was adequate to all neceſſary efforts for the check of abuſes. His majeſty had not the power of applying any part of the public revenue to his own particular purpoſe or perſonal uſe; and which uſe was frequently offenſive to the feelings, as well as injurious to the intereſts of the people. It was at the commencement of the reign of Charles II. that the ſyſtem began to take place which gave a check, or means of controul to the Houſe of Commons, and through their medium, to the people, over the abuſes of the executive government, which were often intolerable, under the heads of tonnage, pre-emption, &c. and a price was ſet upon the deliverance of the public from theſe impoſts, and the revenue of the King of England was ſettled on its preſent foundation. The revenue of the crown in the reign of James II. was two millions per annum. At the commencement of the reign of William III. a queſtion was put, whether his majeſty *jure coronæ*, was intitled or not to thoſe revenues which formerly of right belonged to the King of England? This was a queſtion which the people were very deſirous at that time of having ſettled: the Commons abſtained from coming to a deciſion; but happily for the people of England, a large portion of the revenue enjoyed by the Kings of England before the Revolution, was commuted, and came into another channel, and it found its way into the hands of the ſubject, at which time, the parliament having refuſed to determine whether thoſe dues formerly enjoyed by our kings, belonged to King William in right of the crown when he took it, eſtabliſhed a civil liſt, an annual ſum for the expence attending the civil eſtabliſhment of his

his majesty, and it was upon this principle the establishment of the crown had been supported ever since. It must, from the nature of the thing, be obvious to the committee, that circumstances might vary the value of a sum granted for the support of the civil list annually; and, upon this idea, an augmentation of the civil list had taken place at different times. In 1697 the civil list establishment was permanently settled at 680,000*l.* which was afterwards augmented to near 900,000*l.* In the reign of George I. it was 850,000*l.* during which reign successive applications were made to parliament for considerable grants for the relief of the civil list, but what was most important now, as well as coming nearer to our own time, was, that which was voted on the accession of George II. It was then made 800,000*l.* and during that reign, there were two instances of votes in aid of the civil list to make good its deficiencies. When his present majesty came to the throne, many and various opinions were entertained, upon the grounds he had already stated, whether the revenues of Charles II. were not hereditary in the crown of England. All these revenues, as far as they were enjoyed by his late majesty, would have been readily granted to his present majesty, if it had been the disposition of his royal breast to take them, for no doubt there was a readiness of disposition to grant, on the part of parliament, as much to the present monarch as had been enjoyed by his illustrious predecessor; nor could there be any reason to the contrary: but the civil list was now otherwise settled than by appropriating to its aid any of these hereditary revenues. Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer went over, succinctly, the leading parts of the history of the civil list during the reign of George II. and read the message from that king to the House of Commons, which was called by Sir William Blackstone the bounty of the crown. In consequence of this, parliament granted 800,000*l.* subject to a life annuity to the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Princess Amelia, and the then Duke of Cumberland, by which his majesty had left an income of more than 750,000*l.* After his present majesty came to the throne, it was clear that a very long period could not elapse before he must have had occasion to appeal to the liberality and justice of parliament, which appeal took place in about nine years. It was in 1769 that an application was made to that House, and the sum of 513,000*l.* was voted in aid of the civil list, to pay off arrears. In 1775 100,000*l.* were voted for the same purpose. In 1776, the growing incumbrances of his majesty became great, and another application to parliament became necessary, and 618,340*l.* were granted to relieve his majesty from the difficulties and pressure upon the civil list. In 1784, 60,000*l.* and in 1786, 210,000*l.* The whole amount of these aids to the civil list, up to this time, was 1,501,851*l.* The grant to his present majesty, on his accession, precluded him from the advantage enjoyed by his predecessors; that of applying any excess which certain revenues might produce beyond the 800,000*l.* for he had no means whatever beyond that sum. Nor could the revenue of his majesty's predecessors be less than 800,000*l.* although part of it depended

depended on the produce of certain duties, becauſe parliament engaged to make up that ſum, whatever the deficiency of the produce might be. Now, he would aſk, whether, in the opinion of the committee, the ſums granted to his majeſty, at different periods, from his acceſſion up to the year 1786, conſidering the circumſtances of his majeſty's family, the progreſſive increaſe in the price of all the articles of life, and above all, conſidering the rapid increaſe of the wealth of the nation, from the acceſſion to the year 1786, was ſuch as to require 1,500,000*l.* as it appeared it did by the votes of parliament? Whether, by theſe votes, his majeſty's revenue was made more than equal to thoſe of his predeceſſors, as moſt aſſuredly it was not, certainly not equal to his three predeceſſors upon the throne. Then he would aſk, whether there ought to be an aid granted for the deficiency which had attended the civil liſt, from the laſt period it was aided to the preſent moment?

The chancellor of the exchequer then examined the particulars of expenditure as ſhewn on the face of the report, demonſtrating that they were all neceſſary and laudable in their nature, and in their amount inevitable. With reſpect to the reſtriction laid on the exceſs of expenditure by Mr. Burke's act, he obſerved that ſtatute was ſo looſely worded, that it was extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to attach to it any preciſe or definite meaning in many of its parts. It was indeed ſaid, that the whole burthen of the arrears was to fall on the laſt claſs therein ſtated. That could not be ſo, for, according to that conſtruction, there were many offices to which no ſalaries whatever were annexed. He had indeed ſome good reaſons for apprehending that the true conſtruction of Mr. Burke's bill was, that which the practice under it required. The inſtances in practice were numerous, and preciſely as they had been lately. Theſe inſtances occurred in the time of the author of the bill, and while he was a vigilant obſerver of the conduct of the executive government, and not diſpoſed to ſpare his obſervations in the Houſe of Commons, when any thing in ſuch conduct appeared to him improper; and yet while theſe inſtances occurred, that right honourable gentleman had not once obſerved that the ſpirit of his bill was departed from, by the practice of government.

Having made theſe obſervations, he recapitulated the particulars of which the arrears conſiſted; they amounted to 990,053*l.* a ſum which, it was impoſſible to contemplate without regret; but no part of it was owing to profuſion, none of it had been corruptly employed, and it appeared from the report, what a vaſt portion of the whole of this went to the neceſſary purpoſes of the civil government, and was not at all appropriated, as ſome had moſt erroneouſly ſuppoſed, for his majeſty's perſonal uſe, or for his own houſehold eſtabliſhment. Had we ſeen any thing but what was to be eſteemed a neceſſary ſplendour on the part of the royal family? Certainly none. We had ſeen one ſort of abundance on the part of the chief magiſtrate of the community in which we had the happineſs to live. Every virtue that belonged to that character abounded in him; but with reſpect to outward ſplen-

dour, the loyal feelings of the people would have gone much further, if desired, than they had hitherto been called upon to do; and he would venture to say, that the people had rather been disappointed for want of more, than satiated with too much of that splendour. The sum advanced for the discharge of the arrears of the civil list for the same period, in another reign, was more than was now required. And he wished to know, whether there was any reason for supposing that, although 1,400,000*l.* were justly granted at a former period, there ought not to be 900,000*l.* granted now? In the present case, although it was not his intention to propose any permanent addition now to the civil list, yet he had no difficulty in saying it would, in the present condition of things, be impossible to maintain, without farther aid, the necessary splendour of the crown, and to support the necessary expenditure of the royal family: and therefore, he hoped, that some relief would be afforded to the civil list hereafter, by taking away from it some charges which at present it bore, and which, in his opinion, did not belong to it, and laying them on the consolidated fund. He moved, that a sum not exceeding 990,053*l.* be granted to his majesty, to discharge arrears and debts due and owing on the civil list, on the 18th of January, 1802.

Mr. Fox controverted the statements of the chancellor of the exchequer, by adverting to the difference between ancient times, when the expences of war and peace were defrayed out of the hereditary revenue, and the present, when parliament provided funds for all great expences, and had, at the Revolution, settled the civil list, obliging themselves to supply the greater expenditures, to which the hereditary revenues had before been applied. He then reviewed the circumstances of the civil list, and the sums occasionally granted for its relief during the last five reigns; and insisted that when, at the beginning of the present reign the civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* the sum could not have been deemed too small, considering that the Duke of Newcastle was then at the head of the treasury, supported by the reputation, experience, and steady family attachment which had been formed in the course of a long political life; and had as colleagues, the Earl of Chatham and the Earl of Bute, a particular confidant of his majesty. Nine years after this establishment however, parliament had paid arrears to the amount of 550,000*l.* In eight years more, a new arrear of 600,000*l.* was contracted, and notwithstanding the opposition of men so respectable as Sir George Savile, Lord J. Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and several more, the House unwisely discharged it. Not only was the arrear paid off, but the sum of 900,000*l.* was voted as the amount of the civil list—a sum, as was said by Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker, in his address to his majesty on the occasion, a sum "great beyond example, great beyond his majesty's utmost wants," bestowed too at a time, Sir Fletcher said, when the people were labouring under burdens almost too grievous to be borne. And if the burdens of the state could be so described in 1777, what character could be given to those of the present day?

"About

"About this period," Mr. Fox proceeded, "Mr. Burke, a man of the greateſt abilities, of the moſt eminent ſervices, a man for whom, notwithſtanding latter differences, I have always retained the greateſt veneration, brought forward a bill, the principle of which was, that the debts of the civil liſt were criminal; that when parliament had ſettled what the expenditure ſhould be, any exceſs was diſobedience; that it was the duty of the king's miniſters to ſquare the expences of the civil liſt by what parliament had fixed, not the buſineſs of parliament to keep pace with the extravagance of the king's miniſters. Such unqueſtionably was the ſpirit of Mr. Burke's Bill, and that bill clearly lays down, that ſuch a mode of payment ſhall be adopted as that the ſalary of the higheſt claſs ſhall not be paid till that of the claſs immediately below is paid. I know that in the courts below an act muſt explain itſelf, but here we may reaſon upon the ſpirit and intent of the legiſlature; and, indeed, I cannot perceive that the act is ſo looſely worded as the right honourable gentleman argues; far leſs can I admit the poſition, that the violation of it being never complained of in this Houſe, conſtitutes an argument that none has ever taken place. If omiſſion or ſilence were to be conſtrued into acquieſcence and approbation, not a principle of the conſtitution would remain intire, or an abuſe at one time or other without juſtification. So much was Mr. Burke convinced that his bill would produce the effect I have mentioned, that he boaſted, as one of the advantages of it, that henceforth no arrear in the civil liſt could ever take place. But notwithſtanding, if Mr. Burke's bill has not produced all the good he intended, what are we to do in regard to the arrear that has accumulated? I adhere to the practice of our anceſtors, and to the principles on which they fixed the civil liſt as a meaſure eſſential to the exiſtence of the monarchy. But why, as a friend to the monarchy, do I conceive that we ought not to acquieſce in the payment of this arrear? It is becauſe it is eſſential to the monarchy that the king ſhould, by a fixed revenue, be enabled to pay his civil liſt expences, independent of parliament." Mr. Fox dwelt ſome time on this argument, inſiſting that miniſters were bound in duty to reſtrain the expence within the ſum voted by parliament, or if an arrear was incurred, to reſtrict the expenditure till it was paid off. With what face could they come to parliament and ſay, "you fixed the annual expence of the civil liſt at 900,000*l.* but we have actually made it 950,000*l.* You made one law, we have acted on another. You muſt obey us—it is not for us to obey you?"

The civil liſt, Mr. Fox contended, had received a relief from Mr. Burke's bill, which aboliſhed places to the amount of 30,000*l.* per annum; but miniſters had created other offices to be paid from it. He inſtanced that of a third ſecretary of ſtate, and the appointment of extra miniſters to ſome foreign courts, all which expences were incurred without any ſufficient reaſon. Even had the office of a third ſecretary been wanting, miniſters ſhould have conſidered their means of paying the expences of the old eſtabliſhment before they increaſed it with new. The civil liſt (to perſonify it)

ſhould have reaſoned like an individual: "I wiſh for this or the other thing, but can I pay for it?" Thus the civil liſt: "I wiſh to have a new ſecretary of ſtate."—"But have you the means to pay him?"—"No; but the Houſe of Commons will pay cheerfully. I have good friends there."—"But aſk your friends firſt."—"O, no, it is not neceſſary; I can uſe freedom; I know my friends very well. They will be quite delighted with the opportunity. They have brothers and couſins to provide for. Never fear; let the expence be incurred. Say nothing about the matter at preſent; the Houſe of Commons will pay the money, and aſk no queſtions."—Thus, without the leaſt neceſſity, and amid increaſing debts, new modes of expence are employed without decency, to be ſanctioned without murmur. Mr. Fox, from theſe reaſonings concluded that the Houſe ought to reject the motion, and addreſs his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to confine the expence of the civil liſt within 900,000*l.* and *pro tempore*, eſtabliſh ſuch ſavings and reforms as would create a ſinking fund to pay off the debt contracted by the miſconduct of his miniſters.

In illuſtration of this propoſition, Mr. Fox cited the caſe of the Prince of Wales, and argued that the influence of the crown would not be much diminiſhed. That influence had increaſed ſo much, that a temporary reform in its means of expence could be attended with no abridgment of its authority. Formerly the crown had more to give with ſmaller burdens. Its influence now ariſes from the enormous naval and military eſtabliſhments, which the wars of Europe, and our relations with other powers, have produced. In theſe there is ample compenſation for any ſuſpenſion of inferior officers connected with the civil liſt. Mr. Fox alſo objected to the ſtatement that ſome of the arrears were occaſioned by increaſed law charges. He had on former occaſions had opportunity to diſcuſs the merits of theſe proſecutions. He was ſatisfied, that on no occaſion, did acquittals ever better eſtabliſh the innocence of parties accuſed than it did in theſe caſes. Some were tried, ſome were confined without trial. Let gentlemen put themſelves in the ſituation (the only way of judging of the hardſhip) of perſons ſo tried and confined. Muſt not the feelings of theſe men towards miniſters prompt them to exclaim, "You put us in confinement; you paſſed bills of indemnity to prevent our having redreſs againſt you who treated us with injuſtice; and now you come to ſqueeze from us a penny to pay our ſhare of the expence of thoſe law proceedings of which we were the victims." He concluded in theſe terms. "I can truly affirm that it is my wiſh to contribute every exertion of mine, by every legitimate means, to promote the happineſs and glory of the ſovereign: but there is a duty I owe to my conſtituents and the country, not inferior to the reſpect I owe to the monarchy. I wiſh to addreſs the throne in language different from the language of ſervility. Courtiers may flatter kings by telling them that parliament will pay whatever they think proper to ſpend. A different language is more ſeaſonable, more conſonant to the

the principles which placed his majesty on the throne. I would recommend this House to address his majesty, with due respect, to suggest to him, that he ought to reject the insidious advice of his courtiers, that he should distrust the ministers who misled him into unnecessary expence; that it is his duty in all matters of finance to comply with the restrictions of parliament, and that it will be for the dignity of the crown, and for the prosperity of his people, to quadrate his expences by the rules which the wisdom of parliament has prescribed."

Mr. Pitt would not, after the very able and distinct manner in which his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, had introduced this subject to the committee, trespass long on the attention of the House. He first directed his attention to what he termed the burst and *tirade* of eloquence, introduced toward the conclusion of Mr. Fox's speech, on the subject of law charges. Whether the honourable gentleman's object was to excite compassion for those men whom the security of the state had rendered it necessary to prosecute, or whether it was his intention to discuss the question, whether those persons who had been confined, and were now liberated, ought to pay any portion of the sum which it was now proposed to vote, he could not determine. Those who had felt as the House had always felt during the whole of the eventful period which we had passed, would agree with him in thinking, that if there was reason to believe that the spirit of treason, both in this country and in Ireland, had gone to so dangerous a length, as to render legal proceedings necessary for the security of the state, and if the expences attending those proceedings were greater than in ordinary times; it would not be consistent with justice to throw the whole burthen of that expence upon the crown. There was, however, something whimsical in the compassion which the honourable gentleman manifested for those persons, for he did not propose a remedy for those whom he conceived to be injured; but in speaking upon this subject he seemed to think that all the persons who had been accused had been acquitted: there were several persons convicted, and certainly there was one conviction which ought not to have escaped the recollection of the honourable gentleman, and those who sat near him. But what was the great hardship of which the honourable gentleman had so pathetically complained? It was, that this sum of 900,000*l.* which would be defrayed by so many millions of his majesty's subjects, would fall particularly heavy upon certain United Irishmen, and persons of a similar description. Now, in all the discussions which had taken place on this subject, it could not be forgotten that one of the strongest arguments urged to shew the impossibility of any treasonable plots existing, and an argument which had been repeatedly urged with great humour by an honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Sheridan), was the extreme poverty of the persons accused. But now the argument had been completely changed; and those men whose poverty was urged as a proof of their innocence, were represented as likely to suffer severely by paying their portion of this 900,000*l.* in

common with ſo many millions of his majeſty's ſubjects.

On the general matter, all that the honourable gentleman had ſaid reſolved itſelf into two points: the firſt was, that it was inconſiſtent with the duty of parliament, and contrary to the ſyſtem upon which the civil liſt was granted to the crown for life, in any caſe to pay a debt contracted upon that civil liſt; the other queſtion was with reſpect to the meaning of Mr. Burke's bill. In arguing upon this, and indeed upon almoſt every other ſubject, the honourable gentleman had always ſhewn himſelf fonder of quoting any other times than his own, from any miniſters rather than thoſe whom he had oppoſed, and from any parliament rather than thoſe of which he himſelf had formed a part; but he had been rather unfortunate in his precedents upon this occaſion, for there was not one of them that was not an exception to the concluſion which he wiſhed to draw: becauſe the honourable gentleman had not been able to ſhew a ſingle inſtance in which, upon a caſe ſtated, the debt had not been paid; and he was ſure he could not point out any caſe in which all the circumſtances had been ſo fully explained, and all the facts ſo clearly laid before the Houſe, one which lay in ſo ſimple and narrow a compaſs, one ſo completely free from every kind of ſuſpicion, as the one then before the committee. He would not enter into a diſcuſſion of the civil liſt, nor would he occupy the time of the committee by arguing much upon the conſtruction of Mr. Burke's bill, by which the honourable gentleman had contended that no debt upon the civil liſt could legally exiſt. With regard to this conſtruction of the bill, he could only ſay, that it was one which he never acted upon. If the honourable gentleman would turn to the journals, he would find that the firſt exceſs upon the civil liſt, after Mr. Burke's bill, aroſe in the year ending the 5th of April, 1784; at that time he (Mr. Pitt) had been three months in office, and the other nine months of the year, the honourable gentleman himſelf was ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Burke was paymaſter, and Lord John Cavendiſh was chancellor of the exchequer. It appeared diſtinctly upon the journals, that during the three laſt quarters of the year 1783, when thoſe gentlemen were in office, there was an exceeding upon the civil liſt to the ſame amount as in the firſt quarter of the year 1784. This exceſs was laid before parliament, and was voted without any objection of this kind being urged againſt it; therefore it was evident, that the conſtruction now contended for was not then conſidered as the real conſtruction of the bill. In 1786, the ſubject was again brought under the notice of parliament, and although he did not like to revert to accounts of debates, which were often incorrect, yet certainly Mr. Burke did not, on that occaſion, make any ſuch objection; and the motion paſſed without a diviſion, though at that time, very few queſtions paſſed without long diſcuſſions and diviſions. If the conſtruction which the honourable gentleman now contended for, had been at that time conſidered as the true conſtruction of the bill, he would aſk any candid man, whether it was likely in the ſtate of parties at that day, to have been given up without any

any comment, and without notice?

Mr. Pitt urged this point at considerable length, and vindicated the embassies of which Mr. Fox had complained, as well as the appointment of a third secretary of state, by arguments of prudence and propriety. As to the manner in which the civil list had been applied, Mr. Pitt said, many of the expences could not have been foreseen when the estimates were made; but when he saw that the pension list had been kept within its bounds, when he saw that the salaries had been diminished in general, and when he saw that the increase which had taken place was in articles the least liable to suspicion; he owned he felt great gratification in thinking that no application had ever been made to parliament, the explanation of which was more simple, or lay in a more narrow compass, or one that came with a better grace than the one now under consideration. Although the civil list was once granted to the crown to be disposed of, generally speaking, without the interference of parliament, it was, at the same time, true, that it was not only the right, but the duty of parliament, to inquire, whenever they saw any grounds for suspicion of prodigality or corruption, and especially whenever there was any application made to them for relief. The honourable gentleman had spoken of the expences in former reigns, but he wished he would take into consideration the grants to the crown and the debt in the three reigns preceding that of his present majesty, and he would find that in the first sixty years of the last century, the average expenditure was 794,000*l.* per annum. Now, allowing for all the sums which had been granted in aid of the civil list, for the last forty years, the expenditure upon an average, was not above 918,000*l.* a year. He appealed to the committee, whether this increase in the proportion of from eight to nine, (he was not talking of the revenue only, but of the revenue and debt together) taking all the circumstances of the times into consideration, and particularly the great increase in the price of provisions, deserved the language which had been applied to it by the honourable gentleman? Look at the great change in the valuation of money during the period of which he had been speaking. It had varied in proportion of from two to three, and the variation in the expenditure of the civil list was only as nine to eight. It would also be fair to look at the state of the hereditary revenue: the average amount of that revenue during his majesty's reign was 1,200,000*l.* a year, and in the year 1800 it amounted to no less than 1,800,000*l.* and this great increase of these revenues was an additional proof of the increased prosperity and wealth which the people had acquired during his majesty's reign.

Mr. Tierney could not agree with Mr. Fox that no instance could occur in which a motion for the payment of arrears on the civil list could be constitutionally entertained by the House. Still less, however, could he agree with Mr. Pitt that the mere circumstance of the debt having accrued, was any ground for the House agreeing to its liquidation without a previous inquiry into its nature; and a satisfactory statement that it was the

reſult of unavoidable cauſes. He wiſhed the chairman to leave the chair, to report progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again. It would then be in his power to move that the ſubject be referred again to a committee, with inſtructions to them to inveſtigate carefully the character of the ſeveral accounts, and to report their opinion to the Houſe as to thoſe parts out of the whole charge, which they conceived ought in juſtice to be paid. When he propoſed this, he begged it to be underſtood that he gave the right honourable gentleman who had ſubmitted the motion to the Houſe, full credit for the manner in which the ſubject had been brought under conſideration, and was ready to allow that more detailed information had been preſented on the preſent than any former occaſion of a ſimilar kind. He ſtated many objections to the particulars in the account of expenditure, and among others inſtanced the ſtate trials in 1794, in which he ſaid fifteen counſel had been retained for the crown.

Dr. Laurence ſtrongly denied that Mr. Burke had ever been convinced of the inſufficiency of his bill, or ever changed his opinion of its expediency and propriety. That great man, whoſe death all concurred in lamenting, had in retirement continued unſhaken in his ſentiments, and if, before he quitted public life, he had entertained any doubts on the ſubject, he would have fairly and openly have made them known to the Houſe and to the public.

The Houſe divided on Mr. Tierney's motion for the chairman to leave the chair, for which the numbers were in the affirmative 46, in the negative 228. Another diviſion took place on the original queſtion, when the numbers for granting the ſupply were 226, againſt it 51.

On the enſuing day, March 31. Mr. Manners Sutton again appealed to the Houſe on the claims of the Prince of Wales. His motion was, that a ſelect committee be appointed to inquire what ſums of money were due to his royal highneſs from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; by whom, and by what authority, its revenues had been received from the birth of his royal highneſs till he attained the age of 21, and how theſe ſums had been applied. Alſo, to inquire what ſums of money had been advanced to his royal highneſs from the time he came of age, till the 27th of June 1795, for the diſcharge of his royal highneſs's debts. The ſpeech by which this motion was introduced was full of hiſtorical and legal knowledge, and the whole debate was diſtinguiſhed by great reſearch and learning. It was contended, on behalf of his royal highneſs, that his right to the duchy of Cornwall commenced from his birth, and that conſequently, he had a right to all the revenues derived from it, and to an account of them from that period. On the other ſide, the claims of the prince were not admitted in the ſame latitude, but without pretending to decide a point which was deemed unfit for parliament, and properly to be referred to the courts below, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day. This propoſition, after a debate of which no abſtract can give an adequate outline, was carried by a majority of 57 only; the numbers being for the order of the day 160, againſt it 103. The Prince of Wales, in

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consequence of this determination, expressed by one of his officers, his resolution to appeal to the court of Chancery, which he afterward did, by the process called a petition of right. It is but fit to say that in this whole transaction, the proper, respectful, and dutiful language held by the prince's officers and friends, and declared to be the purport of his sentiments toward his royal parent, were highly gratifying to all classes of the people.

April 27. In a subsequent period of the session, the king sent to parliament a message stating his anxiety to make a provision for their royal highnesses the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, but finding the civil list unequal to bear the additional burthen of such a provision, he required the assistance of his faithful commons, trusting that, on this, as on all former occasions, they would shew their attachment to his family. This message being referred to a committee of supply, it was resolved to settle on each of the royal dukes 12,000*l.* a year, and a bill framed to that effect, passed through both Houses without opposition.

These were the principal measures of finance affecting Great Britain. Some other topics were occasionally touched on, and made the subjects of slight motions, as the subsidy to Portugal, the consolidation of the land tax redemption laws, and some other minute objects. It may also be fit to mention, though it is by no means worth while to enter into particulars, that two or three most undignified and useless discussions were generated in the House of Commons, by an assertion of Mr. Robson, that the government was in a state of insolvency, a bill for less than 20*l.* having been dishonoured at one of the public offices.

The financial regulations for Ireland occasioned several discussions, but none of particular interest: the chief point in debate was the apportionment of taxation to each country, conformably to the act of union. One of the most interesting of these discussions occurred on the motion March 16. for a second reading of the bill for continuing the Irish duties. The measure was opposed by Mr. Foster, and ably vindicated by Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, who besides defending the plan he had proposed, described in terms of confidence the advancing prosperity of Ireland under the administration of its excellent chief governor Lord Hardwicke. That the commerce and internal interests of the country were not neglected in parliament, will appear by the following items extracted from among many others voted in the committee.

	£.
For civil buildings in Dublin	15,692
To the secretary of the commissioners for managing the application of charitable requests	276
To the Dublin society for promoting husbandry	3,870
To buildings for a botanical garden	3,115
To the incorporated society for supporting English Protestant schools	13,505
To the Foundling hospital	12,696
To the Hibernian Marine society	1,532
To the society for educating soldier's children	3,240
To the Roman Catholic seminary	5,538

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May 12. The general ſtate of Ireland with reſpect to finance was ſtated by Mr. Corry when he laid his agreement for a loan before the Houſe of Commons in the following terms. The intereſt of the debt of Ireland, the permanent grants, and the votes of that Houſe, for the ſervice of Ireland, amounted to 4,641,000*l.* The ways and means to cover theſe ſupplies, conſiſted of the revenues of Ireland, and the loan of Great Britain, and the profits of the lottery. Theſe ſums together amounted to 4,366,000*l.* So that the ways and means were exceeded by the ſupplies by ſome hundred thouſand pounds. He had now to ſtate, as further ways and means, a loan for 1,660,000*l.* Againſt the exceſs which this would create on the ſide of the ways and means, he begged leave to obſerve, that there remained to be provided for, the army eſtabliſhment for that country, for ſix months, and as that would amount to a conſiderable ſum, that, he hoped, would appear to be a ſufficient foundation for the loan. As to the terms upon which that loan had been contracted for, he had great ſatisfaction in ſtating that they were even better than thoſe upon which the loan had been made in this country. They were more advantageous, not only than any former loan in that, but in this or any other country. It was an additional proof of the proſperity of both countries. It was, perhaps, rather inſidious to enter into compariſons upon ſuch a ſubject, but the intereſt of this loan amounted to no more than 3*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* per cent. whereas the intereſt of the late loan made for Great Britain amounted to 3*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* per cent. It was not his intention, unleſs called upon by the committee, or by any honourable gentleman, to enter more at large into the ſubject, unleſs to obſerve, that this loan was made in the 3½ per cent. ſtock. The amount of the capital created, above the money received, was little more than 8*l.* on every hundred, or an increaſe in the whole of only about 14,000*l.* At the time that the Iriſh loan was advertiſed to be bid for, the price of the only 3½ per cent. ſtock in this country, viz. ſouth ſea-ſtock, was 82. But the gentlemen who went from this country to bid for the loan, leaving the Engliſh 3½ per cent. ſtock, at 82, and finding the Iriſh 3½ per cent. ſtock 90¾, had nevertheleſs the ſpirit to bid 91*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* a price higher than that of the four per cents. in this country at that time.

In concluding this chapter, it may be fit to mention, that an act was paſſed, introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, for further reſtraining, till the firſt of March 1803, the bank of England from making payments in money. The bill did not paſs through parliament without conſiderable animadverſion, but the debates were of little intereſt. A ſimilar meaſure was adopted for the bank of Ireland, by which payments in caſh were prohibited until three months after the reſtriction on the Bank of England ſhould have expired.

CHAP. XVI.

Miſcellaneous proceedings in Parliament. Non-reſidence of the clergy; obſervations of Mr. Dickenſon on the act for ſuſpending proſecutions on this

this ſubject; the act renewed. Sir William Scott moves for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Statute of Henry VIII.; his ſpeech; leave given to bring in a bill; its progreſs; objections againſt it by Mr. Simeon, and Mr. M. A. Taylor; anſwered; but the bill does not paſs; obſervations on the ſtate of the clergy by Lord Grenville. Thanks voted to the army, navy, marines, militia and volunteers; annuity ſettled on Lord Hutchinſon. Scheme for new-modelling the militia, propoſed by the Secretary at War; the bill paſſes the Houſe of Commons; is objected to in the Lords, by Earl Fitzwilliam; the Earl of Caernarvon; and Lord Romney; they are anſwered by the Marquis of Buckingham; Lord Clifton; the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Pelham; the bill is amended in a Committee; conference; it paſſes. Acts paſſed for improving the militia in Scotland and Ireland; the King enabled to accept the ſervices of volunteer corps. Proceedings on the ſubject of proviſions. Stale bread act repealed; Sir William Curtis brings in a bill reſpecting the aſſize of bread, which is loſt; other meaſures; returns of population laid on the table. Meaſures for relief of the poor; repeal of a Statute of William III. propoſed, but fails; other acts paſſed, particularly one relating to pariſh apprentices. Mr. Dent brings in a bill for ſuppreſſing bull-baiting; debate on the ſecond reading; ſpeech of Sir Richard Hill; Mr. Windham; Mr. Courtenay; Mr. Wilberforce; Mr. Frankland; and Mr. Sheridan; the bill loſt. Remunerations voted to Dr. Jenner, for the diſcovery of vaccine inoculation; to Mr. Greathead for the invention of the life-boat; and to Dr. Carmichael Smith for the nitrous acid fumigation. Relief afforded to ſome ſufferers in the Weſt Indies. Alien Law modified. Meaſures adopted reſpecting elections. Cloſe of the Seſſion; King's Speech. Diſſolution of Parliament.

AMONG the ſubjects of parliamentary diſcuſſion, the affairs of the Eaſt India Company held a diſtinguiſhed place; but as the ſtate of that body is materially connected with the narrative of previous events in India, the whole ſtatement will find place in a future volume.

It was mentioned in the account of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that Mr. Dickenſon procured the paſſing of a temporary act, to relieve certain of the clergy from the vexatious ſuits inſtituted againſt them by common informers for non-reſidence*. At an early period in the preſent ſeſſion, the ſame gentleman again called the attention of the Houſe to the ſubject, declaring, it was by no means his intention, in bringing forward that act, to encourage the non-reſidence of the clergy; and if the ſubject ſhould not be taken up by ſome perſon more competent, he gave notice, that he ſhould, immediately after the receſs, propoſe to the Houſe a reviſion of the ſtatute of Henry VIII. with a view to inforce the reſidence of the clergy in their proper diſtricts.

Before the reſpite allowed by act of the former ſeſſion expired, he brought in a bill to extend it, and, at the ſame time, intimated that the ſubject of the reſidence of the clergy, in a more March 4.

* See Annual Regiſter for 1801, P. 194.

general

general view, had been taken up by a gentleman of high character, and great ability; from whose exertions every thing was to be expected. The bill introduced by Mr. Dickenson went through both Houses, not intirely unopposed, but without any great difficulty.

April 7. The individual to whom Mr. Dickenson alluded with such merited eulogium, was Sir William Scott. That learned civilian had indeed applied to the subject, with his accustomed industry and ability, and on moving the House for leave to bring in a bill to amend the statute of Henry VIII. made a speech replete with information, and distinguished for soundness of reasoning. The object, he observed, was to review some of the provisions of the statute of Henry VIII. The prosecutions recently brought in great numbers, and in different parts of the kingdom upon that statute, had imposed, upon the legislature an admitted necessity of reconsidering it. Admitted, because the legislature under a sense of that necessity, had already agreed to suspend its operation. The statute on which these prosecutions were founded, was one applying to important subjects immediately connected with the religion and morals of the country; but a statute made three hundred years ago, in a state of religion and manners very different from the present. It enforced its operation by money penalties, but those penalties were prescribed under a very different valuation of money from that which obtains at present. It was admitted by Lord Coke, one hundred and fifty years ago, that "It then required alterations and additions, although excellent for its time:" Lord Hobart had described it as a "most wise and politic statute."

Venturing to express a doubt whether these panegyrics might not have been too liberally conferred, Sir William Scott said, "It is impossible not to advert a little to the times in which it was produced, and the motives which, in part at least, operated in producing it. The times were times of great fervour and irritation, the corruptions of the church collected during the grossness of the darker ages, and which that church, by neglecting the favourable opportunity of reforming, has entailed upon itself the unhappy necessity of perpetuating and defending, had provoked great popular resentments; but, as was naturally to be expected, resentments not always directed to their right objects, nor very exactly proportioned in their measure. They overflowed upon the whole body of the clergy, deserving and undeserving (for unquestionably there were many of the first description), and upon all clerical claims, just and unjust, (for it is equally unquestionable that there are both.) In short, the times were exactly those which are the least fitted in any country for a happy exercise of deliberative wisdom, lying in that precise juncture, when ancient opinions and maxims have become the objects of contempt and aversion, and the new and improved system had not yet settled itself in a firm, sober and correct possession of mens' minds. The history of those times abounds with instances of the general animosity, that then prevailed against the clergy. A familiar anecdote in every body's mouth, is the observation made by the then Bishop

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of London, in a letter respecting an idle and malicious charge of murder brought against his chancellor, that a London jury was, at that time, so prejudiced against the clergy, that where a clergyman was concerned, *they were ready to find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain.* A more singular demonstration of the general prevalence of that sort of inveteracy, is recorded by one of the most exact inquirers into our national history, (particularly the ecclesiastical parts of it) Mr. H. Wharton, in his remarks on Strype's Memorials of the Reformation. "Crimes of incontinence," he says, "were then, as now, cognizable only in the ecclesiastical courts; but rapes were then, as now, triable at the common law; and of this the laity took such malicious advantage in times immediately before the reformation, that they were wont to pretend all acts, and even indications of incontinence in ecclesiastics to be so many rapes, and to indict them as such; insomuch, that scarcely any assizes passed at that time, wherein several clergymen were not indicted of rapes, and a jury of laymen impannelled to try them, who would be sure not to incur the guilt of shewing too much favour in their verdicts." There is reason enough to suppose, that parliament was sufficiently tinctured with the popular prejudice of the times. It had its particular resentments against that great minister and churchman, Cardinal Wolsey: a man of great talents! *qui nihil humilè aut sensit aut dixit!* but, who who had likewise that pride and confidence of great talents, which, in a state of coarse manners, is with difficulty kept free from betraying itself in an oppressive insolence of language and demeanour. "They hated him because he hated parliaments," says Lord Coke, "and had been the mean that no parliament was holden in the realm but one, for the space of fourteen years;" and it could not well be forgotten, that in that one parliament, the very one which immediately preceded the parliament which made this statute, he had come into this room in all the pomp of the most ostentatious prelacy, and seating himself by the speaker's chair, had demanded "to know the reason of those members who opposed the king's highness' subsidy, in order that he might confer with them thereon." It is not out of our historical recollection, how severely an intrusion of the like kind cost the sovereign of this country in the following century. As to the king, he had other passions, besides resentment to animate him in these measures; he had, two years before, begun the business of his divorce; it proceeded much too tardily for the impatience of such a lover; he had quarrelled with Wolsey on account of the delay, and was determined to menace the pope into a compliance. "The king," says Bishop Burnet, "set the bills forward, and they were agreed to, and had the royal assent. The king intended by this to let the pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him, if he went on to extremities." Under this ferment of passions, was this statute conceived; and if it did come into the world with the characters of wisdom and propriety appearing in its constitution, it would add one more instance to the number, which the experience of mankind

kind has certainly furniſhed, of good effects produced by queſtionable and mixed cauſes.

Having thus deſcribed the ſtate of the times in which this ſtatute originated, Sir William Scott queſtioned the propriety of ſubmitting the puniſhment of clergymen for non-reſidence to any but the eccleſiaſtical courts, citing, in ſupport of his opinion, very cogent authorities, drawn from times ſubſequent, as well as antecedent, to the reformation. The ſtatute, he contended, (without any inconvenience to the ſuperior tribunals of the country) had produced much practical injuſtice and inconvenience. This he ſhewed, by animadverting on the conſtruction it had received in the courts of law, where reſidence was required in the parſonage houſe, and no excuſe admitted, ſave three. 1ſt. Impriſonment elſewhere; 2d. Infirmity of body; and 3d. want of habitation; but this laſt plea, was only admitted when the parſon could prove that he took the neareſt reſidence poſſible to his cure. He alſo deſcanted on the clumſy policy, to ſay the leaſt of it, of dethroning the biſhop from his eccleſiaſtical authority, and placing in his ſtead, the common informer. "Of that perſonage, however," ſaid Sir William Scott, "I ſhall take care to ſpeak with all due caution, becauſe I perceive, that although he is a very abhorred man, when he is blowing up a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate; not very gracious in enforcing a tax; yet, he is received with ſome degree of kind acceptation, when he betakes himſelf to the employment of privateering upon the church." As another abſurdity in the ſtatute, he pointed out its requiring mere perſonal reſidence, while the eccleſiaſtical law required reſidence and ſervice; thus, by the change, if a man did but ſleep in his parſonage bed, he might ſleep there from month's end to month's end; he might live in the moſt ſlovenly diſregard, or, in the moſt inſolent defiance, of every obligation of duty; and yet, as far as this ſtatute reached him, he might go utterly unwhipt of public juſtice. The reſidence, which the ſtatute ſecured to the public, might be a pariſh nuiſance, and a pariſh ſcandal, and nothing better. "If ſuch proviſions," he added, "are really what they have been ſometimes called, the firſt fruits of the reformation, they are fruits collected in a ſtate of great acerbity; harſh, and crude, and unmellowed, much fitter to ferment than to compoſe the paſſions of mankind."

After ſome further remarks on the hardſhip impoſed by this law on clergymen, in preventing them from holding leaſes even though they came to them by deſcent, and many other of its enactments, and obſerving, that the beſt proof of its inutility was the diſuſe into which it had fallen, being rarely heard of, but as a poſtſcript to ſome tythe cauſe, till within the laſt two years, when it was made the commercial bank of two or three trading attornies, Sir William Scott noticed the incongruity and injuſtice introduced into its operations by the change of times and manners ſince it was enacted. In the firſt place the inequality of the penalties. In ſome livings, a penalty or two would abſorb the whole annual produce, while in others, the penalty for a whole year, would amount only to an income tax. Next he noticed the change of manners: when the act

act passed, the clergy were, for the most part unmarried; now, clergymen, being invited by the reformation to marry, formed new family connexions which again produced calls of a similar nature; and no reasonable man would wish that they should be deaf to such calls, and should turn their backs on the happy intercourses of family kindness. They might have family property in other parts of the country; they might be called to the capital for the transaction of family concerns; they might be called to attend to the declining health of a wife or child, by a temporary change of air and situation; and, without pleading the cause of dissipation and extravagance, it might be observed, that they had families of young persons, who were not without their claims to reasonable indulgences for the purposes of health, of education, of improvement, and, even of innocent curiosity and relaxation. He then noticed the change in circumstances arising from the improved state of agriculture in the country, and the consequent insufficiency of the glebe lands to answer any useful purpose, and, on this point, he read a letter from a respectable clergyman in the west of England, recommending, among other things, that which he hardly hoped would meet the sanction of the House, the removal of all restraint from the agricultural pursuits of the clergy.

"But" he proceeded "what above all creates a necessity for new moulding this statute is, the extremely depauperated state of many of the churches and parochial clergy of this kingdom. The statute makes one uniform demand of universal residence, under one uniform penalty; and universal residence cannot be had without universal competency. If all the benefices in the kingdom were equal and competent, an equal obligation, enforced by an equal penalty, might be applied to them all universally. But the fact is, that the inequality is great, and has greatly increased since the passing of this act; since it is certain, that if many benefices have increased in value, many have been comparatively depauperated by the reformation." The appropriation of church revenues to monasteries had greatly injured the clergy, but yet they had many resources. In market-towns, they had a variety of small devotional offices to perform for individuals, for which they were paid. In the country they farmed from the monks the glebe and tythes which they formerly possessed; but their grand resource was in the authority of their bishops, who had a power, and occasionally exercised it, to compel the monks to raise their stipends, as the times required. Temporary vicars, who answer to modern curates, had been raised successively up to ten marks, *considerata temporum qualitate*, which Spelman computes, to be equal to 60*l.* a year, and the perpetual vicar was raised to twelve marks, equal to 70*l.* a year. This to single men, of small wants, was a sufficient support; but the statute now in question, which prevented their farming, followed as it was by the reformation, which abridged their other benefits, deprived them of their best sources of emolument. From the observations of Selden, and Bacon, he proved, that justice as well as policy required that the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, instead of being

being applied as they were to glut the rapacity of favourites, ſhould have been devoted to the maintenance of the clergy, and he ſhewed that their complaints of penury had been well founded, uninterrmitted and unrelieved, till the ſplendid benefaction of the firſt fruits and tenths made by Queen Anne; on which occaſion, her majeſty obſerved, "that ſhe had "taken into her princely conſideration, the mean and inſufficient "maintenance belonging to the "clergy in divers parts of this "kingdom;" and the parliament in the preamble to the act, recited, "that a ſufficient ſettled proviſion "for the clergy, in many parts "of this kingdom, had never "yet been made."

"This fund," he proceeded, "has now been in operation for near a century, under the adminiſtration of a Board, compoſed of perſons of high ſtation, both in church and ſtate. The number of livings returned, certified to this Board and to the Exchequer, were; not exceeding

Per Annum.	Livings.
£.10 - -	1071
20 - -	1467
30 - -	1126
40 - -	1049
50 - -	844
Total Livings under 50*l.* per annum.	5557

"Since the firſt returns, many hundred cures have been returned as of ſmall value; ſome not more than twenty or forty ſhillings, ſo that, there being about eleven thouſand ſeven-hundred and odd livings in the kingdom, about one moiety of the whole were under fifty pounds a year, and upon an average leſs than twenty-three pounds a year. Private benefactions and accidental improvements have aided the operation of Queen Anne's charity; the two loweſt claſſes have all received an actual augmentation from it; and a third claſs is now receiving the ſame benefit; but by a paper from the ſecretary of that board, which I hold in my hand, it appears, that "if we compute the number of "livings under 50*l.* per annum "to be as above, about ſix thouſand, a moiety of which are "actually under 30*l.* per annum; "and if we reckon that they have "been ſince improved by the "governors, and by other means, "upon an average, two thirds, "which is a very liberal allowance indeed; it follows that "there are now ſix thouſand "livings in England and Wales, "that do not exceed upon an "average 85*l.* per annum, and "that a very great proportion of "them are, at this time, not 30*l.* "per annum, and ſo progreſſively "from 30*l.* to 40*l.* and from "40*l.* to 50*l.*" In ſupport of theſe ſtatements, he cited ſome facts from peculiar information, particularly from the Archdeacon of Salop; and rectified an error of Sir John Sinclair, reſpecting the application of Queen Anne's bounty. To the miſchiefs ariſing from the extreme poverty of many parochial benefices, he had heard it ſuggeſted in parliament as a cure, that there ſhould be an equalization; but he deprecated ſuch a propoſition, with great force and juſtice of argument. "Equalize all the clergy," he ſaid, "and you in effect degrade them all; for it is the groſſeſt of all

all miſtakes, that the parochial church of England is amply endowed. It is demonſtrated by a very exact inquirer upon theſe ſubjects, Mr. Cove, that if even all the preferments of every ſpecies, belonging to the church of England, were moulded into one common maſs; and thence diſtributed; if the venerable fabrick of the hierarchy was diſſolved, (a matter not to be effected without a convulſion and laceration of the civil ſtate of the country, of which no man can foretel the conſequences), and its funds parcelled out amongſt the parochial clergy, the maximum of an Engliſh benefice would be not more than 167*l.* a year; an income by no means adequate, in the preſent ſtate of the world, to the demands which ſociety makes upon that profeſſion, in point of education, of attainments, of manners, of general appearance in life. As the revenues at preſent are diſtributed, the clergy, as a profeſſion, find an eaſy and an independent acceſs to every gradation of ſociety, and maintain a fair equality, as they ought to do, with the other liberal profeſſions; and the elevation of the higheſt ranks gives ſomething of dignity to the loweſt: alter the mode of diſtribution, and you run the riſk of producing a body of clergy, reſembling only the lower orders of ſociety, in their converſation, in their manners, and their habits; and it is well, if they are not infected with a popular fondneſs for ſome or other ſpecies of a groſs, a factious, and a fanatical religion.

Having enforced theſe topics with extraordinary ability, he ſaid. "Upon the different grounds I have ſtated, a neceſſity exiſts of reviſing the ſtatute. What I have to offer, I deſire to propoſe as merely a proviſional or interim bill; for I never can repeat too frequently, that till the ſituation of the lower clergy is improved with reſpect to their incomes, their parſonage houſes, and other circumſtances, which I truſt will ſoon become the ſubjects of parliamentary attention, nothing radical, nothing permanent, can be projected." He then ſtated the principles on which the legiſlature ought to proceed in framing ſuch a bill. Firſt; not to recede from ancient foundations, not to attempt reformations, particularly in the preſent diſordered ſtate of the church finances, upon high, *à priori*, notions of a theoretical perfection, but to uſe and apply the exiſting means in the conſtitution, in order to obtain ſuch a quantity of good effect, as is really attainable; to keep to that, which, conſidering the familiarity of ancient uſage, the attachment of habit, and the uniformity of general ſyſtem, promiſes to be practically the moſt commodious; to give confidence, and to allow diſcretion where the conſtitution has veſted diſcretion, and required confidence; and to guard, by reaſonable caution, againſt the perils of a blind confidence, and an abuſed diſcretion. Secondly, not to look to a petty haraſſing ſyſtem of regulations, that is to be dogging and hunting men in every hour of their lives, and at every turn of their ſteps, for no ſufficient purpoſe of reſpectable utility, but to a ſubſtantial, *bonâ fide*, enforcement of ſubſtantial, *bonâ fide*, duties, that the public may not be told there is nobody

nobody reſponſible. In the third place, that this enforcement of duties ſhould be framed with as little vexation to its objects, as is conſiſtent with its efficacy; without any unneceſſary harſhneſs or reſtraint; ſtill leſs with diſreſpect and degradations; with all decent attention to the ſituation of the order in the ſtate, and to the perſonal convenience of individuals. Whether theſe principles," he proceeded, "on which I have endeavoured to conſtruct this bill, are juſt, or the proviſions well adapted to carry them into effect, is for the Houſe to judge. I ſhall ſtate briefly its general proviſions, both on the part of the public, and on the part of the clergy. On the part of the public, I propoſe to guard againſt what the Houſe appeared to conſider as the abuſes of the clergyman's farming, and to enforce the duty of reſidence, in a double manner more effectually, by enabling the Biſhops to exert the authority, which the conſtitution has given them, and by giving the common proſecutor, where he is permitted to act, an increaſed reward of his diligence. On the part of the clergy, there is offered: 1ſt. An intire amneſty for paſt neglect, where no proſecution had been commenced; and, 2ndly, Where there had been, an exemption from further proſecution, on payment of coſts already incurred. 3dly. On the matter of farming, a liberty given in the caſes where they were injuriouſly prohibited by the ancient ſtatute. 4thly. On the matter of reſidence, to give a fair and reaſonable allowance of time, to the clergyman for the occaſions of private life, free from the doggings of any informer, though ſtill ſubject to the ſuperintendance of his proper ſuperior; to allow an *ipſo facto* exemption from all penalties, for clergymen bearing certain offices, during the times required for the duties of thoſe offices; to reſtore the power to Biſhops to grant licences for abſence, in certain enumerated and expreſſed caſes; which licences ſhall protect from the common proſecutor; and in other caſes, which cannot be ſpecifically foreſeen, or provided for, to allow the concurrence and conſent of the metropolitan to have that effect.

Leave was given to introduce the Bill, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the attorney and ſolicitor general, the members for the two Univerſities of England, Mr. Dickinſon, Mr. Gregor, Dr. Duigenan, and Dr. Laurence, were ordered to prepare and bring it in.

The Bill went through its regular ſtages, ſo far as to receive ſeveral amendments in a committee. On a motion May 31, by Sir William Scott, to recommit it for the purpoſe of ſome further alterations, it was oppoſed by Mr. Simeon, and Mr. M. A. Taylor. This act, they contended, would not only deſtroy all former ſtatutes, but alſo would intirely change the conſtitution of the church, by lodging an enormous power in the hands of the biſhops. They did not think it right to take from juries, what had been in their hands for ſo long a period, and to give the power which they exerciſed wholly to the biſhops. Many prelates were pious and excellent men, but it was not merely to the preſent, but to future biſhops, that this authority was

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to be given, and no ſet of men ought to poſſeſs the power which was intended to be conferred by the preſent bill. The ſtatute of Henry VIII. had been approved by the moſt eminent characters; Lord Coke among others. After it had reformed the abuſes it had been framed to check, it was always looked upon as an excellent preventative of their recurrence. Its rigour had been complained of; but this had been gradually abating, and the lapſe of time had intirely thrown its influence into the ſcale of the offenders. It was in fact, even at firſt, a mitigation of the canon law, which, under the ſevereſt penalties, prohibited pluralities, and enjoined reſidence. The new bill provided a very good remedy againſt ſeverity, but this was joined to a degree of power placed in the hands of the biſhops, which ought to be ſtrenuouſly reſiſted. It ſubjected the inferior clergy, if not to actual ſlavery, at leaſt to a very improper degree of influence. It was ſtated to be a *bonus* to the clergy; but on the contrary, it was very unpopular amongſt that body: who had rather that the ſtature of Henry VIII. ſhould have been amended, than that they ſhould be compelled to go to a biſhop for a licence of non-reſidence. The clauſe in the bill, which allowed a greater degree of latitude to clergymen in the article of farming, would, if it were adopted, directly tend to ſecularize the clergy. By the exiſting ſtatute, they were allowed to cultivate a glebe, and likewiſe a farm, under certain reſtrictions; and this was as much as could be allowed, conſiſtently with the inſtitutions of the church, which were founded on the goſpel. But the proviſion held forth in the bill as an enlargement of their privileges, was, in reality, an abridgment of them. It took away from them the right they formerly poſſeſſed of cultivating their glebe, and allowed them, in place of this right, a licence from the biſhop. The licence might, indeed, be more extended, if the biſhop choſe it, than their right had been; but there was a great difference between an independent right, and a dependent licence. The clauſe which allowed a greater latitude of non-reſidence, was far from being a proper remedy for the diſtreſſes of the inferior clergy. As ſoon as the finances of the ſtate would allow it, a large addition ſhould be made to Queen Anne's bounty, in order to reſcue a learned, worthy, and laborious claſs of men from poverty. But if an increaſe of pluralities and a greater latitude of non-reſidence were allowed, what would become of religion? A ſermon on Sunday was far from comprehending the whole duties of a clergyman: he was alſo ſtill more bound to inſtruct the ignorant in the principles of religion; to comfort the unfortunate in the hour of affliction; to raiſe the deſponding heart at the approach of death; and to promote the intereſts of morality and religion, by the example of his life and converſation.

Theſe arguments were fully anſwered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Maſter of the Rolls, the Attorney General, and Mr. Windham, of whom ſeveral contended, that the principal fault in the Bill before the Houſe was, that if attempted to modify,

inſtead of repealing altogether the ſtatute of Henry VIII. The Bill was proceeded in, but did not, in the preſent ſeſſion paſs into a law.

Perhaps this delay was in part produced by ſome obſervations, made by Lord Grenville in the upper Houſe. The eſtabliſhed clergy of the country, he ſaid, conſtituted its greateſt ſupport, and without them, our fleets and armies would not long be able to protect us; they were the great ſupporters of the religion and morality of the ſtate; the virtue of the people, which was eſſential to their happineſs, and to their very exiſtence, depended on the conduct of the members of the eſtabliſhed church; and it was therefore of the utmoſt importance, that theſe ſhould ſo far enjoy the protection of government, as to be free, not only from vexatious proſecutions, but that they ſhould be ſupported in that ſtyle of competence and independence, to which, from their rank and ſituation in life, they were intitled. His majeſty's late government, conſidering the ſubject to comprehend the great and important intereſts of morality and religion, could not but regard it as of the firſt magnitude: as ſuch, it was well intitled to the utmoſt attention that could be given to it. Under that impreſſion, they had long and aſſiduouſly employed all their faculties in endeavouring to adjuſt it on ſuch a foundation as ſhould be moſt likely to ſerve the intereſts of the religious eſtabliſhment of the country, while it ſhould operate to promote and encourage the morals of the people. Their effort had been to accompliſh this upon a large and comprehenſive plan, of which enforcing the reſidence of the clergy was by no means the whole, but only a ſingle part; their ſyſtem was extenſive and involved in it a great variety of conſiderations, all relative to one great point, and provided to anſwer a moſt eſſential purpoſe. From the attention he had himſelf paid to the ſubject, he was enabled, in the firſt inſtance, to declare, that no plan could be formed without having a preliminary matter ſettled and eſtabliſhed for its baſis, viz. the creation of a fund appropriated to the augmentation of the incomes of the inferior clergy, and that in a conſiderable degree. He was well aware of the financial ſituation of the country, but ſurely the finances were not in ſuch a ſtate as to diſable government from adequately remunerating thoſe, with whoſe conduct and ſervices the morality and religion of the country were ſo eſſentially connected. It was, therefore, abſolutely impoſſible to do any thing effectual upon the ſubject without firſt providing, at the public expence, an efficient and adequate fund, and that a large one, to furniſh an augmentation to the incomes of the inferior clergy. His majeſty's late government had matured a plan, and aſcertained from whence ſuch a fund ſhould be taken. With regard to the bill, now in progreſs in the other Houſe, relative to the reſidence of the clergy, he feared, conſidering the advanced period of the ſeſſion, that if it paſſed the commons, it could not be brought up to that Houſe in time to allow of the degree of inveſtigation and diſcuſſion, which a bill of ſuch magnitude and importance would neceſſarily call for; but eſpecially

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in the abſence of almoſt all the prelacy, who were already occupied at a diſtance; the viſitations having commenced. He ſhould hope, that the bill would undergo a full diſcuſſion, and receive every amendment in the Houſe of Commons, and then it might be printed in as perfect a ſhape as poſſible, and lay over till the next ſeſſion. Then if it was thought adviſable to proceed in it, their lordſhips might take it into their deliberate diſcuſſion. He could not, however, but again obſerve, that a meaſure of ſo much magnitude ought to be brought forward by the king's ſervants as a meaſure of government; and they might either adopt the ſyſtem and plan which they would find had been formed by the late miniſters, or any other of their own.

The execution of the definitive treaty enabled government to add to the particular motions which gratitude had procured to diſtinguiſhed military bodies and individuals, a general vote of thanks to the officers and privates of the army, navy, marines, militia, yeomanry and volunteer corps. April 6. Theſe thanks were moved on the ſame day by Lord Hobart in the upper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the lower Houſe, and carried in both without the ſlighteſt oppoſition. June 11. The ſame ſucceſs attended a bill brought in, purſuant to a royal meſſage, for ſettling on General Hutchinſon, raiſed to the peerage by the title of Baron Hutchinſon of Alexandria, a penſion of 2000*l.* per annum, to be enjoyed by him and his two next heirs in ſucceſſion.

The conſtitutional defence of the realm in time of peace, by means of a militia alſo engaged the attention of government. The plan, which April 13. they had arranged, was opened to parliament by the ſecretary at war. In conſequence of the concluſion of the definitive treaty, he ſaid, we were now called upon to form our defenſive ſyſtem, and he agreed, that the beſt way to preſerve peace was by a wiſe mixture of conciliation and firmneſs. While we were anxious for the continuance of peace, it was no leſs our duty to put ourſelves into a complete poſture of defence. In doing this we had to conſider the acceſſion, not merely of territory, but of ſtrength, which our moſt powerful neighbour had acquired, as well as the grand principle of the French government, which was eſſentially military. There was thus impoſed on us the neceſſity of cultivating a military ſpirit, for we were to be viewed with the eyes of ſoldiers. We had, in the firſt place, to take care that our navy was kept on a footing which might afford us that protection, which it was ſo well fitted to beſtow. We had not merely to attend to a proper degree of economy, but it behoved us to ſee, not only that a ſufficient number of effective officers and men were retained, but that the neceſſary habits of diſcipline were preſerved. A ſimilar degree of caution was eſſential in regulating the ſtate of our army on a peace eſtabliſhment. In contemplating the ſtate of our army, there was great ground for ſatisfaction. Never, he was convinced, did we poſſeſs a greater number of brave and ſkilful officers, than had been bred up during the

courſe of the late war, and never at any former period, was the general ſtate of the army more favourable, either in point of diſcipline or of numbers. In forming the peace eſtabliſhment of the army, we could not, however, come to any final arrangement without having agreed upon a previous organization of our militia forces. With ſo much ſea coaſt as we had to defend, and taking into view the immenſe expence of a large regular army, putting all conſtitutional conſiderations out of the queſtion, the militia was to be looked to as a moſt important part of our defenſive eſtabliſhment. The plan he intended to ſubmit, contained no principle which was new, but was founded on the baſis of the former militia laws, with ſuch additions and amendments as ſubſequent experience had ſhewn to be neceſſary. The objects he had in view were three, the conſolidation of the exiſting laws, the augmentation of the preſent number of the militia, and the amendment of exiſting regulations. On the neceſſity of the conſolidation of the exiſting laws, it was ſuperfluous for him to take up the time of the Houſe. It was ſufficient for his purpoſe to ſtate, that ſince the 26th of the king, no leſs than eighteen acts had paſſed for regulating the militia forces in England, and five for thoſe of Scotland. In the American war, when an augmentation of the numbers of the militia was judged neceſſary, an act had paſſed for that purpoſe. In the late war, ſo early as the year 1794, an augmentation was thought expedient, but he did not recollect preciſely what was the amount of the increaſe. At a ſubſequent period, when the danger which threatened the country became more imminent, no leſs than ſixty thouſand additional militia forces were called out, forming altogether a body of ninety thouſand men, of which not leſs than eighty thouſand were actually embodied, armed and diſciplined. The effect of this ſyſtem was, however, unfavourable; it led to interference with the regular recruiting ſervice, at a time when ſupplies for the regular army were perhaps moſt wanted, and from the ſudden manner in which the men were to be raiſed, additional expence was incurred, while new means of fraud were preſented. When the defenſive ſyſtem was now therefore to be taken up, the neareſt adequate number ought to be aſcertained. From all the conſideration he had beſtowed on the inſular ſituation of Great Britain, and the numerous points that required to be defended, it appeared to him that, on the commencement of a war, we ought to be able to put not leſs than 100,000 men under arms. Of our militia forces, he thought that the number ſhould not be leſs than 70,000, and on this part of the ſubject he had great pleaſure in ſtating, that the northern part of the iſland would be willing to furniſh ten or twelve thouſand for their proportion. This could not fail to be heard with peculiar ſatisfaction, for though the northern part of the kingdom had furniſhed many hardy and excellent ſoldiers, it was only within a few years, that the ſyſtem of the militia eſtabliſhment had been introduced. Of the 70,000, according to this plan, 60,000 would be furniſhed by England, and

and the remaining 10,000 by Scotland. The next queſtion came to be, whether this number was to be raiſed at once, or only a part, veſting in his majeſty a power to ſummon the ſervices of the remainder in caſe of any ſudden emergency. In the event of a war, the advantage of raiſing them at one time was obvious; but, on the other hand, this plan, while it would, in the firſt inſtance, impoſe a very heavy burthen on the counties, would be attended with a very conſiderable expence. This expence, he was convinced, would not be leſs than 230,000*l.* a year; under this conſideration, it was the object of his plan, that inſtead of 60,000 only 40,000 ſhould, in the firſt inſtance, be raiſed, and that his majeſty ſhould have the power, by proclamation, of calling for the ſervices of the 20,000, when the ſituation of the country ſhould appear to render their ſervices neceſſary. In Scotland 9,000 might in the firſt inſtance be raiſed, leaving from three to four thouſand to be raiſed on any emergency which might occur. Such was to be the baſis of that part of the plan which regarded the augmentation. The amendments in the regulations were comprized under a variety of heads: they referred to the qualifications of the officers, to the quota to be furniſhed by the counties, to the mode of exerciſe and training, to the enrolment, to their organization, to the forming of the regimental ſtaff, and to embodying of the forces when raiſed. On each of theſe points he entered into ſufficient details. It was the opinion of ſome individuals, he obſerved, that the ſervices of the militia ſhould be extended to Ireland as thoſe of Ireland ought to be to this country. He was not inſenſible to the advantages of this arrangement, but, beſides that it would totally alter the terms of the miltia ſervice, it might be attended with inconvenience. Experience had already ſhewn that in caſes of emergency we might ſafely truſt the extenſion of their ſervices to the militia themſelves, and he was convinced, that, if ever the ſame neceſſity recurred, a ſimilar ſpirit would be diſplayed. With reſpect to ſubſtitutes, they were, as far as could be effected, to be of the ſame county as thoſe for whom they ſerved.

The plan thus clearly propoſed, was warmly applauded by Mr. Sheridan, who, however, expreſſed great diſapprobation of the method purſued during the laſt war, of drafting the privates from the militia into the regulars, and thus reducing the officers under whom they acquired diſcipline, to mere drill ſerjeants; and he propoſed ſome regulations for relief of perſons in various ſituations in the army and navy.

The bill introduced by the ſecretary at war May 20. paſſed the lower Houſe without any material objection; but in the Houſe of Lords it occaſioned a conſiderable diſcuſſion. May 26. Its principles having been explained by Lord Hobart, Earl Fitzwilliam expreſſed his diſapprobation of the propoſal ſo largely to augment the militia. In all circumſtances a requiſitionary army was an eſtabliſhment which, to a certain degree, trenched on the liberty of the ſubject, and was only to be juſtified by conſiderations of national good. It was, at all

times, an eſtabliſhment attended with a certain degree of jealouſy, and its numbers were never to be increaſed beyond what the emergencies of the caſe required. It was on this general, conſtitutional principle, that he objected to the propoſed augmentation of the militia; becauſe he ſaw no emergency to juſtify a meaſure which would be ſeverely felt by the people. From this general argument his lordſhip paſſed to another objection, drawn from the great inequality with which the bill operated. There was a very large proportion of the community, who, by their age, were exempted from ſervice, who, nevertheleſs, had as great an intereſt as any other citizen in every thing which the militia eſtabliſhment was intended to promote. There were many who, from their profeſſion, or their connexion with a particular order, were not liable to be balloted. There was a very numerous claſs of uſeful and induſtrious citizens, whoſe ſituations in life did not admit of their actual ſervice, while all the wealthy part of the public had ample means of purchaſing exemption. What was the conſequence? Subſtitutes were rendered eſſential, and the ſervice of the militia was converted into a levy on the poor. This was an annual tax on the lower orders of people from which the rich were generally exempt. The greateſt lord in this country paid no more towards raiſing the militia than the pooreſt farmer on his eſtate, nor did the richeſt merchant contribute more than the porter who carried out parcels from a ſhop. This was a ſyſtem of great inequality and injuſtice. The preſent bill went to increaſe it to a very great extent, and, for that reaſon, it ſhould meet with his oppoſition. He moved that the ſecond reading be poſtponed for three months.

Theſe arguments were enforced by the Earl of Caernarvon, who inſiſted that the ancient conſtitution of the militia was utterly changed by the predeceſſors of the preſent miniſters, while the bill before the Houſe tended to conſolidate all the miſchief that had been done. Its object was clearly, not to improve the ſyſtem of a conſtitutional militia, but to obtain a very great increaſe of men, at leſs expence of the public purſe, (whatever it may coſt individuals) under the name of militia, and to truſt to future contingencies for its converſion into an army. He treated the propoſed augmentation as impracticable, owing in a great degree, to the numerous exemptions, or at leaſt a ſource of oppreſſion and vexation to thoſe who muſt take the labour or bear the burthen. "The expence of the militia levy," he obſerved, "falls, as a tax, not with equal diſtribution on thoſe intereſted in the public defence, but with notorious inequality; all peers, all women, and minors (be they ever ſo rich), the whole body of clergy, the univerſities, the dock yards, the army and navy, for even theſe laſt ſhould not be exempted from any tax to levy a militia for the public ſervice, more than the militia from any taxes ſupplying the pay and levy of the army and navy; add to theſe exemptions the long liſt of volunteers to parade once a week at their own doors. All theſe exemptions reduce the numbers on whom the expence of finding ſubſtitutes excluſively falls, ſo that the burthen is felt moſt heavily; and this unequal burthen

burthen is now to be doubled, without a ſhadow of juſtice." In theſe ſentiments Lord Romney alſo concurred.

The bill was defended by the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Clifton, the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Pelham. Some of the arguments uſed againſt the augmentation of the militia, formed, it was ſaid, the ſtrongeſt reaſons that could be ſelected for agreeing to the meaſure. The menacing attitude of France rendered it peculiarly proper on the part of this country to augment her means of defence in the event of a ſudden renewal of the war. It was particularly incumbent on government to place the military peace eſtabliſhment upon an infinitely larger ſcale than at the cloſe of the American war. If the raiſing a militia was to be deemed an incroachment on the conſtitutional liberty of the ſubject, ſtill the raiſing a home force, commanded by men of property in the kingdom, was certainly preferable to the having a large ſtanding army in time of peace, and, as they were leſs ſubject to the influence of the crown, they were a more ſecure guard againſt any ſtretch of the prerogative of the king, and more likely to preſerve the freedom of the people, than any other ſpecies of military that could be propoſed. If hereafter the appearance of affairs ſhould change, and the neceſſity for ſo large a militia ſhould ceaſe, parliament would at any time have the power of withholding the ſupplies for ſuch a number as were to be ſanctioned by the preſent bill. The militia was certainly a deſirable conſtitutional force, and all men indiſcriminately, the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the low, were liable to be drawn for it, but as there were clubs, by which, on paying half a guinea, a poor man could have a ſubſtitute provided for him, he would be a gainer rather than a loſer, by being drawn.

The Houſe divided; in favour of the bill, 22; againſt it, 6.

In the committee ſeveral amendments were May 31. propoſed; ſome of them being carried, a conference between the two Houſes became neceſſary, and in conſequence the June 22. bill proceeded, and received the royal aſſent.

When the Engliſh militia bill was introduced to the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Foſter expreſſed great approbation of its ſalutary regulations, and hoped to ſee them extended to Ireland; he was aſſured that the matter had not eſcaped the attention of government; and acts were afterwards paſſed for fixing and regulating the militia, both in Ireland and Scotland, and one for enabling his majeſty to accept the ſervices of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps on certain terms. Thus it was conceived, a ſufficient and reſpectable force was provided for the internal ſecurity of the nation, even if there ſhould ariſe a ſudden neceſſity to engage again in hoſtilities.

The bleſſings of a plentiful ſeaſon permitted the attention of the legiſlature to be directed to many objects connected with the ſupply of neceſſaries. At the beginning of the ſeſſion, an act of the preceding year, which forbad bakers to expoſe bread to ſale until it had been manufactured four and twenty hours was repealed, and offenders againſt it were indemnified. Sir William Curtis brought in a bill for

for amending the regulations with reſpect to the aſſize of bread, but when he had purſued it with great diligence to a forward ſtage, it was found that the ſubject involved too many difficulties to be yet determined, and it was dropped. Some other meaſures relative to grain occaſioned numerous debates, and were the ſubjects of beneficial regulation. Among the principal of theſe were the reſumption of diſtilling from wheat and barley in Great Britain and Ireland; the importation of ſtarch and manufacture of it from other ſubſtances beſide wheat, as rice and potatoes, the importation of grain, and the regulation of that article between Great Britain and Ireland. Beſides theſe the attention of parliament was directed to ſeveral other articles of ſubſiſtence and comfort, as various kinds of freſh and ſalt water fiſh and coals; and in all the proceedings of the legiſlature, a proper diſpoſition was ſhewn to prevent, as far as human ſagacity can prevent, the return of that viſitation which for two years had ſo grievouſly afflicted the country, or at leaſt to mitigate its effects. It may be mentioned in connexion with this ſubject, (for no legiſlator can deviſe means for the ſubſiſtence of a people whoſe numbers are undefined) that a moſt inſtructive and important document, prepared in purſuance of an act of the laſt ſeſſion was laid on the table of the Houſe of Commons, and ordered to be printed. It was a copious and well-digeſted view of the population of Great Britain, not perfect indeed, but as nearly ſo as circumſtances would permit, and more ſo than rational expectation could have hoped. It formed an excellent baſis of local and ſtatiſtical knowledge, and proved the progreſſive advancement of the kingdom in wealth and ſtrength, ſo far as can be judged from their beſt evidence, and ſureſt foundations, men and their dwellings.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, ſeveral meaſures were attempted and carried into effect for the general relief and comfort of the poor; for improvement of morals, and for rewarding thoſe who had made uſeful diſcoveries. A bill was brought in by Mr. Newbolt to explain and amend ſo much of ſtatute eight and nine William III. c. 30, as enables churchwardens and overſeers to impoſe a badge on certain of the poor to whom they give relief, and denounce a penalty againſt them if they continue ſuch relief to paupers who have not worn the badge. The bill occaſioned ſeveral debates, and underwent many amendments, but its principles being highly approved by the leading members of the Houſe of Commons, it paſſed, and was tranſmitted to the Lords. In the upper Houſe it was read twice, and ordered to be committed, but afterward no further progreſs was made. Some other acts were however paſſed for the comfort and relief of the poor, applying particularly to thoſe who are bound apprentices. Some attempts were alſo made to relieve inſolvent debtors, both by a temporary act, and by a permanent alteration in the law relating to debtor and creditor, but, although much diſcuſſed, neither meaſure was carried into effect.

Under the notion of improving the morals of the people, by prohibiting a practice which he termed barbarous and inhuman, Mr. Dent gave

gave notice before the Chriſtmas receſs, that he ſhould renew a bill, which in a former ſeſſion he had loſt only by a majority of one vote; a bill for preventing bull-baiting. While this bill was pending, petitions in its favour were preſented from three places; Wolverhampton, and Walſal in Staffordſhire, and from the town of Coventry. Conſidering the ſmall importance of this matter in compariſon with the momentous concerns already deſcribed as having engaged the attention of the legiſlature, it might ſuffice to ſtate in general terms, the fate of the bill, but the wit and ingenuity diſplayed in the debate on a motion for the ſecond reading, would render it inexcuſable to withhold ſome account of that celebrated and intereſting diſcuſſion.

May 29. Mr. Dent having moved the order of the day, Sir Richard Hill, in riſing to ſecond the motion, profeſſed himſelf the advocate of a race of poor friendleſs beings, who cannot ſpeak for themſelves. If the voice of common ſenſe, common humanity, and uncommon diſtreſs and miſery, could not be heard, all he could ſay would be of no avail. The baronet, inſtead of detailing his own opinions, propoſed to ſtate ſome facts taken from different provincial newſpapers, which, he hoped, would prove the means of ſetting forth the ſavage and barbarous cuſtom of bull-baiting in its true light. He began with one from the Bury paper, mentioning the ſhocking cruelties which had been inflicted on a poor animal, in order to make him furious enough to afford diverſion, as it was called, to his brutal tormentors; but the tortured creature ſoon becoming what was thought too outrageous, he was entangled with ropes, his hoofs cut off, and baited again, whilſt he feebly ſuſtained and defended himſelf on his ſtumps. He then cited the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale and King Solomon againſt cruelty to brutes, and read and referred to letters from clergymen againſt the practice. He had alſo many petitions to have preſented in favour of the bill, but they happened to be informally drawn, being addreſſed to the Britiſh inſtead of the imperial parliament. Indeed he thought ſuch petitions, if altered, would only have been an inſult to the Houſe of Commons, conſtituted as it now is by ſuch an acquiſition of abilities, good ſenſe, and virtue, from our ſiſter kingdom, in which he was happy to hear, that an act had paſſed, without one diſſentient voice, for the intire abolition of bull-baiting; and as the Iriſh gentlemen had been ſo favourable to their own *bulls*, he was ſure they would not be leſs indulgent to ours. The ladies too, he obſerved, were friendly to the bill, and the amiable ſex were ſurely, on all occaſions, friendly to humanity. There might, indeed, be ſome exceptions even among the females; but where ſhould we find them? Perhaps ſtaggering out of a gin-ſhop in St. Giles's: perhaps ſitting over an oyſter tub, or riding in a cinder cart, but it could not ſtrictly be ſaid of any one of theſe ladies, "Grace is in all her ſteps. Heaven in her eye, in all her geſtures dignity and love." Having thus diſpoſed of the ladies, Sir Richard mentioned the caſe of Balaam's aſs, who, by divine permiſſion, had been enabled to reproach the cruelty of his owner; read ſome paſſages from a ſermon

ſermon by Mr. Leigh Richmond, and apologized for any expreſſions in his ſpeech which might ſeem ludicrous; the bill before the Houſe having been truly deſcribed as, at once, the moſt ſerious and moſt ludicrous buſineſs that ever engaged attention.

Mr. Windham obſerved that the evil complained of was not one which had grown with our growth, or ſtrengthened with our ſtrength. It was one which, from year to year, had been gradually decaying, and which, without any legiſlative interference, ſeemed faſt approaching to diſſolution. Decreaſing as the practice was, all over the country, he could not but think the diſcuſſion of paltry local complaints wholly unworthy the legiſlature of a great nation. No law could be deſirable which would be attended with no national advantage, and this advantage ought to be well weighed before a legiſlative enactment was required. A law, in all caſes, neceſſarily involved a certain degree of reſtraint; and it was alſo to be taken into the account, that it could not be carried into effect without veſting in thoſe who were to enforce its proviſions, a conſiderable degree of diſcretion. If ſuch a law as that now called for, were to be paſſed, it could not act by a ſilent operation, but would be enforced by thoſe who principally exerted themſelves for the obſervance of the game laws, and who, in enforcing its proviſions, could not poſſibly eſcape a large ſhare of public odium. To procure the diſcuſſion of ſuch ſubjects, it was neceſſary to reſort to canvaſs and intrigue. Members, whoſe attendance was induced by local conſiderations, in moſt caſes of this deſcription, were preſent; the diſcuſſion, if any took place, was managed by the friends of the meaſure, and the deciſion of the Houſe was, perhaps, ultimately a matter of mere chance. On this general principle, then, he was diſpoſed to oppoſe the diſcuſſion of the ſubject as totally unworthy of the dignity of the Houſe. But he had, in the next place, to object to the manner in which the ſubject of bull-baiting had been conſidered. Its effects had been defined, not from a general view of the ſubject, but from a few inſolated examples. The friends of the bill took a view of the practice complained of, merely as exhibited on a minute ſcale, and from them conſequences were drawn. They put the bull and the dog, as exhibited in a few inſtances, into the eye of their microſcope, and through this confined medium they deſired the Houſe to contemplate the general practice. The cruelties alone were held up to obſervation, and every thing elſe was kept out of view. But if this mode of conſidering the ſubject was to be adopted, he ſaw no reaſon why all other ſports ſhould not be contemplated in a ſimilar manner. If the cruelty of bull-baiting was thus to be held up to the attention of the Houſe in ſuch glaring colours, why were not hunting, ſhooting, fiſhing, and all other amuſements of a ſimilar deſcription, to be judged of by ſimilar principles. If the effects of the one were to be viewed through the medium of a microſcope, why were not the conſequences of the other to be ſcrutinized with equal ſeverity? Such attacks as the preſent on the amuſements of the people ſtruck him in no other light than as a firſt ſtep to a reform of the manners

ners of the lower orders. Thoſe who, when young men had formed projects for the reformation of parliament, finding themſelves diſappointed, now formed the deſign of reforming the manners of the people. In their deſires to accompliſh this object there were two great parties united, the Jacobins and the Methodiſts, though the objects they had in view by this change were eſſentially different. This was a deſign which he ſhould ever think it his duty ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe. For though he wiſhed that the people might become more virtuous, more attentive to the duties of religion, better fathers, better huſbands, better children, he could never agree that, for this purpoſe, their ſocial habits ſhould be changed; that they ſhould prove more auſtere, more unſociable, and more ſelf-conceited than they now were. In this work, indeed, the two parties mutually over-reached each other. The party of the Methodiſts invited the people to read, and, in the firſt inſtance, they might peruſe a few jacobinical productions that they might read with greater advantage their fanatical productions at a future period. In the ſame way the Jacobins wiſhed to divert the people from every ſocial purſuit; reading they ſtrenuouſly recommended, and though a few methodiſtical books were, in the firſt inſtance, not wholly proſcribed, they were allowed only to fit the mind for the reception of their poiſonous tenets. Out of the whole number of the diſaffected, he queſtioned if a ſingle bull-baiter could be found, or if a ſingle ſportſman had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the correſponding ſociety. The hunting for which they reſerved themſelves was of a noble kind; they diſdained the low purſuits of ordinary ſportſmen, the game againſt which their efforts were directed was of no leſs a quality than kings. In proof of theſe remarks Mr. Windham noticed Mr. Capel Lofft's preface to Bloomfield's poem of the "Farmer's Boy," in which it is mentioned, that the poet was in the habit of ſpending his time in reading in his garret, or attending a debating ſociety, which the editor recommends, as a much more worthy mode of employing himſelf, than if he had been occupied with gambling, drinking, or fighting. He paid ſome very handſome compliments to the originality of many of the thoughts of this poet, to his natural ſimplicity, and unaffected elegance of language; but cenſured the attempt of the editor to encourage ideas of literary profit or renown in thoſe who had been bred to a uſeful trade. In particular inſtances it might not be prejudicial, but to inculcate ſuch notions as thoſe contained in the paſſage to which he had referred, could tend only to a miſchievous purpoſe. He alſo noticed a ſermon in which the cruelty of bull-baiting is deſcribed in very ſtrong terms, and the man who would encourage the practice is repreſented as a perſon who would not heſitate to ſheathe a blade in the bowels of his fellow-creatures. That the practice of ſports, even when they were of a cruel kind, tended to render mankind cruel, he denied, and he founded his aſſertion on the hiſtory of all ages and countries. The moſt elegant ſcholars, and the fineſt poets in ancient or modern times, were loud in the praiſes of many of thoſe ſports which, with equal juſtice,

tice, might be called cruel, as that which had been so loudly condemned. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, that which is despised and reprobated as the amusement only of the lowest of the people, was an amusement courted by all ranks. Since that period bull-baiting had declined, and hunting had usurped its room. The one had become the favourite amusement of the great, and the other had sunk in dignity till it was, in a great measure, annihilated, and yet it was at such a moment as this that the House was called upon, and urged to put it down by a legislative enactment. But the riots and confusion which the practice of bull-baiting occasioned were urged as another reason for the necessity of the interference of the legislature. This was a favourite argument on a former occasion, with an honourable friend of his (Mr. Wilberforce) member for Yorkshire. In this instance the conduct of his honourable friend put him in mind of the story of the butcher who ran about seeking his knife while it was in his teeth; for he was searching every quarter in quest of objects of reform, while those in his own neighbourhood were totally overlooked! When he condemned the excesses to which bull-baiting gave rise, had he forgotten all the confusion and riot which horse-racing produced? To horse-racing he was himself personally no more an enemy than he was to boxing, though in making this observation he was far from meaning to disparage boxing so far, as to put them on an equal footing, or to insinuate that so poor, mean, wretched an amusement as the one, was at all to vie in importance with the other, which was connected with ideas of personal merit, and individual dignity. But, in point of fact, he was confident, that as to any effect on the morals of the people, the influence of horse-racing was infinitely more pernicious than any which bull-baiting could produce. What, he desired the House to consider, did a horse-race consist of? What was the description of persons whom it encouraged to assemble? They consisted of all the riff raff from every part of the country. There were to be seen collected all the black legs of the metropolis, the markers at billiard tables, apprentices who had embezzled the property of their masters, and who are afterwards obliged to resort to gaming to cover their fraud, gingerbread venders, strolling gamblers, in a word infamous characters of every description. Such was the mass of individuals whom horse-racing assembled. Now what was the object which such an amusement had in view? He confessed himself unable to view it in any other light than as a species of gambling. It did not seem to him to give exercise to one generous feeling. He returned to the inexpediency of abridging the amusements of the lower orders at the present moment. There was a very numerous class of pleasures from which their circumstances in life excluded them. To the pleasures of intellect, that source of the purest delights of humanity, their situation denied them access. To the accommodations of social life, so far as a change of situation and place was concerned, they were strangers. The rich had their feasts, their assemblies, their parties of pleasure, their *pic nics*, every thing

in short which could afford them gratification. From amusements of this kind the lower orders were excluded by their poverty. But there was another class of pleasure from which they were in a great measure excluded by the rigour of the law. The authority of he magistrate was often interposed to counteract even their harmless pleasures. To dance at all out of season, was to draw on on their heads the rigour of unrelenting justice. The great might gratify themselves in a thousand different ways, and the magistrate did not conceive it within his sphere to interrupt their amusements. But it was known, that an organ did not sound more harshly in the ears of a puritan, than did the notes of a fiddle in those of a magistrate, when he himself was not of the party. At a moment like the present to heap up restraints on the amusements of the lower orders was contrary to every dictate of expediency and of policy. It was to force them to take refuge in an alehouse or the tabernacle, both destructive of their best habits. As to the cruelty of the practice; a true game bull, to use the sporting language of bull-baiters, took his post with composure, faced his enemies with courage, and even seemed to take pleasure in the contest. This practice in many parts of the country, had been bequeathed as a legacy of hostility to puritanical principles, and it had answered the end proposed. Attachment to bull-baiting had been the bond of enmity to fanaticism, nor had it encouraged any principles inconsistent with loyalty. He ridiculed in a fine strain of humour the manner in which he supposed many petitions against the practice had originated. He drew a picture of a lady of the chief of a corporation relating to her dear, the cruelties of bull-baiting; beseeching him to convene the common council to take steps against so odious a practice, and calling on him to request the member for the borough to support their petition in parliament. To refute the pretence that the practice made men more than usually savage, he referred to the state of the counties in which it is most prevalent, and shewed that they afforded the best men in our army. To the regiment of Stafford militia, bull dogs were attached, and the men had most probably seen bulls baited; yet were they distinguished by their excellent conduct, and that they were not uncommonly barbarous it was sufficient to mention that they had been selected to attend on the person of the sovereign.

Mr. Courtenay made some facetious remarks on the leading topics adduced by Mr. Windham; complimented him on having proved that every amiable virtue of the people, all those noble feelings, which were the support of the church and the state, had their origin in bull-baiting; on having shewn the union between jacobinism and methodism to put down the practice; that reform had been prevented, and the constitution preserved by bull-baiting; and that the best soldiers were found in those quarters where this practice most prevailed. The liking of the sport, which the bull was said to entertain, Mr. Courtenay humorously accounted for, on Mr. Locke's principle of the association of ideas, and considered the notion of a microscopic inspection of vulgar sports, as a plagiarism from the account given

given by Gulliver of the diſguſt, with which he viewed the Brobdignag beauty. Good God, he exclaimed, were this preliminary treaty of peace ſigned between the dogs and the bulls, to be ſanctioned by the Houſe, the conſtitution would be totally ruined. Now that there was no war on the continent, no longer any bloody battles by ſea or land, what would exminiſters do to amuſe themſelves, were it not for bull-baiting? If this abominable bill ſhould, in ſpite of all oppoſition paſs, he hoped, at leaſt, a clauſe would be introduced, ſetting apart ſome ſacred ſpot in Norfolk or Buckinghamſhire, for perpetuating a practice ſo beneficial, and which young ſtudents might attend as a lyceum. Bull-baiting was anciently a royal ſport, and ſo was lion-baiting. James I. baited a lion with three bull-dogs, in the Tower. This lion-baiting was ſo much of a royal ſport that perhaps, no king ever diſliked it, except Henry VII. He indeed ſeemed to conſider, that there was ſomething like jacobiniſm in the amuſement, and could not brook that a dirty bull-dog ſhould attack the king of beaſts. There was another very important circumſtance, which ought not to be overlooked. Theſe bull-dogs were diſtinguiſhed by a gruff, ſurly aſpect, expreſſive of the very character of John Bull himſelf. What would become of us were the breed to be loſt?

"Butchers would weep who never wept before."

So great was the value put upon bull-dogs by our anceſtors, that Norwich was made a corporation by Richard III. on the condition of preſenting three of theſe animals to the king. This was probably ſtill in the charter. The qualities of the bull-dog were celebrated by Ælian, Appian, and Claudian. Grotius makes an euloğium on the Engliſh bull-dogs:—

——Atque ipſos libeat penetrare Britannos!
O quanta eſt merces et quantum impendia ſupra!
Si non ad ſpeciem mentitureſque decores,
Protinus: hæc una eſt catulis jactura Britannis, &c.

Thus his honourable friend had more than one claſſical authority for his admiration of the bull-dog. Now if the Lyceum he had ſuggeſted ſhould be eſtabliſhed, might not, for the ſake of improving the ſport, a Corſican bull be procured, which, no offence to the firſt conſul, might be very properly named Bonaparte? The enemies of the peace would then find ſome very pretty amuſement in baiting this bull, and in imitation of the Spaniſh bull fighters might aſſume titles for the occaſion. For inſtance, one might call himſelf *Don Plumboſa Lumbago, the knight of the leaden Spear.* Another might call himſelf the *knight of the ſorrowful countenance*; a third, the *knight of the gilded helmet*, and ſo on. He could not withhold his ſupport from a practice which was the chief ſupport of our glorious conſtitution.

Colonel Groſvenor and General Gaſcoyne oppoſed the bill; the former as unworthy the attention of the Houſe; the latter becauſe the practice increaſed population, and favoured recruiting.

Mr. Wilberforce objected to the levity with which the ſubject had been treated. Every argument

employed

employed to defend the practice had been merely palliative. Mere opinions had been ſtated to prove that it was nowiſe hurtful to morality; but for his own part, he thought it foſtered every bad and barbarous principle of our nature. No one who had inquired diligently into the ſubject, could defend a practice which could be proved to degrade human nature to a level with the moſt ferocious brutes. His evidence was derived from reſpectable magiſtrates, and other teſtimony, into the validity of which he had minutely inquired, and found it unexceptionable. From ſuch evidence he had derived a variety of facts, which were too long and almoſt too horrid to detail to the Houſe. A bull, that honeſt, harmleſs, uſeful animal, was forcibly tied to a ſtake, and a number of bull dogs ſet upon him. If his natural want of ferocity prevented him from being ſufficiently rouſed by the pain of their attacks, the moſt barbarous expedients were fallen upon to awake in him that fury which was neceſſary to the amuſement of the inhuman ſpectators. One inſtance he could ſtate from the beſt authority: a bull had been bought for the ſole purpoſe of being baited; but upon being fixed to the ſtake, he was found of ſo mild a nature, that all the attacks of the dogs were found inſufficient to excite him to the requiſite degree of fury; upon which thoſe who had bought him, refuſed to pay the price to the original owner, unleſs he could be made to ſerve this purpoſe. The owner, after numberleſs expedients, at laſt ſawed off his horns, and poured into them a poignant ſort of liquid, that quickly excited the animal, to the wiſhed for degree of fury. This was not the moſt ſavage expedient, that had often been practiſed. When the bulls were bought merely for the purpoſe of being baited, the people who bought them, wiſhed to have as much diverſion (if diverſion ſuch cruelty could be called) as poſſible for their money. The conſequence was, that every art, even fire had been employed to rouſe the exhauſted animal to freſh exertions, till there were inſtances where he had expired in protracted agonies amidſt the flames. It had been ſaid, that it would be wrong to deprive the lower orders of their amuſements; of the only cordial drop of life which ſupports them under their complicated burthens. "Wretched indeed," ſaid Mr. Wilberforce, "muſt be the condition of the common people of England, if we ſuppoſe that their whole happineſs conſiſts in the practice of ſuch barbarity. It was by no means proper to place the diverſions of ſhooting and horſe racing, on a footing with bull-baiting. Shooting affords exerciſe to the body, and the birds who fall by it are ſubject to no pain beyond immediate privation of life. In horſe-racing, two generous animals, without almoſt any compulſion, exert their ſpeed againſt each other, and return from the courſe with ſmall abatement of ſpirits or vigour. But bull-baiting not only excites the natural paſſions of the animal, for the amuſement of the ſpectators, but alſo ſubjects it to the moſt inhuman cruelties, till it ſinks under the preſſure of its complicated miſeries."

Mr. W. Smith ſpoke with much aſperity

asperity of Mr. Windham, and both he and Mr. Newbolt were decidedly in favour of the bill.

Mr. Frankland was against it, and vindicated bull-baiting, by comparing it with other sports. In some points of view, horse-racing might be termed cruel; there was not a year in which numbers were not killed in that sport; but as horses were a lively and spirited animal, he was inclined to think the amusement in no sense a cruel one. So might it be said of that most magnificent of all sports of the field, stag-hunting; the animal, in that case, was fed and pampered previous to the chace, not with a reference to its future torture, but that it might yield the greater sport, the animal often, necessarily, lost his life in the chace; its heart was what was called broken: did gentlemen think such a process could take place without great agony? The hounds often fastened on his cheft, and tore him to pieces: and yet, such a practice intirely escaped the humanity of the legislature. This was not all, the practice was even regulated by legislative provisions, by the operation of some parts of the game laws. With respect to the various petitions which had been presented, many of those he had seen were verbatim the same, and there appeared to him a great similarity in the rest; and among the signatures, was a profusion of Mollys and Jennies. How these, whom the honourable Baronet called the angel part of the species, came so to interest themselves, he could not tell, but he hoped no persons had so unmanned, or so unsexed themselves as to assume those characters. The penalties held forth by the bill, were too rigorous. All that could favourably be said of them was, that the punishment was not capital; indefinite fine, and imprisonment, however, were provided. The first time the legislature interfered with the sports of the country, was in the days of Henry VIII. in consequence of which the people addicted themselves to sedentary and unmanly pursuits, which in after times, the legislature thought it proper to decry. So would it be in the present instance, the liberal and rational sports chuck-farthing and turnpenny would be adopted, and to these the people would be advised to give their days and nights.

Mr. Sheridan animadverted on the last and some preceding speeches, and with respect to that of Mr. Windham, expressed surprize, that if he thought the subject so low, so trifling, as to be utterly unworthy of the interference of the legislature, he should have deemed it necessary to oppose the bill in a very long and elaborate speech, a speech which, in his mind, had rather been prepared for the occasion: in more points than one of it, the lamp was to be smelt. It was rather extraordinary, that though the right honourable gentleman denied the subject to be of importance, yet he considered the measure to proceed from the combined effects of jacobinism and methodism, to overthrow the constitution of the country; and another gentleman seemed to be of opinion, that if the lower orders of the people were not indulged in the joyous and jovial practice of bull-baiting, the constitution must eventually be over-

overturned. Another point reſpected the amuſements of theſe claſſes. With reſpect to theſe, nothing could give him greater pleaſure, than that they could be effectually reviſed and reduced to a ſalutary ſyſtem, founded on juſt and rational principles. To the argument, that if this cuſtom was ſuppreſſed, we ſhould not know where to ſtop, and that the amuſements of hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing, would become the next objects of ſuppreſſion; he could ſhortly anſwer, that theſe amuſements had no more analogy to the barbarous practice in queſtion, than any thing the moſt oppoſite in their natures could have. But it was ſaid, the object was, not to torture the animal, that cruelty was not inflicted for the ſake of cruelty: where was the difference in the effect; or in the tortures of the wretched animal, when the cruelty proceeded only from ſport? He could conceive different ſources of paſſion, from which cruelty might ariſe, as wrath, malice, fear, cowardice, and worſe than theſe was it when proceeding from beaſtly appetite, from the effect of gluttony; but certainly worſe than any, or than all put together, was the nature of inflicting cruelty merely for ſport. What had been ſaid of our deriving uſeful inſtructions from animals, was in a great degree well founded; but then it muſt be from animals in a free ſtate of nature; in circumſtances wherein, as the poet happily expreſſes it, you may

"Learn from the little Nautilus to ſail:"

but not from animals in a ſtate of coercion or torture. He expatiated with great feeling, animation and effect, on the cuſtom of bull-baiting, as not only producing the moſt inconceivable tortures to the wretched animal, and often to the inſtruments of his torment, but tending to deaden the feelings of humanity in, and to brutalize the minds of the beholders, and at ſuch fights women and children were often preſent: of this he ſtated ſome facts in illuſtration; among others, that of a brutal bull-baiter, who poſſeſſing an old bull bitch, that lately had a large litter of puppies, was willing to ſhew the ſtaunchneſs of her blood, and the extent of her proweſs: he ſet the bitch at a bull, ſhe pinned, and faſtened on him, and in that ſituation, he literally cut her to pieces, the animal ſtill keeping her hold. He then ſold the puppies for five guineas a piece; after this he took out his knife, and in climax of brutality, cut the bitch's throat. Theſe facts ſhewed the diabolical and malignant ſpirit with which ſuch ſports were conducted, and encouraging thoſe, inſtead of making a people manly and generous, would, by inuring them to acts of cruelty, render them baſe, and fit to ſubmit to the yoke of tyranny, and to bow to a vigour beyond the law. To encourage them in ſuch acts of barbariſm, would alſo render the people barbarous and tyrannical in their turn, it would teach them to oppreſs the weak, by rioting in the blood and tortures of dumb and unoffending animals, and on all occaſions, as a ſure reſult, to bow the neck to the yoke of power. Such practices ſurely called for the interference of the legiſlature; they degraded the national character, as well as

brutalized the people, and had incontrovertibly extended to the length of *contra bonus mores*. Thoſe bold and bare-faced practices, which exhibit their ſanguinary details to the eye of day, ſhould certainly be put down. It was a queſtion, whether the exiſting laws might not be ſufficient to remedy the evil, by the interference of the magiſtrates; however that might be, the old law ſeemed to be worn out; its teeth could not be fixed upon the evil; it was the object of the preſent bill to remedy this defect, and to render the law efficacious.

Mr. Dent replied, and on a diviſion, the bill was loſt.

With greater unanimity of intention, though with ſome difference of opinion with reſpect to amount, parliament concurred in voting a remuneration to Dr. Jenner, for his diſcovery of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to eradicate that deſtructive diſorder, the ſmall-pox.

March 17. Admiral Berkeley introduced the petition with his majeſty's recommendation, and Mr. Wilberforce expreſſed his hope that the diſcovery would check the progreſs or mitigate the effects of the ſmall-pox, to which, in the metropolis alone, 4000 perſons were annually victims. The petition having been referred to a committee, and their report printed, Admiral Berkeley moved

June 2. that 10,000*l.* ſhould be given to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable diſcovery of the ſyſtem of vaccine inoculation. Mr. Bankes alone objected to a remuneration being given, inſiſting that as guardians of the public purſe, the Houſe ought not ſo to diſpoſe of the public money. Dr. Jenner had the means of remunerating himſelf, and if it was to be once contended, that every diſcovery of public utility ought to be remunerated by the Houſe, the public purſe would not be large enough to ſatisfy all the claimants. This opinion made no impreſſion; the only difference which aroſe was between thoſe who maintained that 20,000*l.* or at leaſt 15,000*l.* ought to be voted, and thoſe who were for conforming to the original propoſition. The ſmaller ſum was fixed on, by a majority of three only, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer by a ſubſequent vote, added 500*l.* to defray the fees of the Houſe, ſo that the whole ſum might be received by Dr. Jenner, without defalcation.

On the motion of Mr. Burdon, after a petition June 2. had been preſented, and a report made, a reward of 1200*l.* was voted to Mr. Greathead, for the invention of the life boat, by which it was ſaid, the lives of 500 ſeamen were ſaved in one year. Another ſum of June 24. 5000*l.* on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, was voted to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his labour and attention in the diſcovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progreſs of contagious diſorders, a proceſs which had been introduced with the moſt beneficial effect, into the army, the navy, and their reſpective hoſpitals.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, ſome relief was afforded to ſufferers in various parts of the Weſt Indies, and particularly thoſe who had ſuſtained loſſes by the evacuation

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June 27. of Saint Domingo. On the ſubject of the cultivation of Trinidad, Mr. Canning, after a long ſpeech on the immenſe importation of ſlaves from Africa, which the poſſeſſion of that iſland muſt require, if it were to be all cultivated, and on the neceſſity of aboliſhing that traffic, moved an addreſs to the king requeſting that he would not authorize any grants or ſales of new lands in the iſland of Trinidad, without expreſs condition (under penalty of forfeiture, and making void ſuch grants or ſales) that no negro to be henceforth imported from Africa, ſhould be employed upon the ſaid lands, until opportunity ſhould have been afforded to parliament, to make ſuch proviſion as the circumſtances of the caſe might be found to require, for the protection, limitation, or regulation of the importation of negroes from Africa into the ſaid iſland, and for ſome other objects. This motion, however, he withdrew, on an aſſurance from the Chancellor of Exchequer, that the ſubject would be taken up early in the next ſeſſion, and that in the mean time no lands would be granted.

Several meaſures were adopted for the regulation of foreign commerce; but it was found expedient only to relax, and not intirely to abrogate the law made in 1793, reſpecting the removal of aliens from this country.

The attention of the legiſlature was alſo directed to ſeveral matters connected with elections in both parts of the united kingdom. The law reſpecting the peers of Ireland, the mode of ſupplying their places in parliament, their rights of voting, and their privileges, were after ſeveral debates, explained and ſettled. A bill for amending the ſtatute of William III. commonly called the treating act, was loſt in the Houſe of Lords; but an act was paſſed for improving that commonly called the Grenville act; calculated to expedite the proceedings.

From theſe circumſtances, as well as the period of its duration, it was generally believed, that parliament would be ſpeedily diſſolved. This intention was fully announced in June 28. the king's ſpeech from the throne, in cloſing the ſeſſion. He ſaid, "as I think it expedient that the election of a new parliament ſhould take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for diſſolving the preſent, and for calling a new parliament. In communicating to you this intention, I cannot ſuppreſs thoſe ſentiments of intire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, ſince I firſt met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our ſituation required the utmoſt efforts of that wiſdom and fortitude which you ſo eminently diſplayed in contending with them, and by which they have been ſo happily ſurmounted. From your judicious and ſalutary meaſures during the laſt year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the ſevereſt diſpenſations of providence. And it was by the ſpirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to proſecute

with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged. The same sense of public duty, the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace. My endeavours will never be wanting to preserve the blessings by which we are so eminently distinguished, and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects, are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart."

On the following day, June 29. a proclamation was issued accordingly, and the parliament was dissolved.

CHAP. XVII.

Speculations on the State of Saint Domingo, and the French expedition; Progress and arrival of the squadrons; state of Guadaloupe and Saint Domingo; Toussaint professes friendly intentions; not credited; distribution of the fleet and Army at Saint Domingo; a frigate sent in fired at; message sent by the black General Christophe, Answer of Le Clerc; Bonaparte's proclamation; his letter to Toussaint; use made of Toussaint's children; Christophe prevents the proclamation from being published; Cesar Telemaque and other friends of the French go on board the fleet; they return and publish the proclamation; Le Clerc disembarks at Limbé; a landing also effected at Mancenille; the negroes burn the town of Cape François; Le Clerc forms a new municipality; the French troops well received at the town of Santo Domingo; the French resisted at Port-au-Prince; but gain possession of the town, and of Port-de-Paix; defection of Clervaux, a negro chief; many people of colour join Le Clerc. Views and hopes of Toussaint; his interview with his children; he refuses to submit. Angry proclamation of Le Clerc, putting Toussaint and Christophe out of the protection of the law. Force and description of Toussaint's troops. Le Clerc receives supplies of men and money from the Spaniards. His application to the British Admiral at Jamaica; Answer. Measures taken to prevent the negroes from obtaining supplies from America. Proceedings of the French army; difficulties attending their first movements; they negotiate with the negroes; defection of Dumesnel, and of La Plume; distress of Toussaint; battle of the Ravine-à-Couleuvre; defection of General Maurepas; La Plume publishes a letter written by Toussaint. Le Clerc removes to Port-au-Prince; siege of La Crête à Pierrot; it is taken after a long resistance. Injudicious Proclamation of Le Clerc. Toussaint makes an incursion into the northern province; commits great devastation, and retires. Conduct of Rigaud, a mulatto chief; he is sent prisoner to France. Confidence of Le Clerc; he issues a new proclamation; which produces a great defection of the followers of Toussaint; Christophe negotiates, and obtains a pardon; Toussaint also surrenders, and is banished to an estate of his own at Gonaives. Le Clerc goes to Tortuga for his health;

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he iſſues frivolous and oppreſſive orders; his proceedings injurious to liberty and commerce; many diſſatisfied; Touſſaint ſeized, and ſent priſoner to France; many of his friends executed; he arrives in France and is cloſely impriſoned, in a place ſeparate from his family; an intention profeſſed to bring him to trial; no documents tranſmitted; Le Clerc eſtabliſhes military law; general diſſatisfaction; prevalence of diſeaſe. Tranſactions in Guadaloupe. A party of inſurgents headed by a mulatto named Pelage; they ſeize and baniſh the French governor La Croſſe; he is landed at Dominica, and iſſues a proclamation; proceedings of the mulattoes; they maſſacre the whites; arrival of the French expedition; the command of the troops in Guadaloupe given to General Richepanſe; they diſembark, and are joyfully received; Pelage promiſes the ſubmiſſion of the whole iſland; but Ignace, another coloured general, refuſes to ſubmit; Richepanſe reimbarks his troops, and goes to Baſſeterre; his landing oppoſed; he defeats the negroes at the river Des Peres; takes Fort Charles; the negroes purſued by Generals Joubert and Gobert, and conſtantly defeated; attack on the Parc and Matoubas, which are taken, and the negroes there deſtroyed; the reſidue offer to ſurrender on terms, which are refuſed; the negroes reduced to ſubmiſſion. Obſervations; death of Richepanſe; further obſervations; France re-eſtabliſhes the Slave-trade. State of the Britiſh iſlands; black troops; inſurrection in Tobago; ſuppreſſed by General Carmichael. Mutiny of a black regiment in Dominica; Colonel Cochrane Johnſtone marches againſt them; they reſiſt; but are quickly ſubdued. Succours ſent to Jamaica; application of the lieutenant-governor to the legiſlature of the iſland to pay 5000 troops; refuſed by the aſſembly; the governor requires a diſcretionary power with reſpect to the barrack department, which is refuſed. Obſervations. Affairs of Sierra Leone. Retroſpective view of the Colony; ſettlers from Nova Scotia introduced; misfortunes of the ſettlement; exertions of the coloniſts; they ſend an expedition to the interior; eſtabliſh a factory; are obliged to contract their operations; bad conduct of the Nova Scotia negroes; ſtate of their affairs in 1798; inſurrection of the people from Nova Scotia; the colony reinforced; aids granted by Parliament; the Maroons from Jamaica received at Sierra Leone; they aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection of the Nova Scotians; ſome of whom inſtigate the natives to attack the Colony; they are repulſed; ſecond attack, alſo defeated. Application to Parliament for relief; ten thouſand pounds granted.

THE expedition fitted out in France to reduce to ſubjection the people of colour in Saint Domingo, was regarded with great intereſt and anxiety, not in France alone, but alſo in England. As hope or fear directed, ſpeculation aſſumed a different aſpect. Some were of opinion that the ſucceſs of the French in their attempt, muſt be eminently prejudicial to the commercial intereſts of Great Britain, by giving to that overgrown power the enormous acceſſion of ſuch a valuable iſland, not divided as formerly with the Spaniards, and the portion of the iſland ceded by them, not being injured by the exceſſes of the liberated negroes. Many who

reaſoned in this manner, conſidered the French armament far too large for its pretended purpoſe, and ſurmiſed the moſt treacherous views againſt the Engliſh colonies. Even if Touſſaint and his whole force were to unite in reſiſtance, it was ſaid, their efforts would be vain againſt a much ſmaller body of French troops well diſciplined, and led to uſeful enterprize; but from Touſſaint's proclamation, it was evident that he intended no oppoſition to the government of the mother country, and that conſequently, the greater portion of the European, and of the negro force would be left free to engage in attempts hoſtile to England, among which, the capture of Jamaica was deemed one of the moſt probable. On the other hand, many conſidered it impoſſible that any French force, of whatever magnitude, ſhould conquer and retain the iſland from the negroes. Their mode of warfare, it was ſaid, would ſet at defiance the tactics which had been ſo ſucceſsful in Europe; their woods and impenetrable retreats would baffle the ſkill of generals, and render uſeleſs the courage of armies, while the climate, that ſure ally of the natives, would ſpeedily thin the number of the invaders. But all this tended to the alarming example of the eſtabliſhment of a free republic of revolted negroes; an example which the ſlaves in Britiſh colonies would not fail to imitate, and which would end in the total ruin of all property in the Weſt Indies. Both theſe opinions were ſupported by reaſonings of great apparent force, but for the preſent, the event of the conteſt did not abſolutely juſtify either.

The fleet under Villaret Joyeuſe, after ſome delay from adverſe winds, and ſome ſlight accidents, arrived, after a voyage of forty-ſix days off Cape Samana, where the ſquadrons from Breſt, L'Orient, and Rochefort, and that under the ſpaniſh admiral Gravina, were united. This expedition had not been undertaken without a cautious regard to the means of ſecuring ſubmiſſion, by emiſſaries and ſecret agents, who were at once to give information to the commanders of the French force, and to uſe their influence in negotiations with the Blacks. From ſome of theſe, ſuch intelligence was obtained with reſpect to the efforts at reſiſtance in Guadaloupe, as convinced the French commanders of the neceſſity of making a ſpeedy impreſſion on St. Domingo. In this iſland ſome civil officers among the people of colour, and many of the whites, who hoped to regain their lands and ſlaves, were prepared, on a favourable opportunity, to join the French. Touſſaint had not, however been negligent in preparing means of reſiſtance, and had alſo truſty agents, and ſubalterns in whom he thought he could confide, at all points which could be conſidered inſecure. Jan. 29.

The day after their arrival off Cape Samana, the commander in chief received on board, pilots from Monte Chriſti, who informed him of the determination of Touſſaint, to receive the French in a friendly manner; but not relying intirely on theſe intentions, he formed the fleet and troops into three diviſions. The firſt, under the orders of rear-admiral Latouche, was intended to diſembark Jan. 30.

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at Port-au-Prince a body of troops, the command of which the general in chief gave to General Boudet. The ſecond was deſtined, under the orders of Captain Magen, to diſembark at the Bay of Manceniille the diviſion of General Rochambeau, and to ſecond his attack on fort Dauphin. Villaret conducted the reſt of the fleet, and the forces which General Leclerc had reſerved to take poſſeſſion of the Cape town, and the neighbouring quarters, the moſt important points in the colony. The preparations for theſe diſembarkations being arranged, private ſignals were made to the ſhore; but theſe not being anſwered, and the buoys being removed from the road, it was conſidered neceſſary to ſend in two light frigates to reconnoitre; a ſervice which was effected by one of them, although ſhe grounded, and was fired at with red-hot-balls.

Feb. 3.

At this period, Touſſaint was abſent from Cape François, but Chriſtophe, who was left in command, ſent the port captain, a mulatto, named Sangos, to inform General Le Clerc of this circumſtance, adding that it was neceſſary to wait the return of a courier he had diſpatched to Touſſaint, previous to any ſteps for the diſembarkation of a military force; on a refuſal of this delay, he ſhould conſider the white people in his diſtrict as hoſtages for the conduct of the French; and the conſequence of an attack on any place, would be its immediate conflagration. This intimation checked, for a while, the proceeding of the French general. He conſidered it prudent to allow time for his friends to unite and ſhew themſelves; and to increaſe their number by acts of apparent conciliation; to which, however, he added the imperious tones of menace and command. In anſwer to the meſſage of Chriſtophe, he ſent a letter, expreſſing indignation at his refuſal to receive the French ſquadron and army. France, having made peace with England, had ſent a fleet ſufficiently ſtrong to cruſh rebels, and it would give him pain to conſider Chriſtophe among the number. He therefore gave him notice, that if he did not that day, deliver up poſſeſſion of forts Piccolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coaſt, on the morrow at day-break, 15,000 men ſhould be diſembarked; and that 4000 were already landing at Port Dauphin, and 8000 at Port-au-Prince.

This letter was accompanied with a proclamation from Bonaparte to the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, inviting them to peace and ſubmiſſion, and aſſuring them of their liberty. The firſt conſul had alſo written to Touſſaint, with a view to prevail on him to ſubmit, in which terms of blandiſhment and aſſurances of favour were employed with great profuſion and addreſs. "We have conceived," he ſaid, "an eſteem for you, and we feel a pleaſure in acknowledging and proclaiming the great ſervices which you have rendered to the French people. If its colours wave in Saint Domingo, it is owing to you, and your brave blacks. Called by your talents, and the force of circumſtances to the chief command, you have extinguiſhed civil war, impoſed a reſtraint on the perſecution of ſome ferocious men, reſtored to its proper

proper rank, religion, and the worſhip of a God from whom all things emanate. The conſtitution you have made, includes many good things, but contains alſo others, contrary to the dignity and ſovereignty of the French people, of which Saint Domingo is only a portion. Aſſiſt the Captain-General with your advice, your influence, and your talents. Do you wiſh for the freedom of the Blacks? You know well, that in every country where we have been, we have conferred it on thoſe people who before were not in poſſeſſion of it. Do you wiſh for rank, honours, and fortune? After the ſervices you have rendered, and which it is now in your power, in the preſent conjuncture, to effect, and with the perſonal eſtimation which we entertain for you, you need not doubt of the conſideration, the fortune, and the honours which attend you."

Theſe artful ſolicitations were accompanied with an appeal ſtill more forcible to the feelings of the ſable chief, whom it was determined to circumvent or ſubdue. His children had been ſent to France for education, and they with their tutor were put on board the fleet to be uſed as occaſion might ſerve; either to act on the ſenſibility of the parent at a prepared interview, or to excite his fears by being detained as hoſtages. "We have made known to your children," ſaid Bonaparte, "and to their tutor, the ſentiments by which we are governed. We return them to you."

The effect of theſe papers was for a while ſuſpended by the care and vigilance of Chriſtophe, who would not ſuffer the proclamation to be publiſhed; and his anſwer to Le Clerc only repeated in more poſitive terms the meſſage before ſent by Sangos. Some perſons devoted to the French, contrived, however, to get on board the frigate which had worked into the road, and that veſſel making her way back to the fleet without difficulty, they were conveyed to Le Clerc. At the head of them was Ceſar Telemaque, a negro, who had been appointed mayor of the town, but was attached to, and accompanied by a party of whites, anxious to overthrow the power of Touſſaint. They repreſented to Le Clerc the poſitive orders iſſued by Chriſtophe, on the firſt ſignal of a diſembarkation, to fire the city and adjoining eſtates, and maſſacre the white people, and they entreated the General to take into conſideration their unhappy condition. Le Clerc ſent them back with directions to read, in the moſt public manner, the proclamation of the firſt conſul, and to declare his good intentions toward the people; an order which was obeyed with great punctuality, and probably with much latent, though little apparent, effect.

Conſidering further delay uſeleſs, the French general effected his diſembarkation at the Bay of Limbé, diſtant ſeveral leagues from the Cape, with the intention of marching to the heights behind the Cape, while General Rochambeau gained the heights of St. Sauzanne, Dondon, and Grande Rivière. The intent of this meaſure was to ſave the beautiful plantations which ſurround the Cape, and perhaps the city itſelf. The landing of Le Clerc was not

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vigorously opposed; one ineffective discharge of artillery from a single battery, was the only resistance he encountered; and, as he marched forward, he found the settlements deserted, all the planters having fled. In the mean time another division of troops had been landed at the Bay of Mancenille, and proceeded to fort Dauphin; they were also resisted, but in a feeble manner; the most material circumstance recorded, being, that the negroes exclaimed, "No Whites! No French!" In these positions the natives were unable or unwilling to execute the orders of Christophe, which were to defend themselves against the French to the last extremity, and to sink their ships; but at the Cape his instructions were better obeyed. The fleet under Villaret, forcing its way into the road, sustained an obstinate, though not very injurious fire, from forts Belair and St. Michel, and when Le Clerc approached the city, he beheld it in a general conflagration. The progress of the flames was resisted by the efforts of the fleet and of the army, but the destruction was of alarming extent.

Having thus obtained possession of Cape François, Le Clerc formed a municipality, conformable to his views, placing at its head, Cesar Telemaque, who had already shewn so much devotion to the cause of France, and who had fortunately escaped the resentment of his betrayed countrymen and associates. The expeditions ordered by Le Clerc to other parts, were equally prosperous. At the town of Santo Domingo, the Spaniards received the French troops, with acclamations of joy.

The general of division Boudet, had been detached to occupy Port-au-Prince, and on his arrival, he sent his Aid-de-Camp with letters to the civil and military officers. This officer was received by General Age in a suitable manner; but the black and mulatto chiefs soon beginning to suspect General Age, who was a white, rose upon him and demanded that he should detain General Boudet's aid-de-camp, the ship's boat, and all the sailors that were in it. Age caused Boudet to be told that his authority was misunderstood, and requested him not to attempt a disembarkation by force, as this would be the signal for the massacre of the whites, and the burning of the town. Notwithstanding this intimation, the next day, about ten in the morning, Boudet made a landing on the one side of Lamantin, without encountering any obstacle; and proceeded with his advanced guard upon Fort Biroton, where the commanding officer perceiving that this column was French, and composed of republican troops, conjured them to wait the orders of General Dessalines; but in this interval the officers and garrison came to join the French, and Fort Biroton was occupied by their troops. They then began their march for Port-au-Prince; and found drawn up before the gate Léogane, near 4000 blacks. The parleys that took place producing no agreement, the negroes began to cry out that orders had arrived to receive the French army; but a battalion advanced, being received by a shower of balls and bullets, the signal of attack was given; the

Feb. 4.

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the gate of Léogane forced, and the city secured; the conflict was not attended with great effusion of blood, and the city was uninjured. Humbert also 12th succeeded, after encountering some resistance, in obtaining possession of Port de Paix, and pushed his division three leagues beyond it; a negro chief named Clervaux joined the French, and by the distribution of proclamations, and other acts, many people of colour were induced to inrol themselves in the army of Le Clerc.

These proceedings were not regarded with indifference by Toussaint, nor was he awed into despondency, or unprepared for resistance. His wish appears to have been to submit to the general authority of France, provided he could obtain for himself and his associates their freedom, and that which they termed (and certainly with a right which no man in power in France could controvert) their property. He was desirous also, that the system of social regulation he had formed, should have its effect, and not be superseded for the vague promises, and general propositions which might be contained in a proclamation. These advantages Le Clerc had no inclination, if he had power, to concede. Although abundantly confident in the sufficiency of the army he led, he was desirous to spare them the pain and danger of penetrating into the interior, by inducing the negro chief to submit, and with this view transmitted to him the letter of Bonaparte, already noticed, and planned an attack on his paternal feelings, by means of an interview with his children. The execution of this plan was confided to Coisnon, the tutor of the young men, a confidential agent in the expedition; and the children of Toussaint had been prepared before they quitted France, to influence the mind of their parent in favour of the views of Bonaparte. Accompanied by Coisnon, they repaired to a plantation of Toussaint's, called Ennery, distant about ten leagues from the Cape, at a period when his speedy return was expected. Their mother, who received them, and was transported with joy at their return, is said to have readily joined in their views, and added her influence to theirs in endeavouring to procure the submission of her husband, reserving only such terms as might be beneficial to himself. Their united arguments and solicitations had, however, no effect on Toussaint; he surmounted the danger of this trying interview, but fearing his own want of firmness, should it be renewed, set out two hours afterward for his camp, and the children were taken back to the Cape. Some correspondence ensued, which however produced no effect.

Irritated at the failure of this plan, and rendered confident by past success, and by the arrival of a reinforcement brought by Gantheaume, Le Clerc disdained all further appearance of pacific intention, and issued a proclamation expressive of his disappointment and his anger. Accusing Toussaint of a deliberate plan, though veiled by hypocritical pretences, to separate the colony from France, and of intending to amuse him by crafty and perfidious promises, General Le Clerc disclosed his intention immediately to advance into the interior, to manifest to this rebel, this insensible monster, Feb. 17.

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the force of the French government. He therefore ordered that Touſſaint and Chriſtophe ſhould be put out of the protection of the law, and purſued by all citizens as rebels to the republic, and the ſame treatment ſhould await thoſe who obeyed any orders, ſave thoſe iſſued by the French commander. Deſerters were to be received into the French army, and as an earneſt, and ſpecimen of encouragement, General Clervaux was formally continued in poſſeſſion of his rank and command.

To carry on the war thus ſternly denounced againſt him, Touſſaint was ſuppoſed to have about his perſon, 12,000 regular troops, beſides thoſe under the command of his general officers, and an expectation of inſurrections in his favour to an incalculable extent. Expert as all the black troops were, the author of a hiſtory of theſe events has obſerved, thoſe ſurrounding the perſon of Touſſaint were uncommonly ſo, being diſciplined with inconceivable correctneſs. Though formed into regular diviſions, the ſoldiers of the one were trained to the duties of the other, and all underſtood the management of artillery with the greateſt accuracy. Their chief dexterity, however, was in the uſe of the bayonet. With that dreadful weapon, fixed on muſkets of extraordinary length, in their hands, neither cavalry nor artillery could ſubdue infantry, although of unequal proportion; but when they were attacked in their defiles, no power could overcome them. Infinitely more ſkilful than the Maroons of Jamaica in their cock pits, though not more favoured by nature, they found means to place whole lines in ambuſh, continuing ſometimes from one poſt to another, and ſometimes ſtretching from their camps, in the form of a horſe ſhoe. With theſe lines artillery was not uſed, to prevent their being burthened, or the chance of loſs; but the ſurrounding heights of every camp were well fortified, according to the experience and judgment of different European engineers, with ordnance of the beſt kind, in proper directions. The protection afforded by theſe outworks, encouraged the blacks to every exertion of ſkill or courage; while the alertneſs, conſtantly diſplayed embarraſſed the enemy, who, frequently irritated, or worn out with fatigue, flew in diſorder to the attack, or retreated with difficulty. Sometimes a regular battle or ſkirmiſh enſued, to ſeduce the enemy to a confidence in their own ſuperiority, when, in a moment, reinforcements aroſe from an ambuſh in the vicinity, and turned the fortune of the day. If black troops, in the pay of the enemy, were diſpatched to reconnoitre when an ambuſh was probable, and were diſcovered, not a man returned; ſuch was the hatred which their perfidy had inſpired; nor could an officer venture without the lines with impunity. With this force Touſſaint prepared to defend the northern province, confiding in the ſagacity of his own precautions with reſpect to the diſtant points, relying on the fidelity of thoſe whom he had entruſted with their defence, and little alarmed at the ſucceſs of the invaders which, vaunted as it was, extended only to the occupation of a few points on the ſea coaſt, while their numbers were not ſuppoſed ſufficient to allow them to undertake enterprizes in various directions.

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With all the ſuccours he had received from France, and which continued to arrive very frequently, Le Clerc was expoſed to ſeveral wants, and money was among the number. A ſupply was however derived from the Spaniards, who had a vaſt treaſure accumulated at the Havannah, and readily contributed a portion to their ally. They were alſo required to furniſh ſhips and men, and ſent, of each, as many as they could ſpare. To prevent the tranſmiſſion of any ſupplies to Touſſaint, the French admiral, wrote to the Britiſh commander in chief on the Jamaica ſtation, apprizing him of the proceedings in the iſland, and exhorting him by the peace juſt concluded, and the known honour of the Britiſh character, to maintain with him pacific communications worthy of the two nations, and ſoliciting, if it could be afforded, a ſupply of proviſions for the French troops. Admiral Sir John Duckworth received the officer who brought this diſpatch with the utmoſt kindneſs and diſtinction, and in his anſwer gave every aſſurance of his intention to treat the French nation with all poſſible reſpect. He could not promiſe proviſions, on account of the arrival of a great naval and military force at Jamaica, and of the limited ſtate of his own reſources. That Touſſaint might not derive ammunition or ſupplies from the North American States, the French miniſter in America notified, that Cape François and Port-au-Prince were the only two ports into which merchant ſhips, of any kind, were allowed to enter, and that it was neceſſary for American ſhips, bound even to thoſe ports, to have, from him or his agents, a certificate or paſſport, importing that the intention of the navigator was not to ſupply the rebels. It had already been noticed, with ſome apparent chagrin, in the early diſpatches, that the muſkets taken from the negroes were all of American manufacture.

Feb. 19.

Having adopted theſe precautions, Le Clerc opened the campaign, putting his forces in motion in various directions. The diviſion of General Desfourneaux advanced to Limbé; that of General Hardy to the great Boucan and to the Mornes, while that of General Rochambeau proceeded to the Tannerie, and to the Bois de L'ance. A ſmall force, compoſed of the garriſons of the Cape and of Fort Dauphin, marched towards St. Suzanne, Trou, and Velliere. They all ſucceeded in taking the poſitions aſſigned to them, though not without encountering conſiderable oppoſition, and being made ſenſible of the difficulty of advancing in ſuch a country if they were at all reſiſted. "One muſt be acquainted with the country," ſays Le Clerc, in his diſpatch, "to form a competent idea of the difficulties that are to be ſtruggled with in every encounter. I experienced nothing in the Alps to be compared with them." The French relied, however, on other means beſides thoſe merely military for the attainment of their object. Every commander of a body of forces was empowered to negotiate with his opponent the terms of ſubmiſſion, and the honours conferred on Telemaque, and the rewards beſtowed on Clervaux for their attachment to the French, were examples likely to operate moſt prejudicially

Feb. 18th.

dicially to the cause of Toussaint.

20th The division of Desfourneaux advanced unopposed to Plaisance, in which district Dumesnel was commander with 200 cavalry and 300 infantry. He sought a parley with the French general, and speedily yielded into his power, uninjured, the territory he had been instructed to defend, or if defence were hopeless, to destroy. For several succeeding days, the French pushed their operations in various directions, with undissembled difficulty and doubtful success. They found themselves sometimes checked in their efforts to proceed, and at others circumvented by the sagacity of their opponents; but at length, a negotiation which had been pressed with equal assiduity and secrecy, terminated favourably, and La Plume, a general in whom Toussaint placed the highest confidence, and to whom he had intrusted the intire command of the southern district, revolted to the enemy. Still Toussaint was strong in the field, but distracted by doubts whether his orders would be obeyed, or whether in trusting any one with authority, he was not furnishing arms to be used against himself.

25th Where he and the troops immediately commanded by him were engaged, the French did not obtain an easy victory, on the contrary, in the battle of the Ravine à Couleuvre, they allow that the negroes fought, hand to hand, with the greatest determination, and did not retire from the field till 800 of them were killed. His whole corps then engaged, was stated not to exceed 3100 men, and he was attacked by Rochambeau at the head of a much greater force. Nor does it appear that the victory was decisive, for, while Toussaint retreated to Trois Rivieres, the French general also fell back to Gonaives. This doubtful victory was compensated by an advantage of a more decisive nature. Generals Debelle and Boudet were employed against General Maurepas, in the neighbourhood of Gros Morne. They were completely held in check, and even obliged to send to the commander in chief and to Rochambeau for succours, when Maurepas gave ear to the alluring proposals held out to him, and consented to

27th join the French, on condition that he and his officers should retain their rank.

The attention of the French commanders was now almost exclusively directed against Toussaint, whom they hoped to subdue by force, and endeavoured still more to weaken by diminishing the attachment and number of his followers. To effect this purpose they published a letter which Toussaint had written to one of his subordinate officers, with which they were furnished by La Plume, and in which were these expressions, "Distrust the whites, they will betray you if they can; their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery. I therefore give you a *carte blanche* for your conduct. All which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them of this truth, that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have secretly received the proclamations of the white men from France, and would circulate them clandestinely, in order to seduce the friends of liberty. I have ordered the general of brigade, La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, and every

every other town and plain in the diſtrict, ſhould they be unable to reſiſt the enemy's force."

Le Clerc now changed his head quarters to Port-au-Prince, to which place his lady was conveyed by ſea. This abode was far more comfortable than Cape François, as it had not been injured by the retreating negroes, but the next town in the South, Leogane, was deſtroyed by Deſſalines, and every place that was likely to aid a paſſage to that quarter. Desfourneaux was left at Plaiſance to protect the north, while Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, proceeded to the Spaniſh border of the weſtern diſtrict. La Crete à Pierrot, a poſt rather advantageouſly ſituated, between St. Marc and Port-au-Prince, which had been a depôt of the blacks, and lately their apparent head quarters, was the firſt object of the French; but in this attack they are conſidered as having been principally allured by the hope of booty, and the negroes contributed all in their power to this deluſion, wiſhing them to waſte their time and ſtrength in this exploit. In the beginning of March, the diviſions of Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, marched againſt different poſts in the vicinity of their grand object, with the hope of preventing the retreat of an enemy of whoſe reduction they conſidered themſelves certain. Rochambeau firſt attacked a village called Cahouſe, from whoſe few inoffenſive inhabitants he met no oppoſition; but General Hardy, with a conſiderable force, ſurrounded 600 blacks in the Coupe de L'Inde, who bravely attempting to cut their way to Trianon, were all taken, and killed on the ſpot; and a chief of battalion, Henin, with a part of the ſame force, attacked the poſition Trianon, and carried it with the bayonet. Enraged by ſuch unexampled warfare, Deſſalines made a ſortie from the fort, and advancing as far as La Petite Riviere, met General Debelle on his march to Verettes, whom ſuppoſing a part of the cruel perpetrators of the late exceſſes, he drove before him to La Crête à Pierrot; and retiring into the fort, diſcharged a volley of grape ſhot among them, by which, Debelle and a conſiderable number were wounded. The commandant of artillery, Pambour, took the command of the diviſion, and Debelle fell back into the rear. General Boudet now paſſed the Artibonité, for the purpoſe of blockading La Crête à Pierrot, but had ſcarcely come within ſight of the glacis, when he received a wound which compelled him to return, and his men were thrown into diſorder. General Dugua advancing with a battalion of the 19th light troops, and the 74th regiment of the line, to form the blockade, was alſo dangerouſly wounded, and his party completely routed. To avenge this loſs, Le Clerc, who had a narrow eſcape, a ſhot having hit the center of his ſaſh, and carried part of it away, haſtened a portion of his artillery from Port-au-Prince, and Rochambeau ſpread fire and ſword through every village in his way. General Salines, likewiſe, with a large body, contrived to ſurround a ſmall camp of the blacks, and put every man to the ſword. Rochambeau attempted to erect a March 22. battery of ſeven pieces of heavy artillery on a riſing ground, but in vain, the fire of a redoubt bearing upon

upon him, swept away all his men. He therefore marched to attack the redoubt, but found it so secured by a projection of logwood, that it was impossible to be carried. In the mean time, every thing being prepared for evacuating the fort, Dessalines, with a part of his force, sallied forth in the night, and falling in with Desplanques, who commanded General Hardy's advanced guard, a skirmish ensued, which, nevertheless, did not prevent his departure. The absence of Dessalines inspired the besiegers with new hopes, and for the three successive days they bombarded the fort with great activity, frequently setting fire to it. On the evening of the last day, the commander of the black forces remaining at La Crete, made a vigorous sally, to force the French lines; a small part only accomplished this measure, and passed the Artibonité, the remainder were surrounded, and immediately put to the sword. Thus ended the siege and blockade, which had cost the French army much, by the loss of some of her best generals and finest troops: they succeeded in the main exploit, although without gaining the booty so anxiously expected.

Elated by this success, and convinced perhaps that the power and influence of Toussaint were now annihilated, Le Clerc published an order in direct violation of his own proclamations, directing proprietors or their attornies, to resume their ancient authority over the negroes; and took several other measures injurious to trade and subversive of freedom. But, in the mean while, Toussaint, who had noticed the neglected situation in which the northern province was left, by withdrawing the whole of the French force to the recent siege, resolved to avail himself of it. When, therefore, Le Clerc had dispatched General Rochambeau to sack Les Gonaives, which at one time had been the black head quarters, Toussaint effected a junction with Christophe in the mountains, and poured down an accumulated force on the plain of the Cape. Reaching Plaisance by a mountain road, he routed the forces of General Desfourneaux; passed on without molestation through Dondon and Marmelade, raising the cultivators in his way, and halted within a mile and a half of the city of Cape François. An universal consternation followed. Dispatches were sent, requiring the aid of the victorious generals, and Le Clerc was obliged to take a hasty passage by sea to the Cape. From the concourse of people in and about the city, a dreadful contagion began to shew itself. General Boyer, endeavoured to oppose Toussaint, with his whole force, including the marines and sailors from the fleet, and was quickly driven back, under the very hospital; and the blacks, having laid the whole plain of the Cape in ruins, in defiance of the captain general, commanding in the town, and of Generals Hardy and Rochambeau, who arrived by forced marches, retired to the mountains of Hincha.

The proceedings of the French were also embarrassed by another obstacle. Among the means devised for counteracting the authority of Toussaint, was the re-introduction into the colony of Rigaud, a mulatto chief, his ancient political opponent, who had been for some time banished to Cuba. His presence,

it was suggested by some of his friends, might attach his former party to the French arms, but this Le Clerc considered an expedient too dangerous to risque. Rigaud, who expected an immediate restoration of his property and command, finding himself continued in concealment, at a distance from his native province, began to contemplate means of re-instating himself. No sooner, therefore, was the captain general called to the Cape, than he attempted a correspondence on the subject of a visit to his friends, with General La Plume, who immediately communicated his letter to Le Clerc. Enraged at what he considered perfidy at so critical a moment, the french general immediately ordered the unfortunate chief, with his family, to be sent on board a frigate, and conveyed to France, as one whose principles could not "contribute to the re-establishment of the colony of St. Domingo." This was a circumstance, however, disagreeable to many powerful persons, and Le Clerc adds to Rigaud's offences, that he had "sent emissaries into the south to stop cultivation, and alarm the peaceable citizens with terrors."

In the banishment of Rigaud, Le Clerc shewed his determination not to permit the leaders of the people of colour, even if friendly to the French government, to assume any political importance, or form any close connexion among themselves. The disposition shewn by several of them to submit, gave him the most flattering hopes of ultimate success, and he considered the partial success of Toussaint's late irruption, rather owing to the unexpected manner in which it was undertaken, and to the non arrival of supplies expected from Havre and Flushing, than to any vigour in the conception, or force in the execution of the plan. The expected supplies soon arrived, and Le Clerc once again thought it necessary to appeal to the hopes, and to the fickleness of his antagonists, by a proclamation, tending, though not in direct and unequivocal terms, to appease the alarm excited by his intention to re-establish slavery. In this proclamation, he said, "The basis of the provisionary organization which I shall give to the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French government, is liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour;" and he said he had given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions, to select for each of these departments seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without regard to colour) who, with eight more, whom he should choose for the department of the north, were to assemble at the Cape, to impart their observations to him on the plans then to be submitted to their consideration. The citizens thus chosen being honest and enlightened men, to them he would communicate his views; they would make their observations upon them, and would be able to impress on the minds of their fellow citizens the liberal ideas with which the government was animated. "Let those, then," he concluded, "who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately

mately fall upon themſelves. Let them conſider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for ſome time, their private avocations."

This proclamation holding forth a view of tranquil, and even beneficial adjuſtment, produced a rapid defection of the followers of Touſſaint, who could no longer hope, for any conſiderable time, to maintain his oppoſition to the French. His troops totally cut off from the ſea, could not expect to obtain any military ſupplies, and they were ſaid to be without magazines, without powder, and reduced to live on Bananas. Under theſe circumſtances, Chriſtophe, who had hitherto been immoveable in his fidelity to Touſſaint, commenced a correſpondence with Le Clerc, declaring that he had always been a friend to the whites, whom he admired; that all the Europeans who had been at St. Domingo could atteſt his principles and his conduct; that imperious circumſtances, which often decide the conduct of public men, had not left him at liberty to purſue that line of conduct which he wiſhed; and, he deſired to know if there was ſtill any ſafety for him? The anſwer of the French general was favourable, though it held out no poſitive promiſes; Chriſtophe ſtill heſitated, but ſeeing military preparations accumulating around him, he ſolicited orders from Le Clerc, and when they were communicated, obeyed them without delay. The commands he received were, to repair alone to the Cape; to ſend thither all the cultivators who were ſtill with him, and to aſſemble all the troops who were under his orders. His magazines and artillery were delivered up to the French, and of about 1,200 ſoldiers who were under his command, a part was diſarmed and ſent to cultivate the fields, while the reſidue were retained in the French ſervice.

Touſſaint was now without reſource and without hope. May 8. He employed, ſays Le Clerc, all means to inform me of the unfortunate ſituation in which he found himſelf, and how much he ſaw with pain, that he was continuing a war without object, and without end. He added, that circumſtances, the moſt unfortunate, had already occaſioned many evils, but that notwithſtanding the force of the French army, he was ſtill ſtrong enough to ravage and deſtroy the country, and to ſell dearly a life, which had been ſometimes uſeful to the mother country. As his ſubmiſſion would terminate the war, his communication was moſt gladly received. Touſſaint was directed to repair to the Cape, with an expreſs promiſe of pardon, and he there ſwore fidelity to the French government. It does not appear that by this reſiſtance to the force of the mother country, the leaders of the people of colour gained any point beyond their own ſafety. The freedom of their aſſociates was not eſtabliſhed by any compact, and for themſelves they obtained neither acknowledgment of their rank, nor any political conſideration. Touſſaint was baniſhed to an eſtate of his own, named L'Ouverture, ſituate at Gonaives, and Deſſalines, who alone had not entered into any treaty, was fixed at a plantation near St. Marc.

Thus ſucceſsful in every quarter, Le Clerc had now only to apply himſelf to the taſk of tranquilizing,

and regulating, in the moſt beneficial manner, the affairs of the colony. The prevalence of the fever at the Cape obliged him to make a temporary retreat to the little iſland of Tortuga, where he iſſued orders for eſtabliſhing an official gazette, in Saint Domingo, and ſome others of ſmall conſideration. He alſo attempted ſome regulations favourable to commerce, but on the whole, his meaſures of government ſeem to have been raſh, weak, and tyrannical. Of reconciling, or gaining the affections of the people of colour, he ſeems to have entertained neither hope nor deſire, but to have conſidered that their ſubjection in the field left them no right to refuſe the yoke of ſlavery which he was determined to impoſe. He therefore, on his return from Tortuga, iſſued orders for ſetting them to work on the various plantations, and was guilty of many acts of violence toward the native planters, and of injuſtice toward thoſe who came to trade. Againſt the Americans in particular, he ſeems to have entertained a moſt determined hoſtility, conſidering them guilty in having ſold military ſtores to the adherents of Touſſaint; and he actually cauſed a veſſel of that nation which arrived after the pacification of the colony, to be confiſcated, under pretence that ſhe came for the purpoſe of ſelling them ſimilar ſupplies.

Beſides theſe, Le Clerc, rendered confident and daring by the daily expectation of an augmentation of his force from France, proceeded in ſo many acts of vexation, tyranny and cruelty, that diſſatisfaction rapidly gained ground, and ſome who had been uſed to regard Touſſaint as their protector in all caſes of injuſtice and oppreſſion, again beſought his good offices. Whether the circumſtances of the country arouſed the ambitious hopes of this man, and he really meditated ſome new enterprize, or whether ſome unimportant writing or expreſſion intercepted by government, or repeated by a ſpy, furniſhed a pretext againſt him, is unknown; but in a moſt ſudden manner, before the expiration of the first month of his retirement, in the dead of the night, the Creole frigate, eſcorted by the Hero, a 74 gun ſhip from Cape François, ſtood in cloſe to the ſhore of Gonaives; troops were landed from ſeveral boats, who ſurrounded the dwelling of Touſſaint, where his family lay aſleep unconſcious of their impending fate. Brunet, chief of brigade, and Ferrari, an aid-de-camp of Le Clerc, entered Touſſaint's chamber with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his immediate ſurrender. Touſſaint declared himſelf indifferent as to his own fate, but remonſtrated with regard to his family. "I ſhall not reſiſt the power you have obtained over me," he ſaid, "but, my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm. Suffer them, then, to remain at home." This requeſt was not complied with: the guard was increaſed, and before the neighbourhood became alarmed, they were on board the veſſel, and under ſail. Two negro leaders, who were rouſed, attacked the French, but they were ſeized, and afterwards ſhot. About 100 perſons who had ſhared the intimacy of Touſſaint were alſo apprehended, and being put on board ſhip, under pretence of being conveyed to the Mediterranean, were heard of no more. It will be ſuffi- June 9.

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cient in this volume to purſue the hiſtory of Touſſaint only till his arrival in France. During the voyage he was not permitted to ſee his family, and a guard was placed at the door of his cabin. On his July arrival at Breſt, he was indulged with a tranſient parting interview, and then hurried away, under a ſtrong eſcort of cavalry, to the caſtle of Joux in Normandy, with a ſingle attendant, who was alſo confined and prevented from any other communication. From Joux he was removed to Beſançon, and kept in a damp priſon, without the comfort of a ſingle friend, without trial or even examition. His wife and family remained in ſtrict charge at Breſt for two months; and were then removed to Bayonne, in the ſame province with their unhappy relative, where they long continued unnoticed, and in ignorance of his fate.

It was for ſome time reported, and believed, that Bonaparte intended to bring this man to trial, but if he ever entertained ſuch an intention, Le Clerc does not appear to have furniſhed him with the means. No document was ever publiſhed, nor even a narrative framed to ſhew that Touſſaint was guilty of the crimes imputed to him; they were only alleged in a proclamation publiſhed by Le Clerc on the occaſion, which adverted to an intercepted letter written to one Fontaine; accuſed him of waiting only for the reſult of diſeaſe among the troops, and termed him a deeply perfidious man, who with ſo much hypocriſy, had done ſo much miſchief. Indeed Le Clerc ſeemed leſs ſolicitous to juſtify his conduct than to confirm his power, and to make it as deſpotic as poſſible. He aſſumed, in addition to his title of captain general, that of general in chief, iſſued orders that every officer, manager, or proprietor of a plantation found in arms ſhould be ſhot, and directed that the whole commune of Ennery ſhould be diſarmed. Finally, to ſuppreſs every appearance of freedom, he iſſued an edict for the com- June 22 pleat eſtabliſhment of martial law in the French part of the iſland. The adminiſtration of the quarters and communes, was confided to military commandants and councils of notables; the commandants to have the juriſdiction of police in their reſpective diſtricts, and the chief command of the Gendarmerie; the councils of notables to be compoſed of proprietors or merchants. The military commandants were charged with the delivery (gratis) of paſſports for travelling in the colony, the ſuppreſſion of vagabondage, the care of the police, the maintenance of cleanlineſs and health, the care of citizens newly arrived, the police of the priſons, and the verification of weights and meaſures, in concurrence with the council of notables.

Conſternation and ſurpriſe, kept the people of Saint Domingo for ſome time in a ſtate of ſtupor, which Le Clerc appears to have miſtaken for tranquil ſubmiſſion. His letters to government, for a ſhort period, ſpoke of the quiet and good order of the colony; but his aſſurances, accompanied as they were with demands of freſh ſuccours, did not denote a confident mind, or prognoſticate a ſecure dominion. Diſeaſe too, prevailed in an alarming degree among the forces, and preyed on Le Clerc himſelf. The black troops who had

had joined his army were regarded with jealousy and apprehension, and many foretold that Toussaint would have a successor, although, in a reverse of fortune, the whites might want, that which in him they had always found, a protector, benefactor, and friend.

While these important transactions were taking place at Saint Domingo, a petty war of insurrection, not altogether devoid of interest was carried on in Guadaloupe. The exertions of Lacrosse, mentioned in a former chapter, were calculated to give pain and offence chiefly to the Jacobins and free people of colour, whose excesses he had on former occasions aided and instigated, and from them arose the great opposition to his government. A free mulatto named Pelage, was at the head of a party of insurgents. He had formerly been a slave at Martinique; in 1792, when La Crosse excited the slaves to rise against their masters, Pelage, by murdering his mistress, acquired a portion of her property; he afterward obtained the command of a company of people of colour, and assisted in expelling the British forces from Guadaloupe. In November, 1801, this man and his faction, composed of Mulattoes, seized La Crosse as he was visiting some outposts, and placing him on board a Danish vessel, ordered the captain to land him at Copenhagen. Fortunately for the banished governor, he was met at sea by a British frigate which gave him protection, and carried him into Dominica, from which place, he in conjunction with Lescallier, the colonial prefect, and Coster, the commissary of justice, who had just arrived from France, issued a manifesto, protesting against all acts done by the rebellious usurpers of Guadaloupe, and exhorting all governments to forbid, under the severest penalties, all persons supplying them with arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions. With this request the British ships were well disposed to comply, for one of them having gone in with a flag of truce to announce the signature of the preliminaries of peace, the insurgents, disbelieving, or affecting to disbelieve, the intelligence, maltreated the commander.

As an immediate consequence of their success, the mulattoes dismissed all white persons from public employ; re-established all the municipalities which La Crosse had abolished; placed at the head of every department mulattoes; disorganized the army, and placed also at the head of the troops people of their own description. They not only refused to assimilate with the whites, but would have an empire over, and command them. The British trade being injured by their violences, the commanders of ships on that station co-operated with the French in preventing the approach to the island of vessels of any nation whatever, and a line of ships was stationed round the whole coast, for the purpose of inforcing the prohibition of trade with them. As the certainty of the approach of the French armament occasioned an increased agitation among the mulattoes, they carried into effect the desperately atrocious vengeance of a massacre of the whites, although the number of their victims was not great, few having been induced to return during the government of La Crosse,

Croſſe, and ſeveral having found means to eſcape ſince the aſſumption of power by Pelage.

Still it does not appear that the mulattoes, or at leaſt their leader, had any hope of retaining the iſland againſt the force diſpatched by France. When the expedition arrived in the Weſt Indies, the portion of troops deſtined to act againſt Guadaloupe, was placed under the command of General Richepanſe, and he was ſupported by ſome ſhips under Rear-Admiral Bonnet. At Deſirade, they took on board the prefect Leſcallier, and immediately preſented themſelves before Point à Pitre in Guadaloupe. Fearleſs of the ſlight reſiſtance they might experience from a few corps of negroes and mulattoes, ſome companies of grenadiers and chaſſeurs, notwithſtanding a violent wind and great ſwell of the ſea, effected a diſembarkation at Point à Pitre and at Goſier. They were immediately ordered to march upon the Morne Maſcatte, in order to take the fort Fleur d'Epée, in the rear, and cut off its communication with the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenſon. The troops diſembarked at the port of the Point, were to march to the river Salée, to take poſſeſſion of the fort de La Victoire, and then of the Fort L'Union. All theſe diſpoſitions were however, uſeleſs, the negroes were expecting the French on the quay, where they received them with cries of "*Vive la Republique! Vive Bonaparte!*" — The troops formed themſelves on the Place de la Victoire, where Richepanſe found Pelage, who aſſured him of the intire ſubmiſſion of the whole iſland. The general ordered him to deliver up all his poſts at the Forts of Fleur d'Epée, Union, and La Victoire, and alſo the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenſon. He promiſed that he would give orders to that effect, and alſo aſſemble under the redoubt Stivenſon all his troops in this part of the iſland, and for the purpoſe of meeting them, and receiving their ſubmiſſion, the general appointed the ſame evening. He ſoon learnt, that Pelage had over rated his own influence, for although the French troops were aſſembled on the place la Victoire under a fort of the ſame name, Ignace, the coloured commandant, would not ſuffer them to enter. They ruſhed in, however at the *pas de charge*, intending to make Ignace and his troops priſoners, but they had eſcaped at the oppoſite gate.

May 7.

Richepanſe then proceeded with the reſt of the troops under Fort Stivenſon, the rendezvous aſſigned for the aſſembling of the black troops. The day had diſappeared, and, in ſpite of the obſcurity of the night, he perceived that a great number of black troops were ſpread about the country under arms. Theſe circumſtances made him ſuſpect treachery on the part of Pelage, but at the place of rendezvous, that mulatto with a few followers, informed the general that many of his officers, and a great number of his ſoldiers had deſerted him. The general harangued thoſe he found aſſembled, but with ſo little hope of being able by their means to purſue the conqueſt of that part of the iſland, that he embarked his own followers in the night, declaring his intention that they ſhould accompany him to Baſſeterre, the capital of the iſland. He ſent on the following day ſix hundred men by land toward Les trois Rivieres, 8th

Rivieres, and re-embarked 1500 men in the frigates, but owing to difficulties in the navigation, was obliged to reland them, and pass them over to the ships anchored off Gosier, in which they did not reach Basseterre till the 10th at noon.

May 10. At this place the resistance appeared more determined than at Point à Pitre. The ships were received with discharges of cannon; Richepanse sent an officer in a canoe with a letter to Pelage, but as he did not speedily return, the troops, which were placed in the chaloupes, in readiness to effect a disembarkation, rowed towards the shore, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the river Dupleſſis, under the fire of the batteries and musquetry, and it was not without great labour, that, during the day, they gained the right bank of the river des Peres. During the night all the troops assembled on this bank, and the following day attacked the negroes, who had taken an excellent position on the other side; but it was forced in a short time, and a part threw themselves into Fort Charles, while another part gained the mornes, or deep ravines on the left of the French, who pursued them toward Galion, and the bridge de Nosiere. Richepanse, being joined by General Serisia from Grande terre, and the cannon being disembarked from the ships, prepared for the attack of Fort Charles, but such were the difficulties of dragging the artillery up the mountains, that ten days were spent before a battery of three pieces could be formed. This labour was soon repaid by complete success, the negroes being obliged to evacuate the fort, and being pursued by the French as a mere mob, incapable of effectual resistance. The French stated the loss in the attack on Basseterre to have been 100 killed, and 300 wounded, but probably many more were destroyed. The chiefs who directed the motions of the insurgents were, Delgresse, Massuteau, Ignace, Gedeon, Palerme, Kiroanne and a few others. The pursuit of them was intrusted to General Joubert, with 700 men, and to General Gobert with 400. Their operations continued at intervals, during two months. Joubert attacked a considerable body at Dollet, who were hemmed in and destroyed. Gobert, encamped at Petit Bourg, attacked a large number, and killed 150. He afterward encountered a party in the woods, under the command of Ignace; the negroes in despair set fire to a powder magazine, by which many of them were blown up, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Ignace contrived, however, with 400 men, to get possession of Fort Bembridge, in which he was attacked in vain by the troops from Grande terre, and Point à Pitre. Gobert arriving with 300 men, just at the time when the negroes had also received a reinforcement, another assault was made and the fort carried: a horrible carnage ensued, and Ignace terminated his own existence with a pistol. In this action it would seem that Pelage was employed against the insurgents, as in Richepanse's dispatch it is said that "the chief of brigade, Pelage, continued, during this action, to give proof of a courage bordering on heroism."

11th

22d

May 24. 25th

June 6.

The French then directed their attention toward the Parc and Matoubas,

toubas, excellent retreats of the insurgents, where the additions they had made to the natural defences, appeared to enable them to refuse any disadvantageous conteſt, and to ſpread themſelves, by ſudden irruptions, through every part of Baſſe Terre. This place the negroes ſeemed reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. They had their advanced poſt in front of the habitation of Grichard, at the top of the angle formed by the Black River, and the River des Pères, the banks of which are ſteep, and more than fifty feet deep. Their maſs being placed at the vaſt habitation of Anglemont, defended by rivers and fortified by parapets, armed with cannon and paliſades, an attack in front was ſoon ſeen to be impoſſible.

8th The French having divided their force, and yet made arrangements for a combined attack, a part ſet off from Legret, and by roads on dreadful precipices, they cleared the Mornes Houel, Colin, and the habitation of Laſaile, whence they drove the enemy, and arrived, in purſuing them, at Preſbytere. Another party aſcended by the Morne Louis, came up with the enemy, drove them before them, and gained the Fiſe-Macieux, defended with artillery which they deſtroyed. A third diviſion under Delacroix, croſſed the river of Peres, and reached, after a long train of obſtacles ſurmounted, the poſition of Preſbytere, conſtantly driving the enemy upon his centre at Anglemont. After a moment's reſt, theſe battalions marched with mutual emulation in columns, againſt Anglemont. They braved, for a quarter of an hour, a ſhower of balls and bullets without being able to return the fire. Several had already entered the entrenchments, when the negroes, puſhed to extremity, ſet fire to their powder and blew themſelves up, to the number of three hundred, among whom was Delgreſſe. This ſcene was ſhocking. Each party ſtood ſtupified for a moment, but the French, to uſe their own expreſſion, ſoon thought of taking advantage of the diſorder which ſuch an event always occaſions, and the day terminated by the entire deſtruction of all the negroes who eſcaped the exploſion.

From this time, Gobert obſerves, the fate of Guadaloupe was decided, and the remainder of the inſurgents retired into the woods, and were to be conſidered in the ſame light as the ancient Maroon negroes, who only appeared in the night for the purpoſes of plunder. The reſidue of the actions in which they were engaged may be briefly given in this general's own words. "They were, however," he proceeds, "ſo annoyed by our patroles, that their chief offered, that all the blacks ſhould return to their duty, if ſome advantages were granted to them. On the 14th of June, I propoſed to General Richepanſe to terminate the war in this manner; but as he was not accuſtomed to reſiſtance, he would not liſten to the propoſals. On the 27th of June they attacked the poſt of Bananier, but were repulſed with loſs. On the 31ſt of July I had certain information that the negroes had aſſembled in the woods of Goyave. They were intirely diſperſed, and all their forces deſtroyed, with great ſlaughter.—Six hundred blacks, and five of the moſt formidable chiefs, were ſoon afterward induced to return to their duty.—Another aſſemblage of brigands was attacked in the woods of Capeſterre,

Capeſterre, and intirely diſperſed. The wreck of this party took refuge in an old camp of the Blacks, called Mondongues, which had exiſted for more than ten years. This camp was attacked on the 3d of Auguſt, and the laſt refuge of the Brigands deſtroyed. At preſent almoſt all the Blacks have returned to their labour, and the inhabitants may reſt without fear. Almoſt all the chiefs, and above all, thoſe who are moſt feared, are in our hands."

The negroes in Guadaloupe ſeem, on the whole, to have ſtruggled with more ſpirit and unanimity of intention than thoſe in St. Domingo, while the French generals ſeem to have proceeded on principles diametrically oppoſite. Le Clerc invited ſubmiſſion, and promiſed amneſty and employment to thoſe who would yield to his arms. He even propoſed to let the people of colour ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. Richepanſe, on the contrary, was, from the firſt, determined to ſhew no favour to the people of colour. He did not, even for purpoſes of deluſion, aſſure them of their freedom; he conſidered, he ſaid, in one of his diſpatches, as a fortunate event for the regeneration of the colony, the reſolution of the people of colour to oppoſe the diſembarkation of the army. "They flew to arms from a ſuſpicion that the object of my miſſion was to reduce the whole body of the black troops, and to compel a part of them to ſubmit again to the labours of cultivation. They were likewiſe animated with a hope, that Touſſaint would be able to maintain his authority in St. Domingo." In purſuance of the bent of his diſpoſition, he declined their ſubmiſſion on moderate terms, when offered through Gobert, and when his aſcendancy was ſecured, ſent to France all the members of the provi- July 7. ſional council eſtabliſhed the preceding year, and extended their fate to a great many inhabitants of the colony, who although they did not take ſo conſpicuous a part in the late events, had yet been very active. Finally, he reduced the negro armed force, which he did not eſteem, and no longer conſidered neceſſary, and whoſe habits of idleneſs and pillage he conſidered dangerous: 15000 of them were returned to their habitations, where, as he expreſſed it, they would be ſubjected to a juſt and ſevere diſcipline. In other words, after being allured into vice and idleneſs by decrees and declamations holding out to their minds the illuſion of freedom, they were replaced in their old condition of ſlavery, under a continual guard of watchfulneſs and cruelty. The extermination of thoſe who continued refractory was purſued with unabated activity, but Richepanſe did not long enjoy the ſweets of a government formed by himſelf, and congenial to all his views, for in the courſe of the autumn, he fell a victim to diſeaſe.

In all the tranſactions of the French government, relative to the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, nothing conſolatory to man, or honourable to human nature can be diſcovered. They who firſt advocated the cauſe of general emancipation took for their avowed guide, the Abbé Raynal, who, while he claims freedom for the people of colour, invites them to bloody

bloody and ferocious revenge. Purſuing the ſyſtem of their leader, they who firſt obtained decrees, aboliſhing ſlavery, encouraged theſe unhappy people in violences diſgraceful to human nature. In conſequence of their maſſacres and other revolutionary proceedings, however, the freed men of colour acquired property, which they certainly held by as good a title as any of thoſe who had been enriched by the revolution in France. Arms had been put into their hands to defend the property which France itſelf was unable to protect, and they received repeated acknowledgments from the mother country, of the value and extent of their ſervices. At length, through the conflicts of factions at home, all authority in the colonies was loſt, and the people of colour, reſigned to their own impulſes, were obliged to legiſlate and eſtabliſh authorities for themſelves. But when peace with England gave the French government the means of conſulting its own intereſt and dignity in theſe parts, a new and violent ſyſtem is ſuddenly adopted; all authority is to be taken from the negroes; the property they have acquired is to be rendered doubtful by the recal of the original proprietors; ſlavery is reeſtabliſhed in ſome iſlands, and freedom is not expreſsly guaranteed in any. The negroes reſiſt; they are purſued to extermination, or after yielding are ſubject to a new courſe of perſecution, ariſing from fear and ſuſpicion, and purſued in an inflexible ſpirit of vindictive cruelty. Even the ſlave trade, the object of ſo many ſilly declamations, is revived by France in its utmoſt extent, and not confined to thoſe iſlands in which it was lately declared, that ſlavery alone ſhould be allowed. Under ſuch circumſtances, few expected that the reſumed authority of the French in their iſlands would be proſperous or durable. In Guadaloupe the chances of renewed inſurrection were but ſmall; but St. Domingo was expected to produce abundant ſcenes of reſiſtance, when the people of colour ſhould recover from their preſent ſtupor, and reſort to the ample means which they poſſeſſed, to gain the objects moſt dear to them, liberty and revenge.

While the French in their Weſt India iſlands, were thus alternately inflicting and ſuffering the evils ariſing out of the crimes and errors of thoſe who founded the revolution, the Britiſh ſettlements were not exempt from, though leſs ſeverely viſited by, the bad conſequences of the ſame ſyſtem. The mode of warfare adopted by the French, had compelled the Britiſh government to arm vaſt numbers of people of colour; and the growing confidence of this race, ariſing from their number, and the experienced ſucceſs of their reſiſtance to the authority of the whites in ſome iſlands, rendered the taſk of reſtraining and controuling them, extremely difficult.

In Tobago, when intelligence arrived Dec. 1801. that the iſland was to be reſtored to France, the people of colour flew to arms. They muſtered ſome thouſands, and determined to attack the Britiſh troops under Brigadier General Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men. He had the good fortune to gain intelligence of the plot, and ſeized thirty of the ringleaders. The

The following day, he hung one of them on the signal staff at the fort, and gave orders that his body thus suspended, should be lowered and hoisted about thirty times, firing each time a signal gun. The negroes who saw the process from a distance, considered each new elevation of the body as a separate execution, and concluding that almost all their chiefs had suffered the penalty due to their offence, gave up their project in despair, and tranquillity was restored. The ringleaders who were taken, acknowledged that their intention was indiscriminate carnage; nor did they state any particular grievance as inciting them to particular exertion, but only a general, vague notion of recovering liberty; and to this they had resolved to sacrifice, not only the whites, who had treated them with much kindness, but also, those of their own colour who did not join in their enterprize. The
Feb. 23. legislature of the island, in acknowledgment of the services of Brigadier General Carmichael, voted him their thanks and a sword.

Oct. 24. When, in consequence of the treaty of peace, the French took possession of this island, they also encountered the opposition of a few insurgents, aided by refugees from Guadaloupe, but a prompt display of vigorous resistance dispelled the insurrection before any mischief had been effected.

April 9. In Dominica, an alarm still more serious was excited, by the mutiny of an intire regiment of Blacks; the 8th West India regiment. These men presented no complaint to their officers, but their alleged grievances, as afterward discovered, were, the task of collecting wood which they were obliged to fulfil, as they were taught to apprehend, for the profit of their officers; some deficiencies in their food, and some delays in settling their accounts; but principally the duty imposed on them of draining a morass, at which they had already laboured two days, and which was still expected to occupy a considerable time; and they were further instigated by a false and malicious report, that they were to be sold for slaves. In the first transport of their ill judging fury, they put to death in an inhuman manner, captain Cameron, lieutenant Mackay, lieutenant Wastnays, commissary Laing, and quarter master Mc. Kay. They also dangerously wounded two other officers. The honourable Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, who was colonel of the regiment, as well as governor of the island, immediately collected all the militia and European troops he could muster, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, which was the scene of the insurrection. Some ships of war being fortunately in the bay, the marines landed, to co-operate with the governor in reducing the mutineers. He found them drawn up, at their usual place of parade, with two of their officers, whose lives they had spared, in front. They were prepared for, and determined on, resistance, having manned the several batteries commanding the approach to the port, and refusing to ground their arms when ordered by the governor. They were immediately fired on, and from the batteries returned several vollies of grape, beside the fire of their own musketry.

musketry. They also fired from the fort on the men of war, but from their ignorance in the use of artillery, did more injury to themselves by the explosion of their own cartridges, than to those against whom they intended the effect. It was observed that with their muskets they took particular aim at Colonel Cochrane Johnstone; he had a horse shot under him, as had Mr. Holmes who commanded the militia. The conflict was not of long duration; the mutineers were quickly defeated; and so judicious were the arrangements of the governor, that they were all killed or made prisoners, except about forty grenadiers who fled to the woods. Their loss in killed exceeded 60; the prisoners including 40 wounded, were 370, of whom it was determined to try, and punish some of the principal offenders. The loss of the white troops was four killed, and twenty-four severely wounded.

April 27. In announcing these events, and the execution of some of the offenders to the other West India regiments, the adjutant general expressed the unaltered confidence of the commander in chief in their fidelity; he believed, it was said, that the soldiers of the West India regiments would consider with abhorrence the cruel murders committed by those of the 8th regiment, and he would continue surrounded and guarded by those troops with the most intire confidence in their fidelity and good conduct. Such sentiments were honourable to the individual on whose behalf they were uttered, but it must ever be lamented, that the circumstances of the war should have been such as to oblige government to resort to the dangerous practice of putting arms into such hands.

While the French possessed so great a force in Saint Domingo, some alarm must necessarily be felt by government for the safety of Jamaica; at least, no confidence in the good intentions of the French would have justified the British government, after the many warnings they received in Parliament, had they omitted any precaution for the safety of that most valuable colony. It has already been mentioned, March that ministers provided for the protection of the island by sending out a strong fleet, and in the course of the spring, a considerable reinforcement of troops was sent, drawn from the German legion, and the dutch-artillery-men. A succour of this kind was the more necessary for Jamaica, as government had, in order to quiet the apprehensions of the inhabitants, sent away from the island the second West India regiment, and consented that in future, the wishes of their legislature should be complied with, and no force of that description employed in the colony without their concurrence. Under these and some other circumstances, it was thought expedient that the island should tax itself for the support of a large military establishment, and accordingly the lieutenant go- June 17. vernor having convened the council and assembly, made a speech expressing the reluctance he felt at being obliged to call them together at such an unusual season; but trusted the importance of the object would point out the necessity of the measure. He hoped they would,

would, with their usual patriotism and liberality, take into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which the island was placed, and make full provision for the exigencies accordingly.

In explanation of his speech, his honour, on the same day, transmitted to the House of assembly, a message, accompanied with three letters, one being from Lord Hobart, recommending them to the serious attention of the House, and explaining the propriety and necessity of the measure he wished to be adopted in consequence. He assigned as motives for their compliance, the immense debt, which the mother country had incurred in the prosecution of the war, and for the security of the British possessions, and the absolute necessity of her resorting to some extraordinary means, for enabling her to support the increased naval and military establishments, so imperiously required in all parts of the empire, but more particularly in her West India colonies, from the melancholy and alarming state of some of the neighbouring islands; the mutual harmony and thorough confidence between the British government and the island of Jamaica, which would naturally follow so liberal and just a proceeding on the part of the assembly; the minds of the proprietors and inhabitants of the island, being set at rest upon the question of the employment of black troops as a part of their defence: the colonies being relieved from the expence of maintaining the 20th regiment of dragoons as a permanent part of its establishment, which might be more than equal to the pay of 1,000 infantry: and the pledge given by the assembly to pay 2,000 white troops at a much less critical period than the present, which, for very obvious reasons, required full 5,000 regular infantry, together with the whole militia of the island placed upon an improved footing, to render her secure against invasion and insurrection. These were the reasons assigned for recommending the proposal sent out by government, by which the island was required to maintain the effective numbers upon the returns of the several corps upon their establishment, not exceeding 5,000 men, numbers which would probably be reduced at a future period, by the restoration of good order and submission in the French islands. The opening and the rapid improvement of the interior country, the message proceeded, by constructing barracks therein, and the consequent increased means of maintaining the expence of 5,000 infantry, or such a part of that number as it may be requisite hereafter to station in Jamaica; the great prospect of a much more ready and extensive sale for the produce of the colony, from new markets being opened to its commerce by the blessings of peace; the advantages attending the placing of the barrack department under the direction and controul of the commander in chief, and the formation of a corps of black artificers, with white master artificers and foremen at their head, under the immediate direction of the island engineer, which would diminish in a great degree the expence of that branch of the public service, and do away altogether

together the preſent difficulties attending contracts for the neceſſary works, ſo improvident and ineffectual a ſyſtem for the objects in view; were aſſigned as additional reaſons which had impreſſed themſelves ſo forcibly, and with ſuch thorough conviction, upon his honour's mind, that he had given directions for the embarkation of the 20th regiment of dragoons, and the 2d Weſt India regiment.

June 21. This requiſition did not find acceptance in the Houſe of aſſembly. The committee to whom the conſideration of it was referred, drew up a long report, in which they ſtated that, although his majeſty's ſubjects in that iſland, in the full confidence of their having an equal right to protection, for defence and ſecurity, as his majeſty's ſubjects reſident in Great Britain, had at all times progreſſively contributed their full proportion for defraying the expences of the empire at large, they had uniformly reſiſted applications made by his majeſty's miniſters, tending to burthen the country with the Britiſh pay of ſuch troops, as had been ſent there for its protection; and although from exiſting circumſtances the aſſembly did, on ſome occaſions, depart from a principle which they conſidered to be an inherent right, the Houſe did, on ſuch occaſions, ſtrongly remonſtrate againſt the conditions inſiſted on by his majeſty's miniſters, when they conceded to the wiſhes of the country, as being equally unconſtitutional and unjuſt. They had always provided an iſland maintenance for the troops, but that was always a voluntary act. When his majeſty was ſolicited to add a regiment of cavalry to the force then ſtationed in the iſland, and the 20th regiment of light dragoons was raiſed and ſent out, it was not conſidered as a permanent eſtabliſhment, but an experiment reſorted to, when the ſituation of St. Domingo cauſed the greateſt alarm and terror for the ſafety of Jamaica. When the aſſembly agreed to give Britiſh pay to 2000 men, the meaſure was held out as a ſubſtitute to avert the evils and imminent danger, at that time apprehended by the inhabitants at large, from having black troops raiſed or ſent there, or in other language, armed ſlaves to defend and protect the rights, the liberties, and properties, not only of free men, but of Britiſh ſubjects; a meaſure not only conſidered to proceed from ignorance of the local circumſtances, laws, and conſtitution of the iſland, but viewed with that abhorrence and indignation which it could not fail to excite. In the ſubſtitute offered by the aſſembly, to pay and ſubſiſt 2000 white troops at the ſole expence of the country, it was expreſsly ſtipulated that no black military eſtabliſhment ſhould be raiſed in or ſent to the iſland. Yet the Duke of Portland, in a diſpatch to the late commander in chief, had declared in the ſtrongeſt terms, the intention of reſuming the eſtabliſhment of the black troops, and did actually ſend the ſecond Weſt India regiment to the iſland, in direct violation of the condition agreed to in reſpect to that meaſure, and the contract entered into by the aſſembly for the Britiſh pay and ſubſiſtence of 2000 men, was thereby made void to all intents and purpoſes. From theſe conſiderations, the Houſe

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deemed it to be their duty, not to comply with the requiſition ſignified in Lord Hobart's diſpatches. If they could be induced to depart from their duty by an inclination to comply with the miniſter's requiſition, the circumſtances in which the country was involved, from the great depreſſion in the prices of its various ſtaples and articles of commerce; the exorbitant riſe in all articles of Britiſh and Iriſh merchandize and proviſions imported; the advanced price of every article neceſſary for cultivation and ſubſiſtence; the injurious regulations and reſtrictions on its produce in the Britiſh markets; the ruinous and oppreſſive duties exiſting, and likely to be increaſed, on its imports from, and exports to Great Britain; the difficulties attending its commercial intercourſe with the American ſtates, from whence many moſt eſſential articles neceſſary for carrying on cultivation, and ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants of all deſcriptions, could alone be obtained, ariſing from the prohibition, to export any article of their ſtaple productions, except rum and molaſſes in American bottoms; and the preſſure of a very heavy debt, for which a high rate of intereſt was paid, would render it altogether totally impoſſible for the people to pay ſuch an enormous amount of additional taxes, as would be neceſſarily required to ſupport ſuch an expenſive eſtabliſhment.

In the Houſe it was attempted to engraft on this declaration an amendment, promiſing to comply in a certain degree with the wiſhes of government, by making the uſual proviſion of ſubſiſtence and accommodation for the intended augmented force of 2000 effective men from year to year, ſo long as circumſtances might render ſuch a number, or any part thereof, neceſſary for protection and defence, in addition to the 3000, for which the iſland was already pledged to provide; but on a diviſion this accommodating propoſition was rejected by 24 to 6.

The ſame day the Lieutenant governor's firſt meſſage was thus diſmiſſed, he ſent a ſecond, laying before the Houſe an eſtimate of the expence of forming a corps of black artificers, with contingent charges, and as he found it impoſſible to ſtation the troops, or to carry on the neceſſary works, with any advantage to the public, or the ſervice in general, without having the direction and control of the barrack department, he requeſted the Houſe to ſacrifice their private convenience to the public exigency of this very material object, by intruſting the management thereof to him, and to paſs an act accordingly. To this meſſage an anſwer June 22. was returned, importing, that as the meſſage embraced objects of very conſiderable importance, and would lead to inveſtigations and diſcuſſions, which, by occaſioning a further duration of the preſent ſeſſion at that ſeaſon of the year, would prove highly inconvenient; they requeſted that he would permit them to poſtpone the conſideration of his meſſage until the uſual period of meeting for the diſpatch of public buſineſs. This motion was carried only by a majority of four, the numbers being 15 to 11.

Such was the termination of a memorable diſpute, or rather difference of opinion, between the executive

cutive and legiſlative powers in this important colony. The reſiſtance made by the aſſembly, is the more remarkable, as it ſhews that the people of Jamaica did not entertain all thoſe alarms on the peace, and on the tranſactions in St. Domingo, which ſome perſons in England felt for them. Had they really been agitated by thoſe apprehenſions, they would not have refuſed, on any terms, the defence offered them, but accepted it, for the preſent, at leaſt, guarding the conſtitutional principle they contended for by the ſtrongeſt proteſts they could have deviſed; nor would they, under ſuch circumſtances, have heſitated to inveſt the lieutenant governor with the moderate temporary powers he required, ſince nothing in their compliance could have given him a permanent or renewable authority, and they might alſo have prevented their act from being drawn into a precedent.

As in ſome degree connected with, although not abſolutely ariſing out of the affairs of the Weſt Indies, it may be proper in this place to mention the ſtate of the colony of Sierra Leone, which in the courſe of the ſeſſion engaged the attention of Parliament. This ſettlement was formed in purſuance of an act of Parliament paſſed in 1791 *, at a place where a ſimilar attempt had been made a few years before, but with ſuch bad ſucceſs that not a trace of the ſettlers remained. The ſcheme was promoted by thoſe who hoped, by civilizing Africa, to effect the abolition of the ſlave trade. The ſettlement was under the direction of a company who began their operations with a capital of 230,000*l.* the produce of ſhares of 50*l.* each. The intent of the eſtabliſhment was to introduce civilization into Africa, by means of a ſecure factory at Sierra Leone, with a view to a new trade in produce, chiefly with the interior. The undertaking was never proſperous, thoſe who oppoſed it from the beginning maintained, that it never could be ſo, but its patrons aſcribed its failure to other cauſes. One of theſe was the introduction into the ſettlement of 1200 blacks from Nova Scotia. Theſe were ſlaves from different parts of America, who in the American war adhered to the Britiſh intereſts, and being declared free, were, after the termination of that conteſt, placed in the province of Nova Scotia. They had often complained of the unfavourable climate in that ſettlement, and were therefore in March 1792, removed to the more genial temperature of Sierra Leone. Soon after the period of their arrival, the hot and rainy ſeaſon ſetting in, retarded thoſe operations from which the ſubſiſtence and further advantages of the colony were to be derived. In February 1793, the war broke out, which not only diminiſhed their proſpects of commercial proſperity, but rendered great additional expences neceſſary; and in October 1794, the colony was attacked and taken by a French ſquadron. All the moveable property of the company was either carried off or deſtroyed; ſeveral ſhips were captured, and every building belonging to the company

* See Annual Regiſter. Vol. xxxiii. p. 155.

was burnt. Their loſs on this occaſion was eſtimated at 52,000*l.*; beſides which, their expences in the firſt two years exceeded 111,000*l.*; ſo that the capital originally ſubſcribed was nearly ſunk, and the 50*l.* ſhares were at a nominal eſtimate of 5*l.* each, though in fact, worth nothing.

In this period, the coloniſts had not been deficient in exertion. An expedition was made into the interior in 1794, by two of their people, who travelled three-hundred miles in-land, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, and in conſequence, a deputation of chiefs came from the king of that country to Sierra Leone, for the purpoſe of opening a trading communication with the company. The town of Teembo has about eight-thouſand inhabitants, and another town near it contains about 4000. The people of that part are far more civilized than thoſe on the coaſt. The children learn to read and write Arabic. A factory was in conſequence eſtabliſhed by the company in the higher part of a river leading to the Foulah's country; but, partly through diſturbances which afterward aroſe in that kingdom, and partly through other cauſes, the intercourſe with the interior was checked. The attack on the colony by the French, combined with other circumſtances ſo greatly diminiſhed the company's funds, as to lay them under a neceſſity of contracting their trade, and reducing conſiderably the ſcale of their eſtabliſhment, which had been at all times very limited. The Nova Scotia negroes too, inſtead of a benefit were found to be materially injurious to the ſettlement. They brought with them all the bad habits of freed ſlaves; lazineſs, drunkenneſs, and proud mutinous ſpirits. Theſe vices added to the ills felt by the colony, and augmented the difficulty of obtaining Europeans of good character to ſettle among them. Yet they purſued their original plan with all poſſible induſtry, and in 1798 the following was the ſtate of their circumſtances.

Freetown, their chief abode, conſiſted of about 300 houſes laid out with regularity, and of many public buildings. One principal wharf had been erected by the company, and two others by individuals. The inhabitants of the colony were about 1200. The heads of families were about 300. Of theſe about one half were ſupported by their farms, many were mechanics, about fifteen were retail ſhop-keepers, twenty or twenty-five followed the buſineſs of fiſhing, ten or fifteen traded in ſmall veſſels of their own, four were employed as ſchool-maſters, twelve or fifteen as ſeamen, and about twenty as labourers under the company. A few Nova Scotians reſided among the natives, and a few acted as ſervants or mechanics at ſlave factories. The number of Europeans reſiding in the colony was from twenty to thirty. At that period, about three or four-hundred native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the ſettlement for hire, chiefly on the farms, which were increaſing rapidly; ſome in the ſervice of Europeans, ſome in that of the Nova Scotians. Theſe native labourers were free men, who came from neighbouring parts. They received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own. It was

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uſual for moſt of them to return home for a ſhort time, after remaining five or ſix months in the colony; but the place of thoſe who went, was always ſupplied by a ſucceſſion of other labourers. Theſe Grumettas improved greatly in their dreſs; and ſcarcely any of the money which they earned was expended in the purchaſe of ſpirits, to the uſe of which both the Africans in general and many of the ſettlers were much addicted. Freetown was at this time a place of conſiderable reſort. It was eſtimated that from one to two hundred natives viſited the ſettlement every day, for the ſake chiefly of exchanging articles of African produce for Britiſh manufactures. Many of theſe natives came in canoes, ſome of them from a diſtance of eighty or one-hundred miles. The company's government had alſo ſucceeded in ſome degree in extending its influence among the natives, whoſe confidence was ſtrongly indicated by many circumſtances, but particularly by the readineſs with which they ſent ſome of their children to the colony, and even to this country, for education.

The Nova Scotians began in an early period of the ſettlement, to manifeſt a great ſpirit of turbulence and inſubordination; and a party of them had on one occaſion made an attempt on the life of the governor. This ſpirit received a conſiderable check by the defeat of the attempt; but it again revived, and continued to increaſe ſo rapidly, as to threaten the overthrow of the colony. The directors, anxious to repreſs the growing evil, obtained from the crown in the year 1800, a charter of juſtice; and a captain of one of his majeſty's ſhips of war, was charged with the delivery of it. Directions were alſo given, that a ſmall force ſhould be detached from Goree for the purpoſe of being ſtationed in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the commandant of Goree received inſtructions to extend ſuch farther aſſiſtance as might be aſked by the governor of Sierra Leone, and could properly be afforded to this colony.

Parliament had at different times voted 29,000*l.* for the benefit of the colony, when in 1800, the directors undertook to receive under their protection the Maroons from Jamaica. They at firſt expreſſed a wiſh to decline receiving them, chiefly in conſequence of their experience of the difficulty of governing the Nova Scotians. They were, however, led to conſent, partly by an inclination to comply with the wiſhes of government, partly by an idea that the Maroons might form ſome counterpoiſe to the Nova Scotians, (for which reaſon the directors were very deſirous of planting them in a ſomewhat diſtant town), and partly by an opinion, that the Maroons and their children, if placed under the company's care, would have a better chance of civilization, than if landed, as they were otherwiſe likely to be, in ſome part of Africa which was independent of the company. The Maroons arrived in October 1800, and aſſiſted in quelling an inſurrection of the Nova Scotians, who underſtanding that means were about to be taken for eſtabliſhing the company's authority, had endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the government. Several of the inſurgents were

killed in this conflict; many were taken and tried, of whom three were executed and several were baniſhed. Some of the ring-leaders eſcaped among the natives.

The governor and council employed their new power and authority in introducing a ſyſtem of order, and were beginning to witneſs the happy effects of it, when a ſudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the very exiſtence of the ſettlement by ſome native chiefs in the neighbourhood, who had previouſly evinced no hoſtile intentions, nor alleged any cauſe of complaint againſt the colony. About day-break on the morning of the 18th of November, 1801, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotia inſurgents, who had effected their eſcape after the inſurrection of the former year, made an aſſault on the unfiniſhed fort in which the government-houſe was ſituated. After ſome loſs of men had been ſuſtained on both ſides, the aſſailants were repulſed, and forced to withdraw from the ſituation they occupied in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony. A truce was afterward concluded, but it was conceived that the chiefs engaged in the attack, who were intirely of the Timmaney nation, were endeavouring to gain over people of other nations to their cauſe, by exciting among them an apprehenſion of the conſequences of the growing power of the Sierra Leone ſettlement.

In conſequence of this danger, a ſmall reinforcement was obtained from Goree; and it was not long before their utility was demonſtrated. At a time when it was imagined that tranquillity was perfectly reſtored, and that no diſpute remained between the ſettlement and the natives, a party of the latter, in number about 300, juſt after the firing of the morning gun, attacked the fort in which were only ſixty men, and after ſhooting the patroling centinel, forced a gate, and twelve of them had gained an entrance, when they were charged, and forced to retreat. They rallied again and were beaten back; they then kept up a ſmart fire on the outſide, for about twenty minutes, but being flanked by a baſtion on one ſide, and a large block-houſe on the other, they were obliged to retreat, leaving ſeventeen men dead under the fort. In the mean time a large party had kept up a heavy fire on the town, but when they perceived their friends running from the fort they fled alſo, but were purſued three miles, and ſeveral ſhot. Four pound guns loaded with grape, were fired on them in their retreat from a block-houſe, which annoyed them greatly. Fortunately the garriſon, though ſurprized, were not unprepared, for had the aſſailants ſucceeded, a general maſſacre would have enſued. As it was, they loſt only four killed and ſeventeen wounded, while of the enemy they diſcovered thirty-four dead bodies, and had every reaſon to believe that a much greater number had periſhed.

April 10.

Such was the ſtate of the company, when an application in their behalf was made to Parliament, and produced the report from which the above ſtatement has been principally derived. When it was ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Houſe, Lord Caſtle-

June 11.

Caſtlereagh moved that 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted for defraying the charges of the civil eſtabliſhment of the Sierra Leone company. In his ſpeech he ſtated this to be a mere allowance of juſt remuneration for the coſt the company had ſuſtained by the introduction of 1200 Nova Scotia negroes, and 550 maroons. General Gaſcoyne oppoſed the propoſition, aſſerting that after an experiment of eleven years the company had failed in every object they had in view; nor had any advantages been derived from the eſtabliſhment, but ſuch as conſiſted in the exportation of piety and Britiſh ſpirits. The only improvement in the manners of the natives, was in the taſte they had acquired for brandy, which was almoſt the only kind of ſpecie which the company employed. A college, too was to be formed in this ſettlement, and the public were to be called upon to defray the expence of an eſtabliſhment for the united benefit of the lank-haired methodiſts of England, and the woolly haired Timmaneys, of Sierra Leone. Theſe opinions were combated by Mr. Thornton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſome other members, and the ſupply was voted.

The events recorded in this chapter may be contemplated with ſome advantage by thoſe who are too ſanguine in the hope of benefits from the projects of ſpeculative humanity. They comprize the melancholy reſult of a ſeries of experiments made by two great nations on ſubjects, which ſince the year 1782, have been fruitful themes of declamation and project; the abolition either immediate or gradual of the trade for ſlaves, and the emancipation of thoſe already acquired. The French had gone to the whole extent recommended by the moſt ſanguine and inconſiderate of advocates, by proclaiming univerſal freedom and equality, and they were forced to attempt to extricate themſelves from the bad conſequences of their meaſures, by multiplied acts of violence, cruelty and treachery, while, by law, they reinſtituted ſlavery, and re-eſtabliſhed the ſlave trade. The ſettlement at Sierra Leone was formed under the immediate auſpices of thoſe perſons in England, who had profeſſed the moſt active and earneſt deſire to aboliſh the ſlave trade, and if it could ever be aboliſhed ſuch a ſettlement preſented the beſt, and the only proper mode of effecting that end; an eſtabliſhment by which the natives, learning the arts and habits of ſocial life, might acquire a knowledge of their own value, and themſelves abrogate the practice of enſlaving and ſelling each other. Yet the reſult of eleven years experiment caſt no flattering light on this project, and the individuals engaged in it, inſtead of having to congratulate themſelves and the public on their ſucceſs, were driven into parliament with a petition for relief, and a ſtatement of diſtreſſes; the whole report drawn up by perſons friendly to their application, conſiſts in a narrative of tumult, anarchy, mutiny, bloodſhed and diſaſter, and comprizes an apology for treaſure waſted, expectations diſappointed, promiſes not realized, and projects not completed.

CHAP. XVIII.

View of affairs on the Continent of Europe. The Italian Republic; Tumult at Bologna; the people disarmed; military law established. The king of Sardinia abdicates his throne; Piedmont incorporated with France; proclamation on that occasion; organization of the new department. Death of the Duke of Parma; his dominions annexed to France. Effect of these acquisitions injurious to the Emperor of Germany. The reduction of his power more strenuously pursued in the diet at Ratisbon; Proceedings in that body; Ratisbon declared neutral; the diet agrees to the peace concluded by the Emperor; vote of the ecclesiastical states; answer of the Emperor; vote requesting the Emperor to take on himself the task of making final arrangements; he refuses. Death of the Elector of Cologne; Prussia requires that the election of a new Bishop of Munster shall be suspended; France declares the same opinion; protest of the Minister of Cologne and Munster; answer of the Chapter of Munster to the King of Prussia; the Archduke Anthony, brother of the Emperor elected; other protests on the occasion; Correspondence between Count Stadion and Haugwitz. General proposition of secularizations for the purpose of indemnity; enforced by a peremptory message of the French Minister to the Diet; the Diet resolves to transfer its powers to an extraordinary deputation; its formation. Measures taken by Prussia and France preparatory to its meeting; Interview of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia; Treaty between France and Wirtemberg, the Emperor assembles the States of Hungary; their loyal proceedings; Prussia marches troops into the Bishopric of Munster; submissive proclamation of the Dean and Chapter. The extraordinary deputation summoned; on its meeting a plan of indemnities is presented by Russia and France; its principal arrangements; observations; Treaty between France and Bavaria; Reasons why France particularly favours the Electors of Baden, and Wirtemberg; dissatisfaction of the Emperor; Bavaria attempts to occupy Passau; is prevented by the Emperor; proceedings of France and Prussia; their treaty with Bavaria; note of the imperial Minister to the deputation; answers of France, Russia, Prussia and Saxony; modification of the indemnities. Compensations to the Prince of Orange; their insufficiency; observations on this subject as applicable to England. View of the State of the United provinces; new Constitution. France still keeps an army in Holland. Definitive treaty between France and the Porte. Complaints of France against Algiers; a French squadron sent there; letter of Bonaparte; submissive answer of the dey; the squadron proceeds to Tunis; is equally well received. View of the State of France; Bonaparte re-elected First Consul for ten years, after the expiration of his first ten; the Consuls decree that the people shall decide whether or not he shall be Consul for life; the affirmative generally voted; Carnot votes in the negative; a bill circulated recommending that Bonaparte shall be Emperor; deputa-

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tion informing Bonaparte of the election; his answer. Measures for the re-establishment of the catholic worship; Cardinal Caprara goes to Paris as legate; organic laws prepared for carrying the Concordat into effect; recommended in speeches by Portalis, Lucien Bonaparte and others, and adopted; its principal regulations; Cardinal Caprara admitted to an audience by the First Consul; celebration of the restoration of the catholic religion. Legion of honour established. Senatus Consultum for organizing the Constitution; all power centered in the First Consul, who is also authorized to nominate his successor. Celebration of Bonaparte's birth-day; ambitious views of the French government; the army augmented; rigour of government. Bonaparte's jealousy of Moreau; his uneasiness at publications in England; virulence of the press in France against this country; other subjects of discontent between the two Countries; the French government adverse to the renewal of commercial intercourse; long interval between the signature of the definitive treaty, and the mission of embassadors; General Andréossi at length sent to London, and Lord Whitworth to Paris; many Englishmen visit Paris; introduction of Mr. Fox to Bonaparte. Brief view of affairs in England; political hostility less violent than formerly; general Election; contests for Norwich, Nottingham, Westminster and Middlesex; the Ministry do not interfere. Conspiracy and arrest of Colonel Despard. Conclusion.

LEAVING these scenes of savage hostility to contemplate the state of Europe, the specious name of peace seems to promise the renewal of the blessings of social intercourse, but the view of events on the continent exhibits only the effect of an universal struggle maintained by France for aggrandizement and power; a sort of pacific campaign, where guile and menace with an occasional exhibition of force, produced for France more beneficial results, and degraded other sovereigns more than almost any series of victories which had been achieved during the war.

The powers of Europe having witnessed, not only without opposition, but with congratulation, the circumstances attending the formation of the Italian republic, could not be expected to shew a greater sensation at other occurrences, which, at some periods, would have excited considerable alarm with respect to that territory, and others in its neighbourhood. The people of the Italian republic, under the mockery of their new constitution, were taught to feel the full weight of despotic power. Disturbances having arisen at Bologna, occasioned, it was said, by the scarcity of provisions, Verdier, a French general of division, arrested several of the rioters, and sent them to France; he then published a proclamation prohibiting the inhabitants from carrying about with them any species of weapon, even sticks, and threatened to arrest those who should act in contradiction to this order, and deliver them over to be tried by a military commission, in the same manner as if they had been taken in the act of insurrection with arms in their July 20.

hands. A large body of French troops was immediately poured into the diſtrict, and the Conſulta of State, proceeding according to the forms of the new conſtitution, confirmed the orders iſſued by Verdier, and appointed for the trial of future offenders, a military commiſſion of five officers, to proceed according to martial law, and from whoſe deciſion or authority, there was to be no appeal. In the autumn, the government publiſhed a report on the ſtate of the republic, tending rather to excite hope for the future than ſatisfaction at the preſent, but ſhewing above all things, a moſt abject ſubmiſſion to France, and a moſt determined reliance on the genius and fortune of Bonaparte.

July 27.

Sept. 1.

Diſguſted with his condition, and regretting his want of importance, deprived as he was, by the effects of war, of all beneficial ſovereignty over Piedmont, the king of Sardinia, by a formal act, abdicated his throne, and appointed as his ſucceſſor, his brother, Victor Emanuel, late Duke of Aoſta. This unuſual meaſure was taken at Rome, whither the king had repaired in the courſe of the preceding month, and was moſt affectionately received by the Pope. Probably the exhortations of the Sovereign Pontiff fixed the reſolutions of the monarch, for the almoſt immediate conſequence was, a ſtretch of power by Bonaparte. As ſoon as poſſible after the abdication of the king was known, a decree was framed for Piedmont, as the 27th military diviſion of the French republic, inviting, by all the arts of conciliation, the ſubmiſſion and friendſhip of the people, who had continually ſince their ſubjugation by France, ſhewn, by acts of inſurrection, their attachment to their old rulers. To effect the deſired end, a general amneſty of political crimes was declared, and there was to be no liſt of emigrants; all perſons abſent, even thoſe who held offices under the king of Sardinia, were, allowed, till the 23d of September following to return, and were to make a declaration before the prefect of their department, renouncing all communion with the Houſe of Savoy, and all foreign powers, and to take an oath of fidelity to the conſtitution of the French people. Thoſe who, after that period, ſhould perſiſt in remaining emigrants were to be declared definitively baniſhed, and their property confiſcated to the uſe of the republic. In recommendation of this plan, Chaptal, the Miniſter of State, in a letter to Jourdan, to whom the execution of the decree was intruſted, obſerved, that the firſt conſul had choſen for carrying this arrêté into execution, the period, when the king of Sardinia had, for the ſecond time, by renouncing the crown, releaſed the Piedmonteſe from their oath of Allegiance. The conſervative ſenate ſpeedily formed what they called an *Organic Senatus Conſultum* for giving effect to this decree of annexation. The territory ſeized was united to the French republic by the name of the departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura and Tanaro. The department of Po was to ſend to the legiſlative body four deputies, thoſe of Marengo, Stura,

June 4.

June 29.

Sept. 11.

Stura, and Tanaro three each; and those of Doire and Sezia two each, making the whole number 318; and the order of their retiring from the legislature was formally fixed. Turin was to be among the principal cities of the republic, and made the number of those cities twenty-five.

As an indemnity for the dominion thus for ever separated from the crown of Sardinia, some people imagined that the first consul would confer on the new sovereign, at a fit opportunity, the duchy of Parma, to which he was entitled by the secret treaty executed at Madrid in March 1801. The fallacy of this speculation was soon effectually demonstrated, for

Oct. 9. the reigning Duke dying suddenly, in the fifty-first year of his age, his territories were immediately taken possession of as part of France. The duke himself seems not to have expected any such measure, for, before his decease, he made provision for the administration of public affairs by a council of regency, at the head of which he placed the Duchess his wife. If this Princess ever indulged a dream of greatness, founded on this testamentary disposition of her husband, the period of her delusion was very short, for in fourteen days after his de-

Oct. 23. cease, Moreau-de-Saint Mery First Counsellor of State, invested with the authority of Administrator General of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, published, on behalf of his government, a proclamation that the first consul had decided that, from the present moment, the exercise of sovereignty was, by just right, transferred to the French republic. No further notice was taken of any of the late royal family, than by a declaration that the provisional regency established by the late Duke was suppressed; and the proclamation in general, tended only to affirm authority and claim submission.

These acquisitions were in many respects important to France, but in none more than in giving her a great and uncontroulable ascendancy over the Emperor of Germany. By means of Parma, France could at pleasure bring her armies into the heart of Italy; from the town of Piacenza it was easy to pass the Po, and these possessions supplied means of marching troops, with little difficulty, to the banks of the Adige, the weakest part of the Austrian frontier. In these transactions, indeed, France shewed a spirit which fully confirmed the judgment of those who in treating on the new constitution, and even denomination of the Italian republic, argued that the sovereignty of all Italy was the determined aim of French ambition *.

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* It may be worth mention as a mere anecdote, that in the course of the year, the Senate of the Ligurian Republic (Genoa) passed in favour of Bonaparte, one of those awkward distressing votes of compliment, which are more galling to a proud mind, than direct abuse, however, founded on truth. "The senate considering that it is conformable to the ancient institutions of the Republic, to consecrate the images of great men who have rendered it illustrious: Considering that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, and that Napoleone Bonaparte had pacified the old, and by the labours of his Consulta, extended the limits of Liguria, secured its most important interests, and re-organized its laws, decreed unanimously that there should be

The depreſſion of the Houſe of Auſtria, ſo evidently aimed at in this quarter, was more openly and more ſucceſsfully purſued in the Diet held at Ratiſbon, for the purpoſe of arranging the indemnities to be received by the different powers in purſuance of the treaty of Luneville. It would be tedious, as well as unintereſting, to analyze all the proceedings of this formal and dilatory aſſembly, but ſome particulars will be found well intitled to notice. Immediately after the concluſion of peace by the treaty of Luneville, an edict was iſſued, declaring that for the purpoſe of ſecuring to the general aſſembly of the empire the moſt perfect liberty, the imperial city of Ratiſbon ſhould be declared neutral; the French troops withdrawn, and the city given up to its own garriſon and its own police, in ſuch manner that neither the troops of France, nor thoſe of the Emperor, ſhould be cantoned within a leſs diſtance than a mile.

The firſt buſineſs formally ſubmitted to the Diet was the acceptance of the peace of Luneville, which the Emperor, under the preſſure of circumſtances, had concluded, as well for the empire as for himſelf. To this act the members of the Diet, of whom many were directly under the influence of France, and many others looking up to her for beneficial indemnities, did not offer any direct objection, but their aſſent was ſo qualified, as not to be, in any degree, complimentary to the head of the empire. Theſe opinions and reſervations of rights to take part in negotiations yet to be entered into for the application of the baſis of the peace, and the objects concerning the internal conſtitution and relations of the empire, were ſtrongly expreſſed by the miniſters of the Elector of Bavaria and the king of Pruſſia. The eccleſiaſtical Princes of Spires and Conſtance, who ſaw themſelves likely to ſuffer by the ſecularization of their dominions, and probably by their being ſwallowed up as indemnities to ſome other power, declared that the ſacrifices to be made to indemnify the princes diſpoſſeſſed upon the left bank of the Rhine, ought to be ſupported by all the ſtates of the empire without diſtinction; that the buſineſs of indemnities ought to be treated as an internal affair *(res domeſtica)*, without the interference of any foreign power; that the diſtinction ſought to be made to the prejudice of the eccleſiaſtical princes and ſtates eſſentially intereſted the Catholic religion, without which the chriſtian communities could not long ſubſiſt in repoſe; and that if the conſtitutional bonds between the ſtates of the empire ſhould be broken, Germany, hitherto ſo happy under its conſtitution, would ſee itſelf expoſed to a general overthrow. Theſe are the moſt important of the votes; the general concluſum, adopted the 7th March 1801, imported a ratification of

be erected in the veſtibule of the national palace, two marble ſtatues, the firſt repreſenting Bonaparte, the ſecond, Columbus." Perhaps no compliment could be leſs acceptable to Bonaparte than that which, while he was ſwaying with arbitrary ſelf-will, the fate of nations and of ſovereigns, recorded in unequivocal terms, that he was claimed as a natural ſubject by one of the meaneſt of the governments which he allowed to exiſt.

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the treaty with thanks to the Emperor for having concluded it. In anſwer to this concluſum, the Emperor acknowledged the right of co-operation of the ſtates in matter of peace, and formally declared, that his having been enabled to conclude a treaty ſeparately, ſhould in no wiſe, prejudice for the future, and under all its relations, the Germanic conſtitution; but this ſame reſpect due to the conſtitution, and the obligation of maintaining it impoſed upon his majeſty by the Electors, in the capitulation of election, made it alſo his duty to protect, in the moſt ſolemn manner, in his quality of ſupreme chief, the rights of the Germanic conſtitution againſt all the arbitrary acts which had taken place during the war, by which the legal unity of Germany had been ſo violently ſhaken, and the force of the empire exceedingly paralized, to the end that ſuch examples of ſuch an illegal and arbitrary conduct ſhould not lead to a concluſion, that a change was tacitly effected in the important principles which exiſted for the ſafety and proſperity of Germany.

In the further progreſs of their buſineſs, the Diet, by a concluſum, publiſhed the 1ſt May 1801, propoſed that his imperial majeſty ſhould be intreated to take upon himſelf the adjuſtment of all the objects, which, according to the treaty of Luneville, were reſerved for particular arrangement, and to terminate thereby the work of peace, in conformity to the exact knowledge he poſſeſſed of the nature of negotiations, his wiſdom and conſtant ſolicitude for the well being and general proſperity of Germany. The votes on this propoſition, a copy of which, according to the forms of proceeding in ſuch aſſemblies, accompanied the concluſum, anticipated, the probability of its being rejected by the Emperor. He accordingly did reject it, and recommended the deliberation of the diet itſelf, aſſembled under its ſupreme head, as the moſt probable means of accelerating the work of peace. In this refuſal the Emperor evidently acted with judgment and prudence, for as the ſecularization of the eccleſiaſtical dominions was already avowed as a point determined on, and the nature of the indemnities to be given, would be regulated, not by juſtice or regard to the loſſes of the claimants, but to the degree of favour in which they ſtood with the government of France, it was moſt wiſe in the Emperor not to take on himſelf, perſonally, the taſk of breaking in pieces the conſtitution of Germany, and puniſhing thoſe who had ſupported, and rewarding thoſe who had deſerted and betrayed him.

Even thus early in the ſittings of the Diet, the nature of the combination againſt the Emperor, by whom it was formed, and by whom ſupported, was rendered public and evident. On the 27th of July died the Archduke Maximilian, Elector of Cologne, and uncle to the Emperor. Immediately on this event being known, M. Van Dohm, miniſter plenipotentiary of the king of Pruſſia, by an official note to the Diet, dated the 15th of Auguſt, notified the fact, and the conſequent vacancy in the biſhoprick of Munſter, obſerving that by the ſeventh article of

of the treaty of Luneville, and the result of the negotiations of the congress of Rastadt, on which it was founded, it was already settled, that those secular states which had suffered by ceding the left banks of the Rhine, should receive indemnifications, which were to be effected by secularizations. The confiscation of the higher and lower ecclesiastical foundations was therefore unavoidable. From this situation of affairs it naturally followed, that on ecclesiastical foundations becoming vacant during this state of uncertainty, the elections must provisionally be suspended, lest they might impede the indemnifications stipulated in the treaty of peace, and prevent the final tranquilization of the distracted German empire. A suspension, grounded on such momentous reasons, could not prejudice the election, if it should afterward take place, and would evidently promote the welfare of the country, as the election of a regent, probably for a short period only, could not produce any alteration in the decision of a higher authority, and would cause an unnecessary burden to the country. A similar declaration, it was said, had been made to the Emperor himself, and to the reverend chapter. The communication to the Emperor did in fact require a suspension of election, not only to the bishoprick of Munster, but to the archbishoprick of Cologne.

The proceeding of Prussia was supported by France, whose minister, Bacher, delivered to the Diet in a sitting of the 31st of August, a letter from Talleyrand, affirming that the declaration of the king of Prussia was too conformable to the spirit and tenour of the treaty of peace, for the French government not to support it with all its power. On the same day too, the Prussian minister renewed in both colleges of the Diet, his objection to the election of a successor to the Elector of Cologne, and invited his co-estates to sanction the measure by passing a conformable resolution. This attack produced from the Baron de Leikam, minister of Cologne and Munster, a protest, wherein he declared that not only in conformity with ancient usage, but also with a view to the good of the country, the chapter of Cologne had, immediately on the death of the Elector, been convoked, and was proceeding to elect a successor. To this measure, neither the treaty of Luneville nor the determination of the Congress of Rastadt presented any obstacle, nor did they contain any thing tending to restrain the undeniable rights belonging to the chapter in the case of the existing vacancy. Such an application could the less take place, because the bishop of Munster was the directorial prince of a circle, whose relations, qualities and coherence with the Germanic constitution, were consecrated in the most solemn manner, by the fundamental laws of the empire; the future existence of which had not only been already expressly established by the treaty of Campo Formio, but had also been recognised in the negotiation of Rastadt by the French plenipotentiaries, in a manner the most unequivocal, and which could not be misunderstood as to the chapter

of

of Munſter. The miniſter was therefore ſatisfied that the French government, as ſoon as it ſhould be perfectly informed of the real ſtate of the matter, as it had been explained, would not oppoſe any impediment to the new election of one of the principal members of the empire, making an integral part of the conſtitutional compoſition of the Germanic body; but that it would hold itſelf called upon to protect it as a contracting party in the treaty of Luneville, and the negotiations of Raſtadt. To the private meſſage of the king of Pruſſia, the chapter alſo returned an anſwer, declaring, that they proceeded according to the eſtabliſhed forms of the conſtitution, which the king of Pruſſia was ſworn to maintain, and that their act could not be deemed irregular, as the Emperor, the chief party in the peace of Luneville, had ſent a commiſſioner to the election.

In conformity with the tenor of their declarations, the chapter proceeded to an election, and choſe to the vacant biſhoprick, the Archduke Anthony, brother of the Emperor of Germany. Againſt this act, the king of Pruſſia publiſhed in the Berlin Gazette on the 26th of September, a ſtrong proteſt; two days afterward, the electoral chapter of Cologne, preſented to the Diet their proteſt againſt the declarations of Pruſſia and France; and the Elector of Bavaria rejoined by a paper in which he treated the electoral proteſt of Cologne, as directed, not ſo much againſt the diſſent of the electors of Brandenburgh and Bavaria, as againſt the treaty of Luneville itſelf, on which account all further proteſt on this ſubject would be nugatory. As ſoon as the election was known to be completed, Count Cobentzel the prime miniſter of the Emperor of Germany, directed Count Stadion, the imperial miniſter at Berlin to notify the event, and at the ſame time to aſſure his Pruſſian Majeſty's miniſtry, that with reſpect to the Electorate of Cologne, the election of the archduke might be conſidered as indifferent; as the natural courſe of the accompliſhing of the indemnities by means of ſecularization, would not be altered from perſonal conſideration, or ſecondary views. Hence then the court of his Pruſſian majeſty might reſt perfectly convinced, that, while the imperial court, from love and regard to the old conſtitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, could never forbear inſiſting on the maintenance of the three ſpiritual electorates, the perſonal conſideration of the Archduke having been elected to be elector of Cologne, could not have the ſmalleſt influence on the conduct of the high imperial court. But, it was added, although the cathedral chapter of Munſter earneſtly preſſed, that the Archduke Anthony might repair to Munſter and take upon himſelf the government, yet his imperial majeſty, as head of the Houſe, had not yet given to his royal highneſs permiſſion to this purpoſe, but had rather intimated to the Cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time, in all reſpects in the ſame manner, as if the ſee was vacant. To this notification, Count Haugwitz returned a lofty and diſſatisfied anſwer. He ſtated the reaſons which had induced Pruſſia to oppoſe the

the election, and affirmed that the oppoſition could not have been forborne, without a dereliction of principle. His majeſty, however, did not the leſs approve the wiſe reſolution of his imperial majeſty, to poſtpone the further ſteps which one or both of the chapters might wiſh to adopt with reſpect to the introduction of the Archduke Anthony; and if the buſineſs on both ſides was thus to remain in uncertainty, the king would, in like manner, abide by the preliminary meaſures which he had hitherto taken.

In this fruitleſs conteſt is to be diſcerned only the malevolence with which Pruſſia, aſſiſted by Bavaria, and ſupported by France, aſſailed the intereſts and feelings of the emperor. The election could be of no importance, conſidering the declaration of Bonaparte, that in whatever manner the regulation of the indemnifications might be definitively ſettled, the principle by which they were to be adjuſted had been preſcribed by France, and he would take care that it ſhould be carried into effect. This undiſguiſed and unſoftened threat did not permit the Emperor to hope for any thing from this election, more than the credit of having ſtruggled to the laſt, for a right connected with the exiſtence of the Germanic conſtitution.

As it was known that ſome powers were to be materially benefited by the allotment of indemnities, they and their protector, France, ſhewed great eargerneſs to have the matter ſpeedily concluded; and therefore, early in Auguſt, the king of Pruſſia ſent to the Diet a recommendation to arrange certain points preparatory to the final ſettlement. Theſe propoſitions were founded on one baſis ariſing out of the former congreſs of Raſtadt, and the only one, it was ſaid, except the ceſſion of the left bank of the Rhine which had been adopted. It was that the eſtates of the empire, having ſuffered loſs by the ceſſion of their poſſeſſions, ſhould receive indemnities; and that theſe indemnities ſhould be by means of ſecularizations. To facilitate the progreſs of the arrangement, Pruſſia propoſed four objects of inquiry to the Diet, and pointed out the way in which they ought to be viewed, adding that when theſe rules ſhould be adopted, and decreed by the reſolutions of the eſtates, it would be neceſſary to ſubmit to the Diet the affairs of the intereſted ſtates, as alſo the propoſitions relative to the ſecularizations which might appear moſt convenient to indemnify them. Bavaria, ever in correſpondence with Pruſſia, detailed ſimilar principles in a longer note; and to give effect to their preſſing demands, the miniſter of France at the Diet, on the 4th of September, announced his inſtructions to declare to the members, in the moſt determined manner, that the French government was aſtoniſhed at the delay of the execution of the ſeventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and conſidered it as a duty to demand of the Diet, to declare definitively in what manner the indemnities of the princes who had ſuffered were to be adjuſted.

Whether this awful meſſage accelerated the proceedings of the Diet, or whether they had previouſly fixed on certain principles, they came to a concluſum on the 3d of October, by which, after ſtating,

ſtating, that great difficulties would ariſe from ſubmitting the arrangement of the different objects which yet remained to be regulated for the completion of the peace, to the general aſſembly of the empire, they decreed, that the right of co-operating in the peace ſhould be exerciſed by the ſtates, by means of an extraordinary deputation, to conſiſt of eight members, obſerving the equality of rights relative to religion. To this effect, four were to be choſen in the college of electors; Mentz, Saxony, Bohemia, and Brandenburgh; and as many in that of the princes; Bavaria, Wirtemburgh, the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, and Heſſe Caſſel. On them were to be conferred by the Emperor full and unlimited powers, to examine, treat, and regulate, in concert with the French government, the objects which, by the fifth and ſeventh articles of the treaty of Luneville, had been reſerved for a particular arrangement. And they were in their plan of fixing indemnities by ſecularizations, to obſerve as a rule for their operations, the reſtrictive clauſe by which the deputation of the empire at the congreſs of Raſtadt gave in their note, of the 4th of April, 1798, their adherence to theſe indemnities; and that, conformably to this clauſe they ſhould proceed in this affair with all the meaſures, precautions and reſerves, which the maintenance of the Germanic conſtitution, in all its relations, required, together with the re-eſtabliſhment and the affirming the well being of the ſtates, the immediate nobility and other members of the empire, which reſted upon this conſtitution. And finally their reſolutions were to be preſented to the Emperor for his ſanction. To this plan, after a long delay, the Emperor, on the 19th of November, gave his aſſent, reſerving in words, that which he was conſcious he was loſing in effect, the prerogatives and attributes, in their whole extent, that belonged to him, as well as to the imperial plenipotentiaries, to a deputation of that nature, conformably to the laws, primitive inſtitutions, analogy, and rights of nations.

Before the aſſembling of this new deputation it was judged expedient by France and Pruſſia, to arrange the terms and forms of indemnity and ſecularization, and to gain for their propoſal ſuch an authoritative ſanction as ſhould leave to the Emperor no means, even if he had an inclination, to reſiſt. For this purpoſe, although ſtrong in the adherence of Bavaria, and ſecure of the co-operation of ſeveral other powers who ſent members to the deputation, they engaged in their intereſts the Emperor of Ruſſia. This monarch was aſſailed by all the arts which were conſidered likely to attach him to the cabinets of Paris and Berlin, and among other things, an interview was effected between him and the king of Pruſſia, at Memel, which June 10. was conducted with great pomp and ceremony *. What political arrangements were made on this occaſion, cannot be known, but in all ſubſequent tranſactions reſpecting the indemnities, both France

* For ſome particulars of this interview. See Chronicle, p. 51.

and

and Prussia spoke with confidence of the full concurrence of the Emperor Alexander in their plans. France also concluded a treaty with the Duke of Wirtemberg, by which the Duke, in conformity with the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, ceded all the territories which belonged to him on the left bank of the Rhine, and Bonaparte engaged that France should use its good offices to obtain for his serene highness those territorial indemnities, which should be, as much as possible, suited to his convenience and pleasure, equivalent to the losses of all kinds sustained by him from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded possessions. May 20.

To meet these preparations, of which the hostile nature was scarcely concealed, with some shew of vigour, the Emperor caused the States of Hungary to be assembled in a Diet at Presburg, where he addressed to them a speech on the state of the country; and, on the proposition of the Archduke Palatine, they readily voted that they would provide, that the regular militia of Hungary should be always complete, and voted an additional impost on salt, for the purpose of raising the imperial revenue to the extent required by the exigencies of the times. May

The confederated cabinets were, however, so secure in their arrangements, and so confident that no effectual resistance would be opposed to them, that Prussia, in the mere bitterness of insult, before any thing was disclosed respecting future arrangements, marched a body of troops to take possession of the disputed principality of Munster. The dean and chapter, unable to resist, and knowing that no assistance was to be expected from the Emperor, issued a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants, of whatever rank, to comport themselves tranquilly upon the entrance of the Prussian troops, to give a good reception to the soldiers who should be billetted on them, to prevent their wants, to abstain from all political reflections, and not to take the law into their own hands, in cases where any difficulties might arise between the inhabitants and the soldiers; but to carry their complaints, without delay, either before the civil officers, and in case they should not think justice done them by their judgment, to prefer new complaints to a superior officer. July 14.

In a few days after this transaction, the Emperor issued his commission to the states who were to form the deputation, to send, as soon as possible, their sub-delegates, to Ratisbon, and that being done, his full powers to this deputation, to examine, discuss and regulate with the imperial minister plenipotentiary, in concert with the French government, the points reserved by the fifth and seventh articles of the treaty of Luneville. July 26. Aug. 3.

At an early meeting of the deputation was presented, on the part of Russia and France, a plan of indemnities, prefaced by a report which had been made to the first consul, by his minister for foreign affairs. In commendation of this plan, it was stated in the report, that Austria would derive from it the immense advantage of seeing all her posses- Aug. 21.

sions

ſions concentrated. The Palatine Houſe would alſo have received an organization ſtronger and more advantageous for the purpoſes of defence; and Pruſſia would continue to form, in the Germanic ſyſtem, the eſſential baſis of a neceſſary counterpoiſe. The regulation of the ſecondary indemnities, it was ſaid, alſo proceeded upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing had been omitted with reſpect to the conſideration of aſcertained loſſes. Among the moſt ſtriking features of the plan were the following. The elector of Bavaria, for the duchy of Deux-ponts; the duchy of Juliers, the palatinate of the Rhine, the marquiſate of Bergen-op-zoom, the Seignory of Ravenſtein, and others ſituate in Belgium and Alſace; was to obtain the biſhopricks of Paſſau, with the reſervation of the part of the Archduke; of Wurtzburg, with certain reſervations; of Bamberg, of Augſted, of Freiſingen, and of Augſbourg; the provoſtſhip of Kempten; the imperial cities of Rothenbourg, Weiſſenbourg, Windſheim, Schweinfort, Gochſheim, Sennefelt, Allthouſen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelſbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Boſsfingen, Buchorn, Waugen, Leutkirch, Ravenſbourg, and Alſchauſen; the Abbeys of St. Ulric, Irſen, Wengen, Sooflingen, Elchingen, Urſberg, Rochenbourg, Weltenhauſen, Ottobeuren and Kaiſerſheim.

The king of Pruſſia, for the duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of the Rhine, and for Gueldres; was to have the principality of Maërs, the territories ſurrounded by Sevenaer, Huiſſen, and Mahlbourg, and the tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuſe; the biſhoprick of Hildeſheim and that of Paderborn; the territory of Erfurt and Untergleichen, Eichtfeld, and the Mentz part of Treſort, the part of the biſhoprick of Munſter, ſituate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munſter to Tecklenbourg, compriſing within it the two cities of Olphen and Munſter; as alſo the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the imperial cities of Mulhauſen, Northauſen, and Goſlar; the abbeys of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Etlen, Eſſen, and Werden.

The Margrave of Baden, for his part of the county of Sponheim, and the territories and ſeignories in the Luxembourg, and Alſace, obtained the biſhoprick of Conſtance; the remainder of the biſhoprick of Spires, Baſle, and Straſburg; the bailiwicks palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the cities of Heidelberg, and Manheim; the ſeignory of Laur, when the Prince of Naſſau ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the county of Alten Kirchen; the remainder of the county of Lichenbourg, upon the right of the Rhine; the imperial cities of D'Offenbourg, Zell, Hamerſbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpfen; the abbeys d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim Munſter, Peterhauſen, and Salmanſweiller.

The duke of Wirtemberg, for the principality of Montbeliard, and his poſſeſſions in Alſace, and Franche-Comte; received the provoſtſhip of Ellwaugen, the abbey

of Zwiffolten, the imperial cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Eſlingen, Rothweal, Glengen, Aulenhall, Geminendt, and Hailbronn.

The firſt conſul of the French republic, and his majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, it was ſaid, after having propoſed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the hereditary princes, have acknowledged that it was at once poſſible and fit to preſerve, in the firſt college of the empire, an eccleſiaſtical elector. They propoſed, in conſequence, that the arch-chancellor of the empire ſhould be transferred to the ſee of Ratiſbon, with the abbeys of St. Emeran, Ober Munſter, and Heider Munſter, keeping his old poſſeſſions, the grand bailiwick of Aſchaffenbourg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there ſhould be united to it beſides, a ſufficient number of mediate abbeys, ſo as to make up to him with the ſaid lands an annual revenue of a million of florins.

And, as the beſt means to conſolidate the Germanic body, was to place in the firſt college the princes of the greateſt influence in the empire, it was propoſed that the electoral title ſhould be granted to the Margrave of Baden, to the duke of Wirtemberg, and to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

Hanover and the claims of the king of England were mentioned in theſe terms. "The king of England, in his quality of elector of Hanover, has raiſed pretenſions to Hildeſheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of intereſt that he ſhould deſiſt from his pretenſions, it is propoſed, that the biſhoprick of Oſnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the Electoral Houſe of Brunſwick, ſhould devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: Firſt, that the king of England, elector of Hanover, ſhall renounce all his rights and pretenſions to Hildeſheim, Corvey and Hoexter. Secondly, that he ſhall likewiſe give up to the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exerciſes and poſſeſſes in the ſaid cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, that he ſhall cede the bailiwick of Wildhauſen to the Duke of Oldenbourgh, and his rights to the eventual ſucceſſion of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen, to the prince of Naſſau Uſingen. In conſideration of the ceſſion of the bailiwick of Wildhauſen, to the Duke of Oldenbourgh, and the ſecularization that ſhall be made for his advantage of the biſhoprick, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleet ſhall be ſuppreſſed, and ſhall not be re-eſtabliſhed under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the ſaid biſhoprick and chapter in the city of Lubeck ſhall be united to the domain of the ſaid city *.

In conſidering this plan of indemnities, it was impoſſible not to be ſtruck with the great preponderance openly claimed, and the ſtill greater artfully ſecured, by France. By elevating the power of Pruſſia at the expence of that of Auſtria, ſhe gratified the rivalry of the Houſe of Brandenburgh which had been ſo advantageous to her during the war; in-

* See the plan at length. State Papers, p. 396.

creaſed

creaſed the depreſſion of Auſtria whom ſhe both hated and feared, and rendered it leſs than ever likely, that theſe two powers ſhould cordially unite to repel any ſchemes of ambition which France might form. But while Pruſſia was thus gratified by gain, and a comparative ſuperiority over Auſtria, ſhe appears to have been inſenſible of the danger ariſing both to her aſcendancy and ſafety from the advance made by Bavaria in the ſcale of power, and completely inſenſible of the immenſe authority France was gaining in the affairs of the empire, not alone by rewarding, without coſt to herſelf, her vaſſals and adherents, but by raiſing to the electoral title the Margrave of Baden, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. The blindneſs of Pruſſia and the acquieſcence of Ruſſia on this great occaſion were not only ſatisfactory to Bonaparte in their immediate effect, but removed every apprehenſion of that ſolid good underſtanding, that union of politics and conformity of deſigns between Auſtria, Ruſſia and Pruſſia from which alone Europe could now expect its emancipation from the galling ſlavery which France was extending on every ſide. Such a reſult might have been produced even from the interview at Memel, but that, like every other opportunity for aiming a powerful and effectual blow againſt France, was perverted and reduced into ſmall negotiations and petty arrangements for purpoſes merely ſelfiſh.

Viewing the details of the indemnities, it was evident, that compenſations were too ample, or pitifully ſmall, in proportion as the parties to receive them were favoured or frowned on by France. Among the favoured powers were Bavaria, Baden and Wirtemberg. The elector of Bavaria was cheriſhed as a rival both to Pruſſia and Auſtria. During the ſeſſion of the Diet in the preceding year, the arrangement between France and this power was effected, in the form of a treaty of peace. By this treaty, dated the 24th of Auguſt 1801, nothing was ceded or even confirmed to France of which ſhe was not actually and inexpugnably in poſſeſſion, but it was received with welcome at Paris as a mark of the adherence of Bavaria to the treaty of Luneville, and ſtill more as containing the homage of a ſovereign to the ruler of France, whoſe allegiance was due elſewhere. That the cauſes and true ſenſe of this tranſaction might not be miſunderſtood, they were ſtated on the very face of the treaty, in theſe words. "Convinced that it is her intereſt to prevent the Bavaro-Palatine poſſeſſions from being reduced to a ſtate of weakneſs, and conſequently to repair the diminution of force and territory, which reſults from the above renunciation, the French republic engages to maintain and efficaciouſly defend the integrity of the aforeſaid poſſeſſions upon the right bank of the Rhine, together and in the extent which they have, or ought to have, according to the treaty and the conventions concluded at Teſchen, the 13th May 1770*;

* In referring to the copy of this treaty in the State Papers in the preceding Vol. p. 371, it will be found that 1799, has been printed by miſtake for 1770.

saving the cessions which may take place with the full will of his electoral highness, and the consent of all the interested parties. The French republic promises, at the same time, that it shall use all its influence and all its means, in order that the seventh article of the treaty of peace of Luneville, by virtue of which the empire is bound to give to the hereditary princes dispossessed upon the left bank of the Rhine an indemnification, to be taken in its bosom, should be particularly executed with respect to the electoral palatine house of Bavaria; so as that house shall receive a territorial indemnity, situated as well as possible for its convenience, and equivalent to the losses of every kind, which have been the consequence of the present war." The further explanation of these articles was given by Boulay de la Meurthe to the legislative body in recommending the treaty to their approbation. "We know," he said, "the perpetual claims of the house of Austria on Bavaria. In all ages she has sought, either by force, or by negotiations and exchanges, to appropriate to herself those beautiful domains, for the purpose of rounding, and rendering more powerful her own monarchy; but now, the republic, faithful to the guaranty given by the old French government in the treaty of Teschen, engages by the present compact, to maintain and effectually defend the Bavaro-palatine possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, in all the extent they now have, or may hereafter have; according to the tenour of the same treaty of Teschen.

The manifest partiality to Baden, founded on the constant preference shewn to the interests of France, was vindicated in the report to the first consul in these terms. It will nevertheless appear, that the house of Baden has been more advantageously circumstanced than many others, but it was judged necessary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this instance the first consul merits applause, as such a line of policy perfectly accords with the disposition of the French government, which with pleasure sees an augmentation of power conferred on a prince whose virtues have long since obtained the esteem of all Europe, whose alliances so honourably distinguished his family, and whose conduct during the war has particularly merited the good will of the republic. Wirtemberg was also favoured through the same policy as Bavaria. The compensation to the great Duke of Tuscany and many other powers was looked on as extremely inadequate, and it was considered that the claims of the Elector of Hanover were mentioned in terms bordering on contempt.

On the delivery of this paper to the extraordinary deputation, the emperor, as sovereign of Bohemia, expressed his sentiments, both against the manner in which it had been framed, and its contents. The delay in the meeting of the deputation, he ascribed intirely to France; and he stated the extraordinary fact, that he had been invited by France and Russia, and had agreed to join in a negotiation, to take place at Paris, on the subject of these indemnities, but that his embassador had neither been called to that negotiation, nor any way informed of its progress and result. He never knew, until August 24.

apprized

apprized of it by the Emperor of Ruſſia, that the arrangements diſcloſed to the deputation had been effected; on the contrary, Talleyrand had told his miniſter at Paris, that nothing was ſettled with Ruſſia, but the extent of a propoſition to be made to him; it could not even be called a plan, it was but a ſimple *projet* to be ſubmitted to the diet, as beſt calculated to ſatisfy all parties. It would be preſented merely as advice and by no means with a tone of authority, or with a diſpoſition to force any thing.

How little this promiſe of Talleyrand was to be relied on, the emperor had learnt, even before he had thus declared his ſentiments againſt the plan of indemnities. The powers intereſted began to act on the ſuppoſed arrangement as a matter definitively ſettled, and Bavaria, following the example of Pruſſia with reſpect to Munſter, prepared to occupy the town of Paſſau. Againſt this attempt, however, the emperor diſplayed a vigorous ſpirit of reſiſtance. He anticipated the intended meaſure, by taking poſſeſſion with his own troops of the city and principality of Paſſau, with the neighbouring territories of Saltzburg and of Berchtolſgaden. The Auguſt 26. Bohemian miniſter alſo delivered to the diet a note, announcing this event; juſtifying the proceeding of the emperor, which was only adopted when an offer to delay the occupation of theſe territories by either party until the indemnities ſhould be definitively arranged, had been refuſed by Bavaria.

The elector had not perhaps expected ſo early and prompt reſiſtance from the Houſe of Auſtria; but was, in all events, ſure of being ſupported by France, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia. The firſt two of theſe powers delivered a note Auguſt 28. to the extraordinary deputation, diſapproving the objections made by the Bohemian miniſter to the plan of indemnities; but the obſervations, though delivered in very authoritative terms, contained little argument. Juſtice to the princes who were to be indemnified, it ſaid, required that ſo many and various intereſts ſhould be viewed collectively; and that, finally, the declarations communicated on the one part, in the name of the firſt conſul of the French republic; and on the other, in the name of the emperor of all the Ruſſias, and ſigned on both ſides, in conſequence of their formal order, had a character, and contained obſervations, which were a proof of their conſtant ſolicitude for the welfare of the German empire. A treaty was next concluded Sept. 5. between France, Pruſſia, and Bavaria, whereby the King of Pruſſia and the firſt conſul engaged to reiterate in concert, at Ratiſbon and Vienna, their efforts to cauſe the plan to be adopted by the Germanic empire, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly, ſo far as it guaranteed to the Elector of Bavaria the preſervation of his poſſeſſions on the right Bank of the Inn, and as far as it ſecured to him the town of Paſſau. And if, contrary to their hopes and their united interpoſition, the emperor, taking advantage of the poſſeſſion of Paſſau, ſhould refuſe to evacuate it within the period of ſixty days, appointed for the deliberation of the imperial diet, the governments

of Pruſſia and France pledged themſelves to combine their efforts with thoſe of Bavaria, to ſecure to the latter the preſervation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and the intire indemnity which had been adjudged to her.

Notwithſtanding theſe demonſtrations of a reſolution on the part of his opponents, to renew hoſtilities rather than recede from the point in diſpute, and a concluſum of the 8th of September in favour of the plan propoſed, the emperor by his miniſter the Baron De Hu-

Sept. 13. gel, ſent to the extraordinary deputation, a decree of the imperial commiſſion, diſapproving altogether of the adoption of the plan of indemnities, until the objections already preſented againſt it by the parties intereſted could be fully taken into conſideration. This ſtep occaſioned remonſtrances to the diet from France in terms of haughtineſs and inſult, and from Ruſſia in terms rather ſtern and poſitive, while Saxony and Pruſſia entered on the minutes of the diet, their votes in favour of the plan. Several other papers were delivered, when at length, the miniſters of France and

Oct. 8. Ruſſia declared themſelves authorized to accede in ſome degree to modifications in the firſt plan. Theſe modifications rather ſaved the honour of the emperor, than promoted the intereſts of the ſtates for whoſe apparent benefit they were made; their greateſt reſult was, the donation of the revenues of certain abbeys to the grand duke. Bavaria was ſtill to obtain the town and ſuburbs of Paſſau, and the alterations in general were not of much importance, but France and Ruſſia aſſumed the merit of great moderation in propoſing, and the emperor after ſome ſlight further attempts, found himſelf obliged to accede to them. The reſpective parties therefore took poſſeſſion of the new territories aſſigned to them; the King of Pruſſia aboliſhed the monks of the order of La Trappe, and the regency of Hanover declared the ſecularization of the biſhoprick of Oſnaburgh. France, beſides carrying ſo many great points in politics, enjoyed by theſe events the pleaſure and advantage ſo deſirable to a new and revolutionary government of ſeeing thoſe which were of ancient eſtabliſhment changing their governments and territories, transferring their ſubjects, and aboliſhing their oaths of allegiance, and making by treaty and arrangement thoſe great alterations which are generally expected to be produced only by conqueſt and the fate of war.

In theſe indemnities too were comprized the compenſations to the Houſe of Naſſau for its various loſſes in the Revolution. For the ſtadtholderate, and territories in Holland and Belgium, were given, the biſhopricks of Fulda and Corvey; the city of Dortmund, the abbeys and chapters ſituate in theſe territories, (with a charge upon the prince to ſatisfy claims ſubſiſting, and previouſly acknowledged by France, upon certain ſucceſſions connected with the majority of Naſſau-Dillenbourg, during the courſe of the laſt century;) the abbey of Weingarten and thoſe of Kappel, to the country of Lippe; of Kappenbourg to the countries of Munſter and Delkerchen. It would be a labour of abſurd ſuperfluity to ſhew how inadequate theſe poſſeſſions were to the

the property and power for which they were propoſed as a compenſation. The regret that the loſs ſuſtained was through the attachment of the prince to the cauſe of England muſt, as far as it is true, be ſenſibly felt by Engliſhmen; but that regret has its limits, and the reproaches made againſt the Engliſh government for not procuring better terms for the prince do not ſeem to be well founded. The rival influence of England and France had long divided the councils of Holland; the ſtadtholder, with all who truly loved, and knew the intereſts of their country, preferred the former, while the latter were eſpouſed by thoſe who were leſs capable of juſt and extenſive views, and who could let the little animoſity ariſing from commercial conteſt abſorb in their minds all conſideration for the real intereſts and independence of their nation. The ſtadtholder then was the victim, not of his attachment to the intereſts of England, but to a ſyſtem adopted by his anceſtors for the benefit of their country, in which attachment to England and reſiſtance to France formed a leading feature. The benefits acquired by England in the courſe of the war, through the attachment of his partizans, were undoubtedly very great, but neither for them nor him could any thing effectual be ſtipulated in a treaty of peace, unleſs the influence of a party in the united provinces had been ſuch as to enable the Britiſh government to negotiate with ſome greater advantage than could be derived from colonial conqueſts. The Prince of Orange himſelf was fully ſenſible of theſe circumſtances, for when the concluſion of the preliminary treaty between Great Britain and France enabled him and his adherents to return to the continent, he addreſſed to Lord Hawkeſbury a memorial dated the 13th of October, 1801, acknowledging the affecting kindneſs with which he had been received by his Majeſty, and the generous hoſpitality of the Britiſh nation. He confeſſed the intereſt which his majeſty and his government had always taken, not only in what related to himſelf and to his family, but alſo to the numerous and faithful adherents of the Houſe of Orange, and the ancient conſtitution of the republic of the United Provinces. He acknowledged that the courſe of events had led to a ſtate of things very different from that under which engagements to maintain the rights and dignities of his Houſe had been formed, and by which the probability of their being completely fulfilled was from day to day diminiſhing; but he conſidered it his indiſpenſable duty to recommend in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner to the king's ſolicitude and powerful protection, at the approaching conferences for the formation of the definitive treaty, his own intereſts, thoſe of his houſe, and of a conſiderable number of his countrymen, who were become the unfortunate victims of their unſhaken zeal for his perſon and his cauſe; of their tried fidelity to the ancient government of their native country, and of their attachment to that ſyſtem which had ſo long and ſo cloſely united the republic of the United Provinces to Great Britain. It has already been ſeen, that in the conferences for arranging the definitive treaty, this recommendation was not overlooked, but it was not to be ſuppoſed that France would

make the required compenſations, nor could it be reaſonably expected that they ſhould be derived from Holland under its preſent government. The prince himſelf had clearly renounced all ſuch expectations, when, yielding to the imperious force of circumſtances, he publicly recommended to his adherents, by a letter of the 26th of December, 1801, to accept, without difficulty, of any employments, or ſituations in any colleges connected with the adminiſtration of public affairs, and generally to cooperate, in all things, with the members of the exiſting government.

In the United Provinces themſelves, as ſeparately conſidered from the rights and intereſts of the Stadtholder nothing engages notice but the expiring agonies of a people once free and independant, but now periſhing by the contamination of French influence. In the preceding year, under the immediate direction of France and her agents, the Dutch had accepted a new conſtitution, framed in the mode ſo often tried with reſpect to ſuch codes, profeſſing liberty and equality in words, but deſtroying every pretenſion to them in the diſtribution of power. The government was intruſted to a regency of ſtate, compoſed of twelve members; ſeven of them were to be choſen by the preſent executive directory, and thoſe ſeven were to ſelect the other five. One of theſe members was to go out every year. To ſupply his place the departments were to nominate four perſons, of whom the exiſting members of the regency were to reject two, and the legiſlative body was to chooſe one of the two remaining. This legiſlative body was to conſiſt of thirty-five perſons named by the government, and twelve were to be ſelected to diſcuſs ſuch laws as might be propoſed by the regency of ſtate. This nonſenſical code was recommended by two proclamations from government, and it was reckoned a great triumph, that when it was ſubmitted to the people, out of 416,419 who voted, only 52,219 were againſt it.

After the definitive treaty of peace with England had been ſigned, the people of Holland entertained hopes of ſeeing their country freed from the oppreſſive preſence of a large body of French troops, who, under pretence of protecting, reſtrained, oppreſſed and plundered them. But if it ever was the intention of France to conſide her influence in theſe provinces to the ſentiments of the people, unconſtrained by the preſence of a military force, the preſent was not the time when the experiment could be made. The diſcuſſions at Ratiſbon were not terminated; the paſſiveneſs of all Europe was not abſolutely aſſured; and the general indignation ariſing from the conduct France was purſuing toward Switzerland, might have produced dangerous conſequences, had reſiſtance been reſolved on, and Holland been left free to join in a cauſe which was moſt evidently her own. Still as England had not yet reſtored all the territories ſtipulated in the definitive treaty, it was not conſidered expedient to refuſe the removal of the troops without a reaſon, and therefore a pretended plot of the Jacobins was invented, to ſerve as matter of converſation, and fill the columns of newſpapers, although no perſon in Europe was duped by the ſhallow

ſhallow pretence, or miſconſtrued the evident reſolution of France never to forego the dominion of Holland.

The tranſactions reſpecting Switzerland, above alluded to, are of a nature to excite at once the indignation and pity of every mind capable of feeling thoſe ſentiments at tyranny the moſt groſs, undiſguiſed and unprincipled, and ſufferings the moſt ſevere, galling and unmerited. The detail of them is reſerved for the enſuing volume, becauſe, in their progreſs, they occaſioned diſcuſſions with the Britiſh government, which led immediately to conſequences which muſt be related in the hiſtory of the next year.

To other parts of the world, the power and influence of France were extended by the joint effect of treaty and force. With the Ottoman Porte, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded on terms fully as favourable to France as the preliminaries warranted her to expect.

June 25. It ſtipulated, among other things, that French merchant ſhips ſhould have an unreſtrained right to navigate the Black Sea, and that the two governments would with common conſent, take vigorous meaſures to cleanſe the ſeas navigated by ſhips of both nations, from all kinds of pirates. Each country alſo guaranteed to the other the integrity of its dominions. The conceſſion of this right of trading to the Black Sea, was treated by the French miniſter for foreign affairs, in a report to the Firſt Conſul, as a great advantage gained by France, and a proof of the eagerneſs of the Porte to return, when at liberty, to her oldeſt and beſt connexion. The Porte, however, by a note to the Britiſh miniſter, to prevent any umbrage from being taken at this circumſtance, renewed the permiſſion given to England to trade in that ſea, engaging that the ſame treatment ſhould be obſerved to Engliſh merchant ſhips, as toward thoſe of the moſt favoured nation. Little however could be gathered from the determinations of a government ſo weak as that of Turkey, and ſtill leſs reliance could be placed on the promiſes of France toward a power which ſhe was evidently, and almoſt avowedly, waiting only for an opportunity to diſmember.

July 29.

In the ſtipulation againſt pirates France had in view the regencies of Algiers and Tunis, and againſt them her views of vengeance extended much further than the mere ſuppreſſion of piratical practices. In the courſe of the ſummer the French papers, and thoſe under the influence of France began, to raiſe clamours againſt the exactions of the Algerines. They had fitted out, it was ſaid, eleven corſairs of different kinds, from forty-ſix guns, down to the ſmalleſt ſizes, with which, in the courſe of ſix weeks, they had taken nine conſiderable prizes, namely, five Neapolitan veſſels, two Spaniſh, one Engliſh, one Genoeſe, and a Portugueſe frigate. Their privateers had even ſtopped two French brigs, under a pretence that they were not provided with paſſports; and it was only after ſome ſtrong remonſtrances that the agent of the republic was able to obtain their releaſe. Of all theſe prizes, it was ſaid, the moſt remarkable was that of the Portugueſe frigate La Cygne, of forty-four guns, and 350 men, which was captured, on the 7th of May, at the entrance of the Gut of Gibraltar,

by

by an Algerine frigate of the same force, and about 420 men. The Portuguese, it was supposed suffered themselves to be surprised. The Algerines came upon them with a press of sail, fired a few shot, and then boarded. The Portuguese captain, the lieutenant, and 36 men, were killed. The rest of the Portuguese were thrown into the hold, naked and loaded with chains. The wounded were seven days at sea, without clothes, without nourishment, and without having their wounds dressed: when they arrived at Algiers, several of them died in consequence of their wounds having mortified. This prize, of which there was no similar example in the annals of Algiers, excited in the city the most extravagant enthusiasm. The insolence of the government increased, and the Europeans could no longer appear in the streets without being exposed to the insults of the populace. An Algerine Rais, it was added, had the impudence to ill-use the second officer of a small French vessel in the harbour of Tunis. For this clamourous complaint there was undoubtedly some foundation, although not to the extent described; and the narrative concluded with a menace, of which it was impossible to mistake the meaning. In a short time afterward, the French papers contained a detail of the sums exacted by the Algerines from the powers of Europe and Africa, amounting in one year to upward of two millions of piastres, besides a million of dollars extorted from the united states of America. The destruction of the Algerine power would undoubtedly have taken place but for the intervention of the British government; Bonaparte had conceived the project of executing that vengeance in which both Charles V. and Lewis XIV. had failed, and he did not resign it without considerable dissatisfaction. A squadron was, however, fitted out from Toulon under the command of Rear-Admiral Lesseigues, having on board the adjutant Hullin, with a letter from the First Consul to the Dey. August 5. This letter, containing a recapitulation of grievances and demand of redress, was received with the utmost deference, and speedily and satisfactorily answered; the persons employed on the mission having been treated in the mean time with the utmost kindness and respect. The letter of the Bey pursued the complaints of Bonaparte from point to point, and, in the most ample manner, gave every satisfaction he asked; accompanied with the most humble acknowledgments, and profound assurances of respect. The Dey even went so far as to deprive of office, and condemn to death those of whom the First Consul complained *.

From Algiers, Leissegue proceeded to Tunis, Aug. 26. with which power France had concluded a treaty early in the year, and there was therefore no complaint of hostilities. The ostensible purpose of his mission was to demand the liberty of some slaves who could be considered as French subjects, and better treatment for others. He was also received with the utmost distinction, and his requests readily granted, and having obtained valuable presents for himself, and the First Consul, and the

* See the report of Talleyrand, including both letters. State Papers, p. 354.

ministers

miniſters of France, he departed accompanied with an embaſſador from Tunis to the conſular court, ſent, in the firſt place, to congratulate Bonaparte, and ſubſequently to make arrangements for the intereſts of the two governments. Sept. 20.

Turning from theſe ſcenes of French power and influence to France itſelf, every thing exhibits the ſame activity, and the ſame indefatigable determination to deceive and enſlave; to aggrandize the government, and to oppreſs the ſubject. After the conſulta at Lyons, Bonaparte found little oppoſition to the ulterior proſecution of his ſchemes of ambition. When the treaty of Amiens was preſented to the tribunate, they voted that ſome ſplended pledge of national gratitude ſhould be given to Bonaparte, and the conſervative ſenate, in conſequence, framed a meſſage and reſolution in theſe terms. Conſidering that in the preſent ſituation of the republic, it is the duty of the conſervative ſenate to employ all the means that the conſtitution has placed in its power, to give to the government that ſtability which alone increaſes its reſources, inſpires confidence abroad, and eſtabliſhes credit at home; encourages allies, and diſcourages ſecret enemies; baniſhes the evils of war, permits the fruits of peace to be enjoyed, and leaves wiſdom time to execute all ſhe can conceive for the happineſs of a free people; conſidering beſides, that the ſupreme magiſtrate, who, after having ſo often conducted the republican legions to victory, having delivered Italy, triumphed in Europe, Africa, and Aſia, and filled the world with his renown, has preſerved France from the horrors of anarchy which threatened her, has broken the revolutionary ſcythe, diſperſed factions, extinguiſhed civil diſcords and religious troubles, added order and ſecurity to the bleſſings of liberty, haſtened the progreſs of the human mind, conſoled mankind, and given peace both to the earth and ſea, has the greateſt right to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, as well as to the admiration of poſterity. From theſe and other conſiderations the conſervative ſenate has re-elected Citizen Napoleon Bonaparte, Firſt Conſul of the French republic, for the ten years which ſhould immediately follow the expiration of the ten years for which he had been named by the 39th article of the conſtitution. May 8.

This compliment, however flattering, was not received by Bonaparte with intire acquieſence; he was ſatisfied with the tone, but not the terms; his views were more extenſive; and therefore, in his anſwer to the meſſage of the ſenate, although he profeſſed that the honourable proof they had given of their eſteem would ever be engraven on his heart; yet, as it was the ſuffrage of the people which inveſted him with the chief magiſtracy, he ſhould not conſider himſelf ſure of poſſeſſing their confidence, if the act, which was to retain him in that ſituation, was not alſo ſanctioned by the ſuffrages of the people. On this declaration the other conſuls interpoſed, and decreed that the queſtion ſubmitted to the people ſhould be this, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte, be conſul for life?" and their decree pointed out the manner and form in which the ſuffrages ſhould be May 9.

be collected. The people in the metropolis, and probably in other parts of France, were eager to shew that they valued the person and merits of Bonaparte as highly as those who formed the Italian consulta; never, it was said, was greater unanimity shewn since the first meeting of the states general. Of the suffrages collected 3,568,885 were said to be in the affirmative, and only 8,374 in the negative. The principal opponents of the measure were the determined Jacobins, and among them, Carnot was conspicuous: he signed his vote in the negative, with a declaration, that he knew he was signing his own proscription. If he meant by proscription his dismissal from all public consideration, the observation was just; if any thing further, he was mistaken; for no one noticed either his vote or his declaration, except to laugh at them *. On the oppofite side to that espoused by Carnot, an opinion was promulgated by a printed bill, generally circulated, and signed Bonneville Avral, chief of battalion of the 14th of the line, that public gratitude for his great services, and a just horror of the return of revolutionary miseries, should induce the French nation to proclaim Bonaparte, Emperor of the Gauls, and fix in his family the hereditary power, re-establishing the Salic law. Had the proscribing power of Carnot and his associates existed in May 1802, in the same plenitude that it did eight years before, the writer, printer, publisher, nay many of the readers of such a paper, would have been sent to the scaffold in troops as conspirators against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. At present it was considered as only a premature demand of an act which would certainly take place, and for which the public mind was thus prepared by a government too vigilant and too powerful to permit any political publication, contrary to its own sentiments.

Aug. 3. The legislature, in great form, and in a flattering speech, informed Bonaparte of the result of this appeal to the people, choosing for the time of their communication, the period when the first consul was enaged in giving audience to the foreign embassadors. He returned an answer expressive of his devotion to the will of the people, and which contained the following most extraordinary passage. "Content with having been called by the order of him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without any uneasiness about the opinion of future generations." The ministers of state also ordered as a further compliment to Bonaparte, that the proclamation of this decree should be made throughout France on the 15th of August, being his birth day, and that it should be celebrated with universal festivities and rejoicings.

Before this transaction, Bona-

* Carnot's vote and observation gave birth to the following *jeu-d'esprit*, by Le Brun: it alludes to the decrees of proscription which Carnot signed when a member of the committee of public safety with Robespierre.

Vous dites oui; moi je dis non;
Messieurs je ne suis pas des vôtres
Je signe ma proscription;
J'avois, ma foi, signé bien d'autres,

parte

parte had made some display of his desire to assume the regal or imperial state, at the ceremony which took place on the formal re-establishment of the catholic worship in Paris. In the last volume mention was made of the concordat between Bonaparte and the Pope, and the correspondence to which it gave birth, and that it was to be followed by a body of regulations, called organic laws. In expectation of this event, and to assist in, and arrange the requisite preliminaries, the Pope, in December, deputed to Paris Cardinal Jean Baptiste Caprara, as his legate *a latere*, giving him, by his bull, full and ample powers to act for his holiness in all affairs relating to the church, and particularly in the creation of archiepiscopal churches, the establishment of seminaries, and the regulation of all appointments to parishes.

In the bull which contained the authorities of the legate were inserted some of the leading principles of the intended code by which the concordat was to be carried into effect. The whole body of organic laws, when completed, was submitted to the legislative body by Portalis, who, in a long speech explained the principles of the concordat, and recommended the organic laws. This harangue, which cannot in this place be detailed or abridged, is a curious medley of speculations on philosophy and government, proving little but that religion is necessary to a state, and that instruction being requisite to all mankind, it is desirable that instruction should derive its source from authority. In favour of the christian religion, he pleaded nothing of divine origin, but insisted that it was estimable from its antiquity, and because it had been found useful by all the civilized nations of Europe. Antiquity, he observed, is suited to religious institutions, but, with respect to this sort of institutions, the faith is more strong and lively in proportion as the origin of those things which are its objects are more remote; for we have not in our heads, the ideas drawn from those times necessary to contradict them. Beside nobody believes in a religion, but because he thinks it the work of God; all is lost, if the work of human hands is perceived. On these shallow and presumptuous arguments was founded the preference of christianity; the catholic religion was to be established because the influence of the Pope, reduced to its proper limits, could not be inconvenient in politics; and the celibacy of its priests was considered of importance to the faith; but liberty of conscience was to be allowed to the protestants.

April 5.

The same documents having been submitted to the tribunate, and referred to a committee, they made a long report in favour of the plan, which was adopted, by a majority of 78 to 7. It was next, according to the forms of the constitution, to be debated in the legislative body, and Lucien Bonaparte, one of the members commissioned by the tribunate, made a speech on the subject, not less voluminous than that of Portalis. Several other speakers were heard, and particularly Bassaget in recommendation of the toleration of protestants. The question being then put to the vote, was carried in favour of the new code, by 228 to 21.

April 7.

8th.

The law thus passed for carrying the

the concordat into effect was comprised in seventy-seven articles. It provided strongly against the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority in France, by prohibiting bulls, briefs or decrees from Rome, disallowing nuncios, legates, and other apostolic missionaries, invalidating all decrees of foreign synods, even of councils general, and forbidding all national or metropolitan councils, unless these measures were respectively sanctioned by government. All ecclesiastical functions were declared gratuitous, except as to oblations regularly fixed. None but Frenchmen by birth and parentage could be bishops, nor could they attain that dignity before the age of thirty; and they might add to their names *Citizen* or *Monsieur*, but no other title. They were to reside in their dioceses, and not go beyond them without leave of the first consul. Orders were not to be conferred on any, but those who had property to the annual amount of at least three hundred livres, 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* who had attained the age of twenty-five, and who had all the qualities required by the canons received in France. Nor were ordinations to take place without the knowledge and sanction of government. Rectors were to reside, and not to officiate in any diocese but their own without permission of government. No foreigner was to be employed in any ecclesiastical function without the like permission, nor was any French clergyman to officiate unless he belonged to some diocese. There was to be but one liturgy and one catechism in all catholic churches; no domestic chapels or private oratories were to be established but on the express permission of government, granted at the solicitation of the bishop; nor was any religious ceremony to be performed, except in edifices consecrated to the catholic worship. The mode of calling the people to church by bells was to be regulated by the bishop; preachers were restrained in their sermons from all expressions conveying reproach either on the tenets or persons of those who professed any other faith: the nuptial benediction was only to be given to those who should certify in proper form that they had contracted marriage before the civil officer; and in all ecclesiastical and religious acts, use was to be made of the equinoctical calendar established by the French republic, but the days were to be called by their old names, and the day of rest for public functionaries was to be Sunday. France was divided into ten archbishopricks; the archbishops and number of suffragans were as follow: The archbishop of Paris, eight suffragans; Malines, seven; Besançon, five; Lyons, four; Aix, four; Thoulouse, five; Bordeaux, three; Bourges, three; Tours, seven; and Rouen, four. The salary of an archbishop was to be fifteen thousand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*) that of a bishop ten thousand, (437*l.* 10*s.*) and the rectors were divided into two classes, one of which was to have fifteen hundred livres (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) the other one thousand livres (43*l.* 15*s.*) a year. These were the principal, though far from all the articles regulating the catholic church in France.

The law for organization of the protestant churches was comprized in forty-four articles. It declared that none but a Frenchman could exercise the ministerial function, nor were the churches or their ministers

niſters to have any relation with any foreign power or authority; they were to pray for the proſperity of the republic and for the conſuls. No doctrinal or dogmatical deciſions, no formulary under the title of confeſſion, or any other name, was to be publiſhed, or become matter of inſtruction until its publication or promulgation had been authorized by government. No change of diſcipline was to take place without the ſame ſanction, and the council of ſtate was to take cognizance of all enterprizes of the miniſters, and of all diſſentions which might ariſe among them. For the inſtruction of miniſters of the confeſſion of Augſbourg two academies or ſeminaries were to be eſtabliſhed in the eaſt of France, and for the education of thoſe of the reformed church, one at Geneva, the profeſſors in them all, to be nominated by the firſt conſul, and no perſon was to be elected miniſter or paſtor unleſs he had ſtudied a certain term in one of them, and could produce formal certificates of his proficiency, capacity and morals. Many other articles regulated the conſiſtories, ſynods, inſpections, and other matters of internal arrangement, all tending to render the profeſſors of theſe modes of faith eſſentially dependent on, and ſubſervient to government.

April 9. This affair thus happily concluded, the cardinal legate was admitted to his firſt audience of ſtate with the firſt conſul. In this affair pomp and ceremony were much ſtudied. The government carriages were ſent for his eminence to his palace: at one o'clock he repaired to the Thuilleries; he was preceded by a detachment of grenadiers and of *gendarmerie*, with warlike muſic. There were in his train ten carriages full of eccleſiaſtics, and the proceſſion was cloſed by a body of 200 cavalry. The legate and his ſuite deſcended at the principal entrance of the palace; the croſs was, as is uſual, carried before his eminence, and, during the ceremony, placed at the door of the council chamber. He addreſſed to the firſt conſul a complimentary ſpeech on his valour, his virtues, and his piety in re-eſtabliſhing religion, and took an oath according to a form preſcribed by a decree of the day preceding, not to exerciſe his authority out of the French dominions, nor to the injury of the French government. The firſt conſul then anſwered his ſpeech by one of equal civility. A proclamation was forthwith iſſued, recommending to the French nation the religion thus re-eſtabliſhed, and another for celebrating this great event by a grand maſs at the church of Nôtre Dame, the metropolitan church of Paris, on the enſuing, being Eaſter Sunday.

April 12. Previouſly to this celebration, the cardinal legate conſecrated anew this celebrated edifice, which, in the courſe of the revolution, had been profaned by all the acts of turpitude which the wantonneſs of outrageous atheiſm could dictate; by mock apotheoſes, heathen rites, and not leaſt, by the feſtival of the goddeſs of reaſon. In preparation for the intended ſolemnity ſeveral archbiſhops and biſhops, who, during the revolutionary governments in France, had accepted ſees contrary to the direction of the former Pope, addreſſed a letter to the head of the church, declaring, that they freely abandoned what was called the ci-

vil conſtitution of the clergy; and would profeſs the diſpoſitions and articles of the new convention made between his holineſs and the French government, and render true obedience to him and his ſucceſſors. The pope accepted their declaration, and expedited to each a form of pardon, and the cardinal legate, by virtue of the pope's authority, did abſolve and declare each of them abſolved, in *utroque foro*, from all ſentence, cenſure, and eccleſiaſtical penalty whatſoever, ſo far as the ſame can be pronounced by man, impoſing upon each as a penance the recital of the ſeven penitential pſalms, and recommending ſedulous care in the preſervation of unity and peace.

April 18. At the celebration in the church of Nôtre Dame, Bonaparte aſſumed one of the attributes of royalty by ſeating himſelf on the throne heretofore occupied by the kings of France, although on the preſent occaſion it received the name, leſs offenſive to the few who ſtill cheriſhed republican notions, of a temple. The following is the account of the ceremony, as given in the French papers. Early in the morning, the cannon were fired, and the new religious code was proclaimed. The different councils and conſtituted authorities aſſembled to proceed to the grand ſervice at the metropolitan church of Nôtre Dame, and Bonaparte's proclamation, was poſted up all over Paris. The approach of the chief conſul was announced by the firing of cannon. Before he entered, the councils were ſeated in the galleries, the legiſlative body on the left, the conſervative ſenate on the right, and the tribunate in the centre. In the body of the church, the clergy were ranged on the left: the miniſters, embaſſadors, chief officers, &c. &c. on the right. The aiſles of the church were thickly lined with ſoldiers, and the number of military officers was great. Terminating the paſſage of the main aiſle ſtood the altar, nearly in the centre of the church. On the right was erected a temple on four pillars, ten or twelve feet high, over which was ſuſpended from the roof a ſplendid canopy. This temple, which was covered with crimſon velvet, and moſt ſuperbly decorated with gold and precious ſtones, was deſigned for the three conſuls, and it was open all round, that they might be ſeen. On the oppoſite ſide of the altar ſtood a ſimilar temple, not ſo magnificent, in which were to ſit the pope's legate and two archbiſhops, one of them of Paris. Soon after twelve o'clock the chief conſul entered, cannon firing, and a fine band of muſic playing in the church. The grenadiers were ranged three deep on each ſide of the aiſle, along which he paſſed to the altar, the pope's legate introducing him to the church, and conducting him. He was followed by the two other conſuls. After certain ceremonies, he aſcended the temple, and the cardinal and biſhops entered theirs. The ſervice of high maſs was then performed, Bonaparte going through all the ceremonies. In thoſe parts of the ſervice, where the congregation bow, the ſoldiers preſented their arms, by word of command from their officers. The oath of fidelity was taken by the clergy, who were very numerouſly aſſembled round the legate's temple, after which a ſermon was preached by M. de Boiſgelin, one of the ancient biſhops, who in obedience to the pope's command reſigned his former

ſee,

fee, and was in consequence made bishop of Tours; he was formerly archbishop of Aix, member of the royal academy, and the same person who preached before Louis XVI. on his coronation. A grand *Te Deum* followed, in which all the best vocal performers in Paris assisted. About four o'clock, the whole ceremony having concluded, the chief consul retired in the manner he entered, and the rest of the company withdrew. The consecration of the protestant places of worship took place the same day, but without any public notice*.

May 12. While the question respecting the appointment of Bonaparte to be consul for life was yet before the public, another measure was proposed which to the few, who, in spite of reason and fact, still persisted in affecting to consider the government of France as republican, gave great offence: it was the establishment of a species of new nobility, under the title of a legion of honour. The plan was to the following effect. The legion was to consist of about 6000 men; to be divided into fifteen cohorts, each to have its peculiar station; each cohort to consist of seven great officers, 20 commandants, 30 subaltern officers, and 350 privates. The pay to be:—to each great officer, 5000 livres per annum; to each commandant 2000; to each subaltern 1000; to each private 250; all for life. Every individual on his being admitted into the legion, to swear, on his conscience and his honour, that he meant to devote his existence to the welfare of the republic, to the preservation of its territory in its integrity, to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property, which it had rendered safe: to oppose, by all means that justice, reason, and the laws should authorize, every undertaking which might tend to the restoration of the feudal system, of titles, and the immunities attached to them; in fine, to exert his best and most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of liberty and equality. The first consul to be, *de jure*, the chief of the legion, and president of the great council of administration. The conditions required for being admitted were, to have received arms of honour from the hands, or by order of the first consul; to have rendered essential service in the war of liberty, either in the field or in the cabinet. In time of peace, a candidate must prove that he had served twenty-five years. Each year in time of war, to be counted as two; each campaign of the republican war as four years. This system was afterward adopted in its full extent, and Joseph Bonaparte was elected grand officer of the legion. Sabres of honour and carbines of honour began immedi-

July 12.

* On the subject of re-establishing religion in France, an anecdote is recorded which deserves to be preserved. Bonaparte sent to the King of Etruria a copy of the concordat for his perusal, which King Louis returned with many marginal notes in his own hand writing, censuring its provisions. The first consul gave the well-meaning prince to understand, that he would never suffer a King of Etruria to meddle in the affairs of France, and sent the letter he had received to the minister for foreign affairs, with a note, importing that it was "to be preserved as a memorial of the folly of kings, when they permitted themselves to be governed by priests." The French official paper was immediately directed to discharge against the young king, the usual expressions of the displeasure of its government, in terms of the coarsest abuse.

ately to be distributed, and they were considered as badges of distinction, and pledges to assure the fidelity of the receiver to the person and interest of the first consul.

August 4. The measure which completed the power aimed at by Bonaparte, was effected by a senatus consultum, formed by the council of state for organizing the constitution. In this body of regulations, every thing converges towards one point, that of giving all power to the first consul. Assemblies of cantons are appointed; he appoints the president, whose power is to last five years, and may be indefinitely renewed; the cantonal assembly returns two citizens, of whom the first consul appoints one to be a justice of the peace; he chooses the mayors and assistants in the municipal councils; appoints the presidents of the electoral colleges; may augment their numbers by persons chosen from the legion of honour, and he fixes on the persons to fill up vacancies, in these and other assemblies. In fine, throughout the bodies of the legislature, and the electoral bodies who were to return members to compose them, the power and influence of the first consul were rendered incessant and unlimited, and he was invested with the privilege of pardoning offenders. The chief arrangement in this new system, was however that which related to the office of the consul himself. In that chapter, beside the power of nominating the second, and third consuls, the first consul was empowered, at whatever time he might think proper to appoint a person to succeed him after his death; or if he did not deem it prudent to make the nomination publicly, he might deposit, among the archives of government, his wish as to the nomination of a successor, to be presented to the senate after his death. In this case, he was to summon the attendance of the second and third consuls, the ministers and presidents of the sections of the council of state, and in their presence to deliver to the secretary of state the paper, sealed with his seal, and in which his wish was to be recorded. This paper, subscribed by all those present at the transaction, the secretary of state was to deposit among the archives of government, in the presence of the ministers and presidents of the section of the council of state. The first consul might withdraw this deposit, observing the formalities prescribed in making it. After the death of the first consul the senate might refuse to confirm this nomination in writing, and in that case the other consuls were to present candidates; but, in all events, the presentation and nominations must be completed within twenty-four hours after the death of the first consul.

August 15. These great points being thus satisfactorily arranged, the festival ordered to take place on the birth day of Bonaparte was celebrated throughout France with great splendour and effect. Whatever languor and absence of popular sympathy were observed in the festivals on the peace, and on the restoration of religion, were not to be discerned on this occasion. All was splendid and cheerful, and the characteristic spirit of the nation was flattered and stimulated by the late events, which while they gratified the ambition of the ruler, opened also views of similar gratification to men in other

other classes, but more particularly the military.

The present period may, in fact, be considered an epoch in the history of France, and in the life of her ruler. Were it in the nature of ambition to be contented, both the nation and the individual had the utmost reason to be so. The country enjoyed peace, and not security alone, but a higher consideration in all parts of the world, than had ever in modern times belonged to any nation; and Bonaparte had risen more rapidly from obscurity and poverty, to vast and undisputed authority, than any person whose name is recorded in the history of civilized people in recent times. Yet it was evident that besides the changes already avowed, and either accomplished or in a train of being so, the government of France meditated vast designs, and projected undefined schemes of power and aggrandizement. In this spirit the May 12. senator Lacué presented to the legislative body a new project for recruiting the army, by which, sixty thousand men were to be raised from the conscriptions of the two next years, to be immediately embodied to supply the places of those discharged, and thus to complete the peace establishment. Sixty thousand were likewise to be inscribed and organized, to form a reserve that might be immediately called out, if it should be necessary, to place the army upon the war establishment. This plan was readily adopted, being recommended by a speech from the proposer, wherein he pointed out the necessity of keeping up a strong military force in time of peace, and of being prepared to take the field with advantage, if the war should be renewed.

With respect to internal government, France still continued to exhibit the uneasiness and alarm which arise from uncertainty, joined with a resolution continually active and enterprizing to supersede all forms and pretences to liberty, and establish a close and relentless system of despotism. The slavery of the press was enforced with the utmost rigour, and the emigrants who had returned, daily felt the diminution of their security, under the severe and merciless system enforced by Fouché. The employment of spies on the conduct of individuals was carried to an extent unknown during the monarchy, and from their denunciations, the Temple in Paris, and other prisons throughout France were filled with victims; besides great numbers who were transported without public notice or the forms of an accusation or trial. The people were not unconscious of the oppression of this mode of government, but having brought themselves to consider that there was no alternative but the resumption of power by the jacobins, they bore the present as the less evil, distinguishing between the rule of Bonaparte and that of Robespierre, by calling the one *la terreur blanche*, the other *la terreur noire*.

Among the individuals whom the first consul ought to have loved and esteemed for the services he had rendered the country, and the disposition he had ever shewn to acquiesce in all the acts of his government, but whom he hated for having acquired a glory which rivalled his own, was General Moreau. The troops and officers who had

formed the army of that diſtinguiſhed commander, found continual reaſon to complain that their ſervices were diſregarded, while all favours were laviſhed on thoſe who ſerved in the armies of Italy and Egypt. Many diſappointed officers were continually about the perſon of Moreau, urging their complaints, and endeavouring to influence him to aſſume a leading part in oppoſition to government; but ſo quiet was his character, or ſo great his circumſpection, that no ſuch endeavours were attended with any appearance of ſucceſs. It was even affirmed that not only his companions in arms, but even his family and his wife were made the objects of marked and direct inſult; but yet the general perſevered in his pacific conduct, and while his merits were ſtudiouſly kept back from public obſervation, contented himſelf with the recollection of the great ſervices he had performed for France, in his ever memorable campaigns, and particularly for Bonaparte himſelf in that of 1800. Thoſe however, who wiſhed to be a party with him at their head, did not fail to deliver their opinions on his merits, opinions which the government could not openly diſapprove; but the expreſſion of which increaſed the animoſity of Bonaparte. Yet ſuch was the eſteem in which Moreau was held by the public, that the diſmiſſal of Fouché from his office of miniſter of the police, was by many attributed to the influence of that general. At the ſame time he was reported to have given inexpiable offence to the firſt conſul, by a ſportive donation of a ſaucepan of honour to a cook, who had pleaſed him in the execution of his duty, an act which was deemed a groſs ſarcaſm on the ſabres and muſkets of honour given by Bonaparte. Circumſtances ſo trifling would not deſerve to be noticed, but it often happens that apparent trifles are productive of the moſt ſerious reſults.

October.

The peace with England did not occaſion any return of cordiality between the two nations. Bonaparte tremulouſly jealous of the preſs at home, ſaw with undiſguiſed chagrin its uncontrouled liberty in England, and felt with undiſſembled pain, the attacks it made on his perſon, proceedings and views. In the courſe of the year, eſpecially when his conduct toward Switzerland gave riſe to the moſt general and unreſtrained animadverſions, he interdicted altogether, the introduction of Engliſh newſpapers into France, except one weekly journal, which flattered him in the moſt groſs and fulſome terms. The preſs in France under the immediate controul of government, which the Britiſh preſs is not, nor ever can be, until the conſtitution ſhall be utterly deſtroyed, and the public diſpoſition totally changed, did not however ſet any example of moderation, or recommend that virtue by practice. Libels of the moſt outrageous and offenſive kind on men of the greateſt talent and higheſt public conſideration in England, were continually publiſhed in Paris, not by obſcure or clandeſtine libellers, but by the expreſs agents of government, and as the official or demi-official articles of the government journal. That a perpetual flood of abuſe might be ſupplied, in the courſe of the ſummer, a band of Iriſh and Engliſh refugees and traitors of the loweſt deſcrip-

deſcription were encouraged to publiſh in Paris, a newſpaper in Engliſh, under the title of the Argus, wherein not only the king and his government, and the ſocial eſtabliſhments of the country in general were unſparingly attacked, but individuals reſident in England, or on a temporary viſit to France were fixed on as objects of daily calumny. A proſecution was commenced by the attorney-general, againſt a Frenchman reſident in London, named Peltier, for a libel on Bonaparte in a paper called L'Ambigu; but in France no oppoſition was made to, nor no encouragement withheld from thoſe who publiſhed libels offenſive to the Engliſh.

Nor was it with reſpect to the preſs alone that diſſatisfaction was manifeſted between the two governments. Bonaparte avowed his diſcontent at having been reſtrained by Britiſh influence from taking the ample vengeance he intended on the people of Algiers. It was continually expected that after the ratification of the definitive treaty, a commercial ſyſtem would have been eſtabliſhed between the two countries, but, on the contrary, Bonaparte maintained in their greateſt vigour all the decrees for preventing the reception of Britiſh manufactures into the French dominions, and when a rumour was circulated that a more amicable ſyſtem was about to be adopted, Chaptal, one of the French miniſters of ſtate, in a moſt public and authentic manner, contradicted the report, treating the ſuppoſition that it could be true, as a calumny invented by thoſe who wiſhed to make the manufacturers retract the confidence they ought to place in the promiſes of government, and relax their labours. Whenever circumſtances would permit a renewal of commercial intercourſe with England, he added, the manufacturers ſhould be conſulted in the arrangements.

Many of theſe circumſtances were unknown or ſlightly regarded by the people at large in both countries; but the long interval which took place between the ſignature of the definitive treaty, and the miſſion of embaſſadors was matter of general ſurprize and occaſioned much conjecture. This cauſe of ſurprize was, however, at length terminated by the arrival of General Andréoſſi as embaſſador from France, immediately after which Lord Whitworth ſailed from Dover to fill the ſame character at Paris. The French embaſſador was preſented to the king and queen, and moſt graciouſly received; he was a perſonal favourite of the firſt conſul, and had ſerved with him in Egypt, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his accurate and profound knowledge. Lord Whitworth was equally well received in Paris, and no nobleman could be more fit to repreſent the Britiſh nation and maintain its character.

Nov. 6.

Nov. 9.

Nov. 17 and 18.

The abſence of an embaſſador had not prevented the intercourſe between England and France, which curioſity ever occaſions in time of peace, and which, at the preſent period, muſt be peculiarly operative in drawing Engliſhmen to view thoſe ſcenes of revolutionary violence of which, during late years, they had heard ſo much: thoſe fine ſpecimens of art which the ſucceſs of French arms had

cauſed

caufed to be collected at Paris, and above all that individual who, whether admired or execrated, whether conſidered as a hero, or as the mere upſtart of opportunity and fortune, was by all acknowledged to be the moſt extraordinary perſonage exiſting. As the conſular court had aſſumed the regularity eſtabliſhed in other courts, it was ordered that no Engliſhman ſhould be introduced to the Levees of the firſt conſul, but thoſe who had been preſented at St. James's. Several members of the party which in England was termed the old oppoſition were introduced; among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of whom were Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Fox. The latter gentleman was ſaid to be engaged in an hiſtorical work, and to have viſited France for the purpoſe of peruſing ſome documents preſerved in the Scotch college. He was accompanied by a lady, with whom he had, for many years lived on terms of the utmoſt intimacy, and to whom he now acknowledged that he had for ſome time been privately married.

Sept. 3. His introduction to the firſt conſul was pompouſly announced in the French official paper. "It muſt," ſays the writer of the French government, "have been to Mr. Fox one of the ſweeteſt moments of his life; and his diſtinguiſhed reception by the chief of the nation, muſt have been the beſt recompence for the conteſts which that friend to peace maintained in parliament, againſt the miſerables, who had the tremendous courage to call for war. Twice did the firſt conſul accoſt him, and among many flattering things ſaid, "that there "were in the world but two "nations; the one inhabiting the "eaſt, and the other the weſt. "The Engliſh, French, Germans, "Italians, &c. under the ſame "civil code, having the ſame "manners, the ſame habits, and "almoſt the ſame religion, are "all members of the ſame family, "and the men who wiſh to light "up again the flame of war among "them, wiſh for civil war. "Theſe principles, Sir, were de-"veloped in your ſpeeches with "an energy that does as much "honour to your heart as to your "head." Mr. Fox dined the ſame day with the firſt conſul, who had a very long converſation with him in the preſence of a numerous company.

While thus the continent was agitated in all parts by the ambition of France, England, in a ſtate of intire repoſe endeavoured to profit by the peace. The rage of party which during ſo many years had burnt with ſuch violence, was gradually ſubſiding, and men who differed in their political opinions, viewed each other with ſentiments of leſs hoſtility, than they had entertained at any time ſince the beginning of the diſcuſſions on the French revolution. The general election ſtirred up the embers of expiring animoſity, but although the flame thus excited burned vividly in ſome places, no art could render the conflagration general, or even extenſive. Such, in fact, was the ſtrange ſtate of the public mind with reſpect to parties, that the moſt zealous oppoſers of the miniſtry were alſo the moſt inveterate aſſailants of thoſe who were termed the new oppoſition, and in ſome places the conteſts proceeded on no acknowledged

ledged ground of political difference. Thus in Norwich, Mr. Windham, a diſtinguiſhed opponent of government, was defeated by Mr. William Smith, a member of the old oppoſition, who uſed againſt him the ſame reſources and arts which would have been employed, had Mr. Windham been in office. The election for Nottingham exhibited a ſcene of tumult and riot diſgraceful to the cauſe of freedom, about which it was ſaid to be excited. Mr. Birch was, what is called the popular candidate, or more properly, the favourite of the populace, and the proceſſion when he was chaired occaſioned much animadverſion. In Weſtminſter the two former repreſentatives, Lord Gardner and Mr. Fox, were oppoſed by a man little known, and leſs worthy to be noticed, named Graham, who did not reſign his pretenſions till he had polled about 1700 votes. Of all others, however, the conteſt for Middleſex excited the greateſt attention. Mr. Mainwaring, who had repreſented the County in three parliaments, and was generally revered as an upright magiſtrate, and worthy man, was oppoſed by Sir Francis Burdett, who was called by an obſcure few from a viſit to Paris, to make a conteſt for the County. In the publications announcing his pretenſions, a courſe of calumny and popular irritation was begun, and it was never intermitted during the unprecedented term of fifteen days, to which the poll was protracted. In alluſion to the priſon in Cold Bath fields, the mob were taught to ſhout "*no Baſtille*," and, as the 14th of July was the ſecond day of the election, they were excited to make it as famous in England, as it had been in France. Ruffians were hired and inſtructed to inſult and abuſe Mr. Mainwaring and all his friends, and in the courſe of the conteſt, the members of the Whig Club, and Mr. Byng the third candidate, who had profeſſed neutrality, and profited by the profeſſion, uſed their exertions in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, and the exertions of the moſt profligate characters whom faction could animate, or bribes procure, the real freeholders of the county gave a decided majority to Mr. Mainwaring, till the fourteenth day, when by a moſt abandoned device, ſupported by a ſyſtem of perjury the moſt unbounded ever known, and favoured by the ſheriffs, in defiance of law, reaſon, and their oaths, a fictitious majority was procured in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Whatever might be the opinion of the members of adminiſtration on theſe tranſactions, the weight of office was no where felt, and even the moſt inveterate opponents of government acknowledged that there had never been known an election in which influence was ſo little exerciſed.

With reſpect to the internal ſtate of England, the general election was the only circumſtance which fixed the public attention till toward the cloſe of the year, when a conſpiracy was diſcovered, which had for its object, the life of his majeſty, and the effecting of a revolution in the ſtate. For ſome days, rumours had been afloat reſpecting the correſponding ſociety recommencing its operations; and the nature of the conſpiracy was revealed

revealed by a ſoldier of the guards to Sir Richard Ford. The principal perſonengaged was Colonel Deſpard, who had lately been confined in the Cold Bath Fields priſon. In conſequence of the information, which was obtained, a ſtrong party of the police officers proceeded, at night, to the Oakley-arms, an obſcure public-houſe, in Oakley-ſtreet, Lambeth, where they found the colonel, and about thirty-two labouring men and ſoldiers, whom they immediately took into cuſtody. This event, however, excited little alarm, as it was ſoon made known that the parties would be dealt with according to the regular courſe of law, and no extraordinary meaſures of precaution reſorted to. In fact, in the abſence of all grounds of diſcontent, public ſpirit ſeemed to revive, and public opinion to receive a right impulſe, plenty gave content, and peace hope, induſtry was animated, confidence re-eſtabliſhed, and government reſtored to its due reſpect, could act with vigour, without extraordinary force, and make the laws reſpected from the noble and generous ſentiments of affection.

Nov. 16.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Cairo, Oct. 24. "ON the morning of the 8th, Sir R. Bickerton, accompanied by the Turkiſh Admiral of the gallies, and ſuite, and thoſe officers of the navy who had been particularly ſelected, proceeded from General Hutchinſon's tent to the tent of his highneſs the captain Pacha, and were received by the whole Turkiſh line, under arms, with muſic playing and colours flying. They were received with great ceremony. His Highneſs being dreſſed in a white robe of beautiful Perſian ſatin, over which was the robe of ſtate, worn only on particular occaſions, made of the fineſt red cloth, and on it were placed, below the breaſt, two aigrettes of large diamonds, and in a ſaſh of rich ſatin; round his waiſt was fixed a dagger, the handle of which was ſo thickly covered with diamonds, as to render it impoſſible to diſcover of what other materials it was made.—On his head he wore a ſuperb turban, with rows of pearls placed on the different folds. The other grandees that were ſeated on the ſame ſofa were as magnificently dreſſed, in all reſpects, excepting the red robe. Having been ſerved with coffee and ſweetmeats, according to cuſtom, the ceremony began by his Highneſs inveſting the Admiral with a pelice, the ſtar and red ribband, and medal of the order of the creſcent, all of which being properly arranged, he was deſired to kneel, at which time the Grand Signor's firman was read, impowering his Highneſs to confer the honour of knighthood, which was immediately performed on the Admiral, upon whoſe riſing a royal ſalute was fired, and other demonſtrations of ſatisfaction, agreeable to the Turkiſh cuſtom. The ſtar is moſt beautifully ſet with diamonds, and the pelice is valued at 300l. The Admiral having retired to his ſeat, the ſenior poſt captain was inveſted in the ſame form with the pelice and gold medal of the order, and was knighted; and then the other three captains in ſucceſſion. Four maſters and commanders, and Lieut. Withers, were then knighted in the ſame manner, but only received a gold medal of the order, without the pelice. The ſame ceremony was performed on Gen. Hutchinſon, and the general officers of the army, the day before. General Hutchinſon, and Sir Richard Bickerton, are inveſted with

the first order of the crescent. The other general officers, post captains, and masters and commanders, are of the second order, there being only two orders.

Nov. 10. Murdered, Thomas Barry, esq. of North Frederick-street, Dublin. On the 13th, George Hepenstal, esq. coroner and magistrate of the county of Dublin, held an inquest on his body; when it appeared that Mr. B. was murdered immediately after dinner; and it is supposed that the servant who removed the cloth gave the opportunity, in opening the parlour-door. The deceased was sitting at the table in his parlour, with a decanter of wine, none of which he had drunk, and another of water before him, a pair of candles, and a news-paper which he was reading with spectacles on, when the villain stole in upon him, and, with a large pistol, or, more likely, a blunderbuss, loaded with slugs, shot away part of his skull, and dashed away more of it with the muzzle. The deceased was laid upon his back, on the floor, after being murdered, and a pistol of his own placed by his side, with a view, it is supposed, to have it understood that he had shot himself; but it being loaded defeated that intention. The deceased's female-servant, Catharine Delany, was accused of being an accomplice, but the chief suspicion fell on Francis Revell a servant, whom Mr. B. being sometimes a little deranged in mind, had put away, and fired at with a pistol in his yard, for having, as he said, strove to poison him in bread. It is supposed that, from the time he was murdered until the alarm, the house was plundered; but, as Mr. B. led a recluse life, it is not known what property may have been lost. His watch was found in his pocket; but his purse was empty, and none of his plate was taken away. The lock of the drawer of a cloaths-press, where 35,000*l.* of scrip lay, was forced open, and some money or notes probably carried away. In searching, after the inquest was over, a canvas bag was found among his shirts in a small trunk, containing 58 guineas in gold, which his murderer, it is imagined, did not suspect to be there; the deceased had an extraordinary habit of putting his money in odd places. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of "wilful murder, by a blunderbuss or other fire-arms, by a person unknown; and that Catharine Delany and Francis Revell were accessaries." Revell was apprehended the same night (13th), in Fisher's-lane. There were found upon him 15 five guinea notes, the outside of one of which had a little blood on it, and a cross-barred silk handkerchief, supposed to belong to Mr. B. but said he could not tell how they came into his pocket. The next day (14th) he was brought before the superintendant magistrate, and underwent a long and very strict examination, but, not having recovered from the intoxication of the preceding day, he denied having any knowledge of the shocking transaction. He was committed to Newgate, where, being properly confined in a cell by himself, his guilty conscience gained an ascendancy over him when he got into a state of complete sobriety, and on the 15th he confessed the fact to Major Swan. Catharine Delany, was tried on the

15th of December, and acquitted; Revell was found guilty, and executed on the 17th. One of his expreſſions was peculiarly forcible: "had my maſter," ſaid he, "been a religious man, I ſhould not have felt a tenth part of my preſent ſorrow; but, wretched murderer that I am, I have ſent him into the preſence of God without a moment's preparation." The unfortunate Mr. Barry was of a reſpectable family in the county of Meath, and had been brought up, it is ſaid, a wine-cooper in Dublin; his property, which is ſuppoſed to amount to upwards of 80,000l. was acquired by his own induſtry.

Dec. 7th. *Amiens.* Yeſterday Joſeph Bonaparte, and the Marquis Cornwallis, who have been here ſince the 3d, exchanged their full powers. The conferences between them have already begun. The Batavian Ambaſſador, Schimmelpenninck, has alſo arrived here, with his Secretary, Combs.

26th. *Paris.* The *Moniteur* announced the departure, on the 14th, of the ſquadrons from Breſt, L'Orient, and Rochefort. The fleet conſiſts of 23 ſhips, including ſix Spaniſh men of war. On board theſe ſhips and the tranſports are ſaid to be 25,000 men. That their deſtination is for St. Domingo cannot be doubted; and, as a confirmation of this fact, the conſuls have ordered, that there ſhall in future be three monthly mails eſtabliſhed for the army in St. Domingo. Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe commands the French fleet, and General Gravina the Spaniſh. Rear-Admiral Villaret, who commanded the gun-boats at Boulogne, is in the fleet; and has on-board his ſhip Jerome Bonaparte, the chief conſul's youngeſt brother.

30th. About two o'clock a fire broke out at lady Pembroke's houſe, in Cavendiſh-ſquare, which, from its violence for ſeveral hours, ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to the whole neighbourhood. When the fire was firſt diſcovered, it was confined to a large back parlour, which had been appropriated the whole of the morning to the airing of beds and linen preparatory to her ladyſhip's coming to town from the neighbourhood of Richmond. One of the maids fainted away on perceiving the miſchief, as ſhe had left the room, where a large braſier was placed, with the beds and linen cloſe to it; and it was with difficulty the other two ſervants could drag her into the paſſage to prevent her falling a victim to the flames. The conflagration by this time had collected ſufficient ſtrength to force its way through the top of the room into the upper apartments; and when the alarm of fire was given in the ſquare, all aſſiſtance was found ineffectual. The houſe was reduced to a mere ſhell.

Jan. 1ſt. The following notice was iſſued by his Royal Highneſs Monſieur, on his arrival on the 1ſt inſtant, at Holyrood houſe. "His Royal Highneſs Monſieur, ſolicitous to expreſs thoſe ſentiments of ſatisfaction which he cannot but entertain, on returning again to a country endeared to him by every poſſible teſtimony of politeneſs, and every demonſtration of attention, will hold a levee at Holyrood houſe every Monday during the courſe of the preſent month, at half paſt twelve o'clock.

Conſtantinople, Dec. 30. The following particulars are now known as to the murder of the Pacha of Belgrade. The Janiſſaries who detained him priſoner had diſcovered a correſpondence which that unfortunate old man had contrived to carry on with his ſon, in which he excited him to leave no means untried for the deliverance of his father, and the recovery of the fortreſs for its lawful governor. In the interim, it ſeems that the chiefs of the Janiſſaries did not conſider this as a ſufficient cauſe to treat their priſoner with additional rigour, and they contented themſelves with redoubling their vigilance, in cutting him off from all exterior communications. But this ſentiment of compaſſion was not ſufficient to ſave the Pacha's life. The report of the ſecret correſpondence ſoon raiſed murmurs among the inferior Janiſſaries. On the 27th of Dec. at two o'clock in the afternoon, three of them, who made a part of the guard, ruſhed into his apartment, compelled him, with their ſabres at his breaſt, to make a diſcovery of his treaſures, and afterwards diſpatched him. The chiefs, however, who either could not, or would not, prevent this inhuman act, took every neceſſary precaution for ſecuring the quiet of the city. And the next day the Pacha was peaceably interred. From the conduct of the Janiſſaries, ſince this event, it ſeems that they are divided into two parties, one of which appears to deſire a cloſer union with Paſwau Oglou, the other perfect ſubmiſſion to the Turkiſh court. The Porte, it is expected, will ſhortly redouble its efforts againſt the rebellious Pacha, and alſo direct military operations againſt Belgrade, ſhould they be found neceſſary. The captain Pacha, lately returned from Egypt, has already received orders to put himſelf at the head of a numerous land force, which will be aided by a reſpectable armed flotilla on the Danube, to which ſervice the High Admiral has invited ſeveral Engliſh officers.

This morning, about one o'clock, to the great terror of the neighbourhood, more than 40 feet in extent of the high wall at the eaſt end of All Saints church, *Newcaſtle*, fell into Silver-ſtreet. It had long ſhewn evident ſymptoms of decay and tumbling, but the application of ſeaſonable repairs was always forgotten or neglected. Some houſes and windows on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet have received damage; but happily no lives were loſt, nor was any perſon injured. But though the living eſcaped unhurt, the manſions of the dead were diſturbed by the accident; ſome coffins, with their contents, accompanying the ſoil, which preſſed upon the wall, into the ſtreet. *Jan.* 7th.

A jury was impannelled by the ſheriffs, to aſ- 13th.
ſeſs damages in the cauſe of Jackſon v. Lord Milſingtown, where judgment was ſuffered to go by default. The damages were laid at 10,000l. Mr. Serjeant Beſt, on the part of the plaintiff, ſtated that it was an action to recover compenſation in damages from the defendant, for having alienated the affections of the plaintiff's wife; deprived him of the comforts of her ſociety; and induced her to elope and live with him in adultery, which ſhe ſtill continued to do.

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The elopement took place on the 4th of Auguſt laſt. The plaintiff, Mr. Henry Jackſon, was a gentleman in the profeſſion of the law. The defendant, Lord Viſcount Milſingtown, was the eldeſt ſon of the wealthy earl of Portmore. The object of his ſeduction, was granddaughter to a moſt reſpectable baronet in Kent, (Sir C. Biſhop), and niece to the lady of Sir George Warren; her father was at this time a colonel in the army. The union between Mr. and Mrs. Jackſon took place on the 26th of September, 1791. The huſband and wife lived together in perfect love and harmony. In 1793, Mr. Jackſon had the misfortune to be afflicted with a paralytic ſtroke, which made it neceſſary for him to ſuſpend all application to buſineſs, and retire to the country for his health. He took apartments in Sunbury, where Mrs. Jackſon attended on him with all the care, attention, and anxiety, that could have been ſhewn by the moſt aſſiduous and affectionate of wives. Their mutual harmony continued down to July 1799, when Mrs. Jackſon went to Sporrengton in Suſſex, on a viſit to her father (Col. Biſhop) and mother. Sir George and Lady Warren being then at Brighton, invited Major and Mrs. Vince (ſiſters to Mrs. Jackſon) and three other unmarried ſiſters, to paſs the race week with them; and ſhortly afterwards they were joined by Colonel Biſhop; and Mrs. Jackſon and her ſiſters were invited by lady Charles Somerſet to a ball and ſupper, which commenced the acquaintance between Mrs. Jackſon and Lord Milſingtown, who was introduced to her by Sir George Warren. His lordſhip ſelected Mrs. Jackſon for his partner, and it was remarked that he paid her very particular attention; but ſhe came up to London a few days after. In the ſummer following, the ſame ladies were on a viſit to Mrs. Middleton, ſiſter to Sir William Middleton, and uncle to the plaintiff, at Eton, and it happening that Aſcot races took place at that time, they made a party to them, and were joined by lord M. who was afterwards introduced to Mrs. Middleton, at her houſe, both by Mrs. Jackſon and Miſs Biſhop, as a ſuitor of the latter young lady. Mr. Jackſon going down in a day or two afterwards, a ſimilar introduction took place between him and lord M. There enſued ſeveral water parties on the river, and things ſeemed ſo far drawing to a concluſion, that Mr. J. wiſhing to promote ſo advantageous a match with a nobleman of lord M.'s rank and fortune (which conſideration was frequently preſſed upon him by his lady), and being ſolicited ſo to do by Miſs Biſhop herſelf, gave his lordſhip an invitation to his houſe, which the latter accepted, and continued his viſits there all the ſummer of 1800, ſtill appearing to direct his attention to Miſs Biſhop. In conſequence of the frequent reports of the intended marriage, lord M. with Mr. and Mrs. J. and Miſs Biſhop, were invited, and paid viſits to Col. Biſhop, their father, and ſeveral other perſons. At length Mr. J. finding that his lordſhip made no propoſals, and having ſuſpicions of his illicit intentions, communicated to his wife his deſign to break off with, and inform him that his viſits muſt be diſcontinued. The lady wiſhed to diſ-

ſuade him from doing ſo under different pretences, and even quarrelled with him on the ſubject; but he perſiſted in his determination, and left it to Mrs. J. to inform lord Milſington of it in what manner ſhe pleaſed. The communication being made, the plaintiff's eyes were ſoon opened, to his ſurprize and mortification, by the elopement of his wife in a few days afterward. In one of Mrs. J.'s drawers he found, upon ſearch, a letter, which left no further doubt of what had taken place. The letter was nearly as follows:

"I hope moſt earneſtly very ſoon to ſee that my beloved Harriet was not the worſe for the expedition of yeſterday. I wiſhed very much to have called this morning to have inquired after her, but thought if I did, I ſhould not have the pleaſure of paſſing the evening with the only woman in the world that I have the ſmalleſt attachment to, an attachment ſo ſtrong and fixed, that nothing in the world can alter. I never can be happy till we live together, with that dear little angel that ſo reſembles the figure of its deareſt mother; it makes me quite miſerable the thoughts of leaving town; I cannot bear to be ſeparated from you my love; I hope it will not be the caſe; I am ſure we could be happy together, and my only ſtudy the happineſs of you, my adored Harriet, and the welfare of your children. Pray, my love, let me ſee you to morrow if it is in your power. I wiſh *very, very* much that we may meet to fix when we ſhall meet not to part again. Perhaps you will not have an opportunity of reading this before I am obliged to leave you, therefore I will be in Hart-ſtreet, at the uſual place, at twelve o'clock to-morrow; pray come as ſoon after as you can; and believe me, moſt ſincerely, affectionately, and faithfully, yours ever, M."

The gentlemen, on the other ſide, may aſk, why he did not bring Miſs Biſhop forward to prove any part of the caſe? His reply was, that ſhe being the ſiſter of the fallen lady, and having been the pretended object of Lord M.'s addreſſes, his client would ſooner forego all the advantages he could derive from her evidence, or even forego all damages whatever, than commit ſuch an outrage upon the delicacy of the young lady and the feelings of her family.

Witneſſes being examined in proof of the above ſtatement, and the defendant having allowed judgment to go by default, the jury, after hearing an ingenious defence by Mr. Dallas, found a verdict of 2000l. damages againſt the defendant.

18th. *Lyons.* Bonaparte reached this place on the evening of the 11th, amidſt the moſt flattering teſtimonies of reſpect from the Conſtituted Authorities, and the univerſal acclamations of the joyous populace, who had ſitten up the two preceding nights in expectation of his arrival. On the following day, the Chief Conſul received in form all the Conſtituted Authorities; and afterwards gave audience to ſeveral Deputations from Societies of Commerce and learned bodies. The members of the Conſulta of the Ciſalpine Republick alſo addreſſed him on the ſame day. In his reply he exhorted them, in the eſtabliſhment of their government,

to

to pay all due attention to the maintenance of property, and no leſs reſpect to religious worſhip. At night the Chief Conſul went to the theatre; and a general illumination took place throughout the city, as well on that as on the preceding evening. The Conſulta has proceeded to buſineſs, and the principal forms of the Conſtitution have already been agreed to.

19th. M. de Choiſeul, a newly eraſed emigrant, and a relation of the duke of that name, in company with ſome other returned emigrants, was dining at a Reſtaurateur's. During their repaſt, they were talking very freely againſt the Government, the navy, army, &c. Speaking of the latter, M. de Choiſeul obſerved, that the Generals were cut-throats, plunderers, &c. &c. Unfortunately for him, General Oudinot, formerly of the army of Italy, was placed very near him; and, riſing from his ſeat, addreſſed himſelf to the emigrant, demanding ſatisfaction for the words he had uttered: at the ſame time telling him, that he (Choiſeul) ſtood no chance in fighting with ſwords (Oudinot is a very ſtrong man), but he would give him the choice of piſtols; offering him at the ſame time the firſt fire. They immediately left the Reſtaurateur's, and went, accompanied by ſeconds, to the Bois de Boulogne. Choiſeul fired firſt, and miſſed; General Oudinot then fired, and ſhot Choiſeul dead on the ſpot. The ball entered his temple.

This afternoon, about half paſt five, a terrible fire broke out in the large range of warehouſes, chiefly uſed as a depot for coffee and cotton, belonging to Mr. Pugh, in Thames-ſtreet, the corner of Dowgate-hill; occaſioned by the ſnuff of a candle being imprudently thrown on the ground near one of the hogſheads. It began in the lower part of the premiſes, and was diſcovered by the ſtrong ſmell of the burning coffee, with which the warehouſes were filled. Notwithſtanding the contiguity of the premiſes to the Thames, a ſpeedy and ample ſupply of water, and the early attendance of the fire-engines, the whole inſide of theſe extenſive buildings was burnt, together with all the produce in them. The flames, being continually fed from within, could not be extinguiſhed for many hours; but the ſtrong party-walls, and there being but little wind, prevented the extenſion of the miſchief. On the 21ſt, during the dreadful ſtorm, the wall of Mr. Pugh's warehouſe, being unſupported, fell againſt an adjoining houſe, and nearly demoliſhed it.

This day, Joſeph Wall, 20th. governor of the iſland of Goree, after a trial at the Old-Bailey which occupied the time of the Court, from nine in the morning till near eleven at night, was convicted of the wilful murder of Benjamin Armſtrong, a ſerjeant in an African corps, by inflicting 800 laſhes, of which he died, in the iſland of Goree, ſo long ago as the year 1782. He was ordered for execution on the 22d, and afterwards his body to be diſſected and anatomized. A reſpite was ſent on the evening of Jan. 21, accompanied by a notice to the following effect:—"You are to give the neceſſary directions that the ſen-

tence ſhall be executed on Monday, as no further reſpite will be granted."—He was, however, again reſpited till Thurſday the 28th; on which day, about eight o'clock in the morning, he aſcended the ſcaffold, dreſſed in apparel far inferior to his condition—an old light brown mixed coat and black velvet collar, pantaloons, and ſlippers; he held a handkerchief in his hand; at his appearance the mob gave *three diſtinct huzzas*, which appeared to agitate him much. He converſed for a few moments with the Ordinary, and begged that he might not be pulled by the heels. This Dr. Ford communicated to the executioner, who moſt ſtrangely affixed the knot on the *back* of the priſoner's neck. The populace at the moment when the rope was put about the neck of the wretched criminal, raiſed another ſavage ſhout. The conduct of the unfortunate perſon was in the firſt inſtance firm, diſcovering no extraordinary emotion, but this barbarous inſult ſeemed to ſhake his fortitude; he turned to the executioner with ſome agitation, and requeſted him, without delay, to finiſh the puniſhment. He was accordingly launched into eternity, and appeared for twenty minutes to ſuffer great pain. The handkerchief, which is uſually dropped as a ſignal for the executioner to perform his duty, was held firm till the body was carried off.

Previous to his trial, though he was allowed two hours a day, from twelve to two, to walk in the yard, he did not once embrace the indulgence; and, during his whole confinement, never went out of his room, except into the lobby to conſult with his Counſel. He lived well, and was at times very facetious, eaſy in his manners, and pleaſant in converſation; but during the night he frequently ſat up in his bed and ſang pſalms, overheard by his fellow-priſoners. He had not many viſitors; his only attendant was a priſoner, appointed for that purpoſe by the turnkey. After the trial, he did not return to his old apartment, but was conducted into a cell. He was ſo far favoured as not to have irons put on; but a perſon was employed as a guard to watch him during the night to prevent his doing violence to himſelf. His bed was brought to him in the cell, on which he threw himſelf in an agony of mind, ſaying, it was his intention not to riſe until they called him on the fatal morning. The Sheriffs were particularly pointed and preciſe in their orders with reſpect to confining him to the uſual diet of bread and water preparatory to the awful event. The priſoner, during a part of the night, ſlept, owing to fatigue and perturbation of mind. The next morning his wife (who had lived with him for the laſt fortnight) applied, but was refuſed admittance, without an order from one of the Sheriffs. She applied to Mr. Sheriff Cox, who attended her to the priſon. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 27th, he enquired if any news had arrived? He was told none; but continued to expect a reſpite till twelve; none then arriving, after the lapſe of an hour, he enquired about the machine, and aſked ſome other queſtions; and in a few minutes after earneſtly requeſted that he might not be pulled by the legs when ſuffering; but that the fatal cord

cord might be placed properly. He fell aſleep between four and five o'clock, and did not hear the fatal machine, which was brought out at five, although it ſhook the whole priſon; but about twenty minutes after, a mail coach going by, he ſtarted, and ſaid, "Is not that the ſcaffold?" He did not go to ſleep again. *For his trial ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.*

20th and 21ſt. A ſtorm of prodigious violence raged in moſt parts of the kingdom, and from every quarter accounts were received of its deſtructive effects. The following are ſelected. At *Lancaſter*, much damage was done to the roofs of moſt of the houſes in the neighbourhood; and many windows were broken. The tide was increaſed to a very great height (no tide having been ſo high ſince March 24, 1796, when it exceeded this by 25 inches) by the violence of the wind; two conſiderable breaches were made in the new embankment near Scale-hall; and moſt of the timber in and near Mr. Smith's ſhip-yard was carried away. The coach to Ulverſton, which ſet off early in the morning, was obliged to return, it having been blown over ſoon after it got upon the Sands:—About five in the morning, the windmill at *Cockerham* was diſcovered to be on fire, and the whole of the inſide was ſoon conſumed. Large pieces of burning timber, and flakes of fire, were carried by the fury of the wind, to ſome thatched buildings, which ſtood at the diſtance of above 100 yards from the mill; theſe conſiſting of two cottages and a barn, were alſo ſoon burnt to the ground. There were about 60 loads of meal, &c. in the mill, and about 100 theaves of oats, and a few loads of wheat, in the barn, the whole of which was deſtroyed. The above was occaſioned by the violence of the wind cauſing ſo great an increaſe of friction on the wheels as to ſet them on fire.—At *Cheſter* many windows were blown in, ſome houſes entirely unroofed, and ſeveral chimneys blown down; but no lives were loſt.—In the town and neighbourhood of *Sheffield* many houſes were unroofed, chimneys blown down, windows wrenched from their ſituations, many old cottages totally demoliſhed, trees torn up by the roots, and hay-ſtacks ſcattered about. The place in conſequence wore the appearance of a town cloſely beſieged.—At *Doncaſter*, the roofs of ſeveral houſes were ſtripped, chimneys blown down, and trees blown up, many perſons paſſing about the ſtreets were thrown down, and much hurt.—At *Thorne*, in Yorkſhire, a chimney, near eight feet high, was blown down, and knocked in part of the Red Lion Inn, by which accident one ſervant maid was much bruiſed, and one killed on the ſpot.—At *Drayton* a barn was blown down; there were three men working in it at the time; two, alarmed by the cracking of the building, had time to run out, the third throwing himſelf under the wall to the windward ſide: the ruins fell over him; but, though in a degree buried beneath them, he did not ſuſtain any injury.—At *Lowеſtoft*, the brig Thomas from Shields for Ramſgate, was driven on the Homeſand, and wholly loſt, with the maſter and cook; the reſt of the crew were ſaved. At the *Cockle Sand*, a ſhip, from

from Oporto for Newcaſtle with wine, was wrecked, and part of the cargo loſt.—At *Horſtead*, a large tree was torn up by the roots, and falling on an old woman killed her inſtantly.—At *Hull*, the gable end of the Diſſenting chapel in Hope-ſtreet was blown in, and a great part of the roof ſtripped off; ſeveral houſes in Parliament-ſtreet, and other parts of the town, experienced a ſimilar fate. The appearance on the ſide of the river was tremendous. From the extreme violence of the wind, the Humber ſeemed like a field of ſmoke. A ſmall ſloop, unloaded, ſunk oppoſite the garriſon; fortunately, none of the crew were on board, and the veſſel was got up with little damage. A brig was alſo driven on ſhore but got off. A ſloop was ſunk off *Heſsle*, and two out of three of the crew drowned. Of the crew of another ſloop in great diſtreſs off that place, one periſhed upon deck by the cold, another was drowned, and the third was, by great exertion, got on ſhore and carried to Heſsle.—At *Holyhead*, a ſloop was driven on ſhore; and one life only loſt. The Sachem of Portland, a large American ſhip, bound to Dublin, and laden with a valuable cargo of tobacco, was driven on this coaſt, and anchored off a reef of rocks, with a ſignal of diſtreſs flying. At half-paſt four ſhe parted, and ſtruck on the rocks, the ſea making a fair breach over her; ſhe, however, got over, but drifted to leeward into the harbour, and again ſtruck on another reef, exhibiting a moſt melancholy ſight, having cut away her main and foremaſt; nor for many hours was there a hope of ſaving a life from on board her. A liberal ſubſcription of 40 guineas, by gentlemen detained there on their paſſage to Ireland, induced ſix brave fellows to attempt to get on board; which they effected, and in ſpite of a moſt tremendous ſea, ſaved, by ſeveral excurſions, the whole crew. The repeated and perſonal exertions of Captain Skinner, of the Leiceſter packet, who, alone, of the gentlemen of his profeſſion, remained with lights on the rocks during the night, and took every requiſite and humane precaution, contributed much to deliver them from this dreadful ſituation; which appeared, to a crowd of ſpectators on the rocks, totally hopeleſs. The ſhip went to pieces. Two other veſſels were driven on ſhore in the neighbourhood.—At *Liverpool*, many ſloops, ſome laden, others in ballaſt, were ſunk at their anchors between the Old Dock Quay and the Fort; boats beaten to pieces on the beach, as well as larger craft. The ſloop Peggy, of Greenock, Captain M'Lean, laden with proviſions from Cork, was driven on ſhore near the Half-mile houſe, where ſhe went on her beam-ends, and ſoon filled with water: the crew, ſix in number, with a gentleman and ſix ſoldiers, paſſengers, and the pilot, laſhed themſelves to the maſt and rigging, and remained there a conſiderable time, not 50 yards from the ſhore, in ſight of many ſpectators, who, in vain, attempted relief, but were unable to afford any, from the violence of the ſtorm, and tremendous ſurge of the ſea; and, melancholy to relate, the pilot, paſſengers, and crew, were all unfortunately drowned, except one, who was waſhed on ſhore nearly exhauſted, but was happily

happily recovered. The tide flowed near six feet higher than mentioned in the tide-table. The river and all along the Cheshire coast presented a melancholy scene. Dead bodies thrown up—pieces of wreck floating here and there! Horror was depicted in every countenance—each person afraid either to go out in the street, for fear of being killed by the falling of bricks, slates, ridgings, &c. and equally apprehensive of his life, by constant expectation of his house falling on him. The devastation is beyond description; scarcely any houses but retain some marks of its unprecedented fury: 15 new-built small houses in Chissenholme-street, and others in the neighbourhood of Vauxhall-road, were levelled to the ground; the roof of a gentleman's house in Bold-street was beat in, by the stack of chimneys falling, which broke through the roof and floors down to the tea-room. Another house in Price's-street suffered the like disaster, in which a woman, in the last stage of pregnancy, was killed by the ruins, whilst in bed with her husband and two children: the latter, however, escaped with some contusions. Within two miles of *Halifax*, the York and Leeds mail-coach was blown over and broken to pieces.—At *Birmingham* and its neighbourhood it blew quite a hurricane for 12 hours incessantly. At *Yarmouth*, the brig Newcastle, Thomas Dixon, master, from Sunderland, bound to London, laden with coals and goods, went on shore in Hosely Bay; after being there some little time, she drifted off again, and sunk in deep water. The master and people were saved. Many vessels put in with the loss of anchors and cables. The Industry, W. Hopkins, master, from Shields, bound to Liverpool, with glass bottles, was also brought in, after being abandoned by her crew. The True Friend of Lynn, after having ran on shore on *Southwould*, caught fire and burnt down to the water's edge; the crew were saved. Several pipes of wine, part of the cargo of Rio Doura, which foundered in the Roads, were got up; the Frances-Ann, Harrison, from Belfast to Liverpool, is lost near the latter port. The Anna Maria, Watkins, from St. Croix, and three other vessels, are driven on shore in King Road, Bristol Channel. The Indefatigable and six other vessels were on shore at Parkgate. The Diana, Master, from St. Croix to Cork, was wrecked in St. Bride's Bay. The Sovereign, Maddocks, from Dublin to St. Vincent's, drove on shore in Milford Harbour, but got off with damage. The New Century, —, from Boston was on shore at Hoylake.—1200 trees were blown down, or so broken as to require to be removed, in the park and grounds of Lord Newark, at *Thoresby*.—There was not a house in *Drogheda* that did not sustain some damage. At *Manchester* a very high chimney, belonging to a factory in Long Mill-gate came down with a prodigious crash, destroying two small buildings close to it, and the front of a house on the opposite side of the street, in the ruins of which a man, his wife, and a child, were buried. The man was got out alive, not dangerously hurt, but the woman and child were killed. Another man was killed by a wall being blown down upon him as he was passing,

paſſing, and a ſecond by the falling of a chimney. At the upper end of Bridge-ſtreet, a large chimney fell upon the roof of a room where ſix young women were at work: it cruſhed in the roof, and two floors, and buried them all in the cellar. Immediate aſſiſtance was given, and the women were releaſed. One of them unfortunately, by a ſecond fall of rubbiſh, &c. was killed, and two others materially injured. In every part of the town the diſaſter was more or leſs felt, and the continual fall of ſlates from the roofs of the houſes, bricks and ſtones from chimnies, large pieces of lead, &c. made it dangerous to paſs the ſtreets, and diffuſed terror amongſt the inhabitants. The dial on the Exchange pillar, and one of the dial-plates of the clock at St. Ann's church, were blown down.—The majeſtic, but well-built ſpire of St. Mary's ſteeple, waved in ſuch a threatening manner, as greatly to alarm the ſurrounding inhabitants. —From the vaſt force of the wind, every high building was viewed with fear, and the work-people were terrified out of ſeveral factories. It was indeed a moſt awful day, and ſuch as cannot be forgotten by thoſe who witneſſed its terrific effects. The Theatre was not opened in the evening, in conſequence of the ſtorm. It was impoſſible, at the uſual time, for the lamplighters to trim the lamps: nearly one-fourth of them were ſtripped of their covers by the violence of the wind, and a great number both of lamps and burners were broken. Beſide theſe, the details from every part of the country were filled with narratives of buildings deſtroyed, trees rooted up, ſtacks of grain and hay ſcattered, cattle killed, and human beings deſtroyed, cruſhed, maimed, bruiſed, or providentially ſaved. The metropolis was not exempt from its ſhare of ravage, although not ſo much damaged as many other places; and Dublin, although more injured than London, was favoured by the direction of the ſtorm, which ſpent its greateſt fury on the oppoſite Coaſt of Wales.

A Court Martial was held at Portſmouth, on board the Gladiator, on Captain Sir Edward Hamilton, of his Majeſty's ſhip Trent (who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Weſt Indies by the recapture of the Hermione), "for ſending the gunner and his crew up in the main rigging for three hours; when the gunner was taken down in a fainting fit through the ſeverity of the cold." The charge being fully eſtabliſhed, he was ſentenced to be *Diſmiſſed from his Majeſty's Service.* 22d.

Conſtantinople, Jan. 25. On the 18th inſt. the Engliſh Ambaſſador, Lord Elgin, laid the firſt ſtone of the new hotel which the Porte is cauſing to be built for the Engliſh Embaſſy: Lady Elgin, and all the Engliſh here, were preſent at the ceremony. The 18th was choſen, becauſe it is the birth-day of the Queen of England. The Captain Pacha, on this occaſion, had the humanity and gallantry to preſent to Lord Elgin, at the moment of inauguration, 140 Malteſe ſlaves who were ſet at liberty in honour of the Queen of England.

A man of war's boat upſet at *Portſmouth*, with two officers and nine men, who were all drowned. 28th.

The number of bankers, in the metropolis, in the year 1740, was 28;

28; in 1770, 38; in 1782, 47; in 1802, 72; and until about the years 1697, or 8, there were only 2, viz. Child and Co. and Denne and Co.

Conſpiracy to murder the Emperor of Perſia.—A plot was lately diſcovered, which had for its object the murder of Baba Khan, the preſent ſovereign of Perſia, and which involving many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers of the ſtate, has excited the ſtrongeſt ſenſation throughout the empire. An officer who had been inſtrumental in advancing the prince to the throne, conceiving himſelf neglected, formed a project to depoſe him, and won over to his purpoſe the prime miniſter Elmatta Dowla, by promiſing to advance him to the ſovereignty; by like means he engaged nineteen perſons of the firſt rank in the empire to embark in the plot, and Mulam Alli, the favourite and conſtant attendant of the Emperor in his retirement, was bribed to aſſaſſinate him. The ſcheme wore the moſt promiſing aſpect, and, in order to colour the intended change, troubles were excited in various quarters; but on the eve of its execution, the treaſon was diſcovered by means of a letter to the miniſter, which was by chance intercepted. Elmatta Dowla, and fourteen of his aſſociates were immediately apprehended and put to death in the dungeons of the palace, and ſuch other ſteps were taken as have effectually cruſhed the conſpiracy. Elmatta Dowla was a decided friend to the Engliſh; he materially contributed to the ſucceſs of our late embaſſy to the court of Perſia, and is ſpoken of by Capt. Malcolm in terms of high reſpect.

In the courſe of this month ſeveral of the mutineers at Bantry Bay, of whom mention is made in the Chronicle for laſt year, p. *65, were tried by a court-martial; an account of which will be found in the *Appendix to the Chronicle*.

DIED.—Nov. 1801. At Montego Bay, Jamaica, Mr. John Demetres, aged 103.

Dec. 24. At Bordeaux, aged 106, Dieudonné Gregoire, a dentiſt.

Jan. 8, 1802. At his lodgings in Great Portland-ſtreet, aged 73, the rev. father Arthur O'Leary. He was a native of Ireland, whence, when young, he embarked for France; ſtudied at the college of St. Malo, in Brittany, and at length entered into the Franciſcan order of Capuchins. He then acted, for ſome time, as chaplain to the Engliſh priſoners during the ſeven years war, for which he received a ſmall penſion from the French government, which he retained till the French revolution. Having obtained permiſſion to go to Ireland, he gladly exchanged the filthy habiliments of a capuchin friar for decent cloaths and clean linen; and obtained, by talent alone, the notice and recompence of the Iriſh government; and took an early opportunity of ſhewing the ſuperiority of his courage and genius, principally by attacking the heterodox doctrines of Michael Servetus. Previouſly to this, no Roman catholic clergyman preſumed to argue, much leſs to write, againſt a perſon of a different religion. This eſſay gained him friends among the liberal, and was productive of no ſmall degree of envy among the prieſts. O'Leary, however, enjoyed his triumph, and after having, in oppoſition to moſt of his brethren, eſtabliſhed, by his able and eloquent writings, that the

the Roman catholicks of Ireland might, conſiſtently with their religion, ſwear that the pope poſſeſſed there no temporal authority which was the only condition on which certain indulgences were granted to them), he became the favourite and friend of many eminent political and literary characters in that kingdom. He was, about that time, attacked by Dr. Woodward, then biſhop of Cloyne; and his reply was deemed a maſterpiece of wit, argument, and delicate irony. His other productions were of a miſcellaneous nature. He was a man ſingularly gifted with natural humour, and poſſeſſed great acquirements. He wrote on polemical ſubjects without acrimony, and on politicks with an unprecedented degree of conciliation. To an Iriſh biſhop, who challenged him to prove the exiſtence of purgatory, he anſwered, "the queſtion is not capable of demonſtrative proof. Let the affair remain as it is. Your lordſhip may *go farther and fare worſe!*" About 18 years ſince, when a conſiderable number of nocturnal inſurgents, of the Romiſh perſuaſion, committed great exceſſes in the county of Cork, particularly towards the tithe-proctors of the Proteſtant clergy, he rendered himſelf extremely uſeful, by his various literary addreſſes to the deluded people, in bringing them to a proper ſenſe of their error. This laudable conduct did not eſcape the attention of the Iriſh government; and induced them, when he quitted Ireland, to recommend him to men of power in this country. For many years he reſided in London, as principal of the Roman catholic chapel near Soho-ſquare, where he was highly eſteemed by people of his religion, and he pronounced, two years ſince, the funeral oration on Pius VI. before the ducheſs of Devonſhire and a great concourſe of the Engliſh nobility. This venerable clergyman mingled true piety with convivial talents. He was always cheerful, gay, ſparkling with wit, full of anecdote and merry ſtories; and never, in company, ſuffered his vocation to operate ſqueamiſhly or churliſhly on the hilarity of thoſe around him. On the evening of the 13th his remains were removed to St. Patrick's chapel, Soho, a place founded by his zeal, and conſecrated by his talents and virtues. Next morning the chapel was hung with black; and on the pall, ſpread over the coffin, were ſeen the emblems of the Roman catholic faith, with the cap and other inſignia of the religious order to which the deceaſed had belonged. High maſs was celebrated by the chaplains with becoming ſolemnity; and the grand dirge was performed in the moſt ſublime ſtyle of ſacred muſick by Mr. Webb, who preſided at the organ, accompanied by an orcheſtra filled with the firſt vocal performers of the catholic perſuaſion in London; among whom were Mr. Kelly, Mr. Dignum, Mr. Dauby, and Mr. Vins. An eloquent and impreſſive funeral ſermon was delivered by Mr. D'Arcy; and the body was interred in the church yard of St. Pancras.

In her 112th year, Mrs. Golden, of Hilton, in Cleveland. She had the uſe of her faculties till the day of her death, and could card faſter than any other woman could ſpin.

Lately, in the iſland of Stroma, in the north of Scotland, Mr. Francis

Francis Tait, at the extraordinary age of 110 years. He was, in the opinion of those who knew him, one of the most learned men in Scotland; and perhaps none of his contemporaries possessed so much general knowledge. He was also a good poet; although his extreme modesty, and poverty deprived the world of the benefit of his literary labours.

At the Rosset, near Chester, at the very advanced age of 107, Mrs. M. Nicholas; she had enjoyed a good state of health till within a few days previous to her death.

In her 103d year, Mrs. M. Cross, of Stareton, in Staffordshire; she retained the use of her faculties till Christmas day last.

Lately, in his 100th year, Count Stalkeber, a Swedish general. He entered into the service under Charles XII.

FEBRUARY.

2d. Was found, eight feet eight inches under the surface of the ground, in a gravel-pit, in the parish of Newton St. Lee, Hants, an elephant's tusk, measuring six feet six inches in length, and thirteen inches round the lowest end: it is quite perfect, and retains its natural colour. A few days after, at the distance of about twenty yards from the above spot, and at the same depth, another tusk was found, measuring nine feet one inch, and fifteen inches round the largest end: this likewise is perfect, and retains its colour; and near it is a large bone, supposed to be the *os ilium* of an elephant, of the weight of 12lbs.

8th. The hoy Margate, of Margate, of which Mr. John Goodborn was captain, and Mr. John Sacket, owner, was very deeply laden with corn, for the London market; the crew consisted of four men, and there were 28 passengers; she sailed from Margate harbour, in moderate weather, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and came to anchor in the roads till near nine in the evening, when they got under sail; soon after the weather began to be very tempestuous, but they continued working against the wind till they had arrived, about midnight, off Reculver, with the intention of going to anchor under the hook of Margate sand. On making their last tack towards the land, the strap of the sounding lead broke, and though the vessel was put about, yet before another lead could be fitted, she struck, it was supposed, on the tail of the Reculver sand; they then let go the anchor, and the water flowing, the vessel swung off, and rode clear; they then got up the anchor, and setting the sails, she was drawing off the land, when the gib tackle broke, which made it impossible to get her head from the wind; the captain then lashed down the tiller, and went forward to get another gib-sail, when by the vessel's striking the ground, the tiller was rent in two, and before it could be replaced, the rudder was beat off, and thereby the vessel was rendered totally unmanageable. They then let go their anchor a second time, but the hoy continuing to beat on the ground in a most alarming manner, and apprehending she had sprung a leak, and finding the pumps were choaked, they were forced to let slip the cable,

cable, and let her drive into ſhore, on which ſhe was beaten about a mile and a half from the village of Reculver. The ſcene then became truly horrible, as a moſt dreadful ſea was breaking over the veſſel every moment, and the women and children uttering the moſt lamentable cries. In the midſt of this diſtreſs, Mr. Bone, paſſenger, and a local preacher, in connexion with the late Rev. John Weſley, with great fortitude and reſignation, exhorted and prayed with his fellow ſufferers, and was heard by the ſurvivors to the very laſt, lifting his voice in ſupplications and praiſes. Five of the paſſengers and four of the crew, having taken to the ſhrouds, were ſaved by continuing there till the water was ſo lowered, that they could get on ſhore about five in the morning. One other paſſenger, Mr. Jeſſe Darroway, of Margate, was ſwept off the deck, but very happily, after ſome little exertion, was thrown on the beach by the waves, and eſcaped. This paſſenger ſuppoſes that very ſoon afterwards the cabin was filled with water, and ſeven paſſengers who remained therein, drowned; and the remaining fourteen and the captain, who were on the deck, were then ſwept away by the waves, as while he lay on the beach, he heard a general ſcream of diſtreſs, and then all was ſtill. The ſcene which the morning preſented to the afflicted ſpectators, who by ten o'clock were ſome hundreds, from Margate and the neighbouring villages, it is impoſſible to deſcribe, as within the ſpace of a mile and a half on the beach, ſixteen men and women lay dead on the ſhore, and very ſoon after, ſeven other paſſengers were taken in the ſame ſtate from the cabin, making in the whole twenty-three perſons.

It is ſaid that 171 years had elapſed ſince a Margate hoy had been loſt; that event happening the 3d Nov. 1631, when the Rev. Humphrey Wheatley, a native of Leiceſterſhire, and vicar of Margate, his pariſh clerk, and ſome other paſſengers, were drowned.

Haycraft againſt Creaſey. In the chronicle of laſt year p. *19, an account was given of a female ſwindler, named Robertſon, who by a ſeries of extraordinary artifices, had obtained the property of tradeſmen to a large amount; and at a ſubſequent page (*42) it was ſtated that in an action brought by a Mr. Haycraft againſt Mr. Creaſy, the jury, under the direction of Lord Kenyon, found a verdict for the plaintiff, the defendant having aſſerted that he knew Miſs Robertſon to be a perſon of fortune, who might ſafely be truſted. The verdict was for 434l.

In Michaelmas term, the attorney general obtained a rule to ſhew cauſe why a new trial ſhould not be granted, and in Hilary term it came on to be argued. Mr. Erſkine contended, that the only queſtion was, whether the defendant gave this character, knowing it at the time not to be true? Mr. Erſkine laid it down as a moral principle, which alſo held good in law, "that a man was reſponſible for aſſerting that which he knew to be falſe, or did not know to be true," if the perſon to whom he made that repreſentation, acted in conſequence of it, and was thereby damnified. It appeared from his own notes, and thoſe of Lord Kenyon, that the defendant ſaid, "he knew of his *own knowledge*

Miſs

Miſs Robertſon was a woman of fortune, and that he might ſafely truſt her to any amount." Upon the faith of this aſſertion of the defendant, the plaintiff truſted her to the amount of upwards of 400l. The jury by giving a verdict to the plaintiff for that ſum, confirmed the principle he laid down; and he contended, that there ought to be no new trial.

The attorney-general argued on the other ſide. No fraud had been imputed by any perſon to the defendant Creaſy, nor could it appear that his aſſertion had been deceitfully and colluſively made. He ſaw a woman whom he had known in an humble ſituation, and who had borne hitherto an unblemiſhed character, in the apparent poſſeſſion of great wealth. He ſaw all that uſually attended an affluent fortune; he was amuſed with deſigns of her country eſtate, and admired, in picture, woods, lawns, and rivers. What was then to undeceive him from this error; or was it a genuine error or not? The beſt proof that it was ſo, was, that he advanced his own money to the amount of 2000l. But the deception did not ſtop here: he ſaw this lady make out a power of attorney to collect her rents, with a bond of 10,000l. to ſecure its due performance. All this was tranſacted before the eyes of the poor leatherſeller, which ſo far deluded him, that he ventured to aſſert *he knew* her to be a woman of fortune. Was he to ſuppoſe that the lady was acting beyond the limits of all known fraud? He ſaw her ride in a fine coach, having a coronet emblazoned in the arms, the preſent, as ſhe ſaid, of Lady Paget, her ſiſter; he might indeed have inquired into the arms, but to poor Creaſy all coronets were alike. He ſaw her receiving great preſents of fine plate; in ſhort, he was moſt completely duped, and the beſt proof was his acceptance of bills for her. When the defendant aſſerted he *knew* the fact, all that could fairly be meant was, that he had a conviction in his own mind, reſulting from apparently concluſive proofs. On theſe grounds he ſubmitted, that this was no ſuch fraud or deceit as ought to ſerve as the foundation of the action.

Mr. Dallas contended, that there muſt be evidence of fraud to ſupport the action. Mr. Marryatt and Mr. Comyns argued on the ſame ſide.

Lord Kenyon obſerved, that the plaintiff depending on the repreſentations given by the defendant of the lady, had truſted her to the amount of 434l. The queſtion was, whether was this repreſentation true or falſe? To this there was but one anſwer, that it was falſe. He thought that the diſtinctions which had been attempted to be made between this caſe, and that of wilful miſrepreſentations, were trifling in the extreme, and he confeſſed that thoſe who could, make ſuch diſtinctions had powers of intellect beyond himſelf. If the preſent action could not be ſupported, he had now for twelve years been deceiving the people of this country. At the time the cauſe came on to be tried, this was the ground he went upon, "Did the defendant affirm that which he did not know to be true?" This he conſidered ſufficient evidence to ſupport the declaration of fraud. It might not, perhaps, amount to moral turpitude, but it was, in his

opinion, sufficient to constitute *legal fraud*. He thought the present action was supported, not merely in morality and social right, but in law and justice.

Mr. Justice Grose said, he could not see any fraud in the present case: when the defendant said, "I know," it could mean no more than he had that opinion. Then what was the evidence? Did the man mean to tell a lie? He had seen those things which deceived him, and the whole scene acted before his eyes was such, that he confessed he thought he might have been duped himself. The man, under these circumstances, having said *he knew* she might be trusted, ought to be construed, in his opinion, to mean no more than that he thought her deserving of credit. And as he understood that the case now came before the court not on the ground of fraud, but upon admission that the man was a dupe, he held, till another case should be found to support a contrary opinion, that there ought to be evidence of fraud, and that therefore it ought to go to a new trial.

Mr. Justice Lawrence and Mr. Justice Le Blanc were of the same opinion.—Rule absolute.

Six deputies have arrived from Malta, bringing a memorial, the object of which is, *to solicit his majesty to keep possession of that island*. The deputies are, marquis Testaferrata, of a very noble family, grandee of Spain; lieutenant governor Castagna, deputy of the two cities Bormolo and Seaglia; Mr. Cachia, the representative of Lictura; Mulia, lieut. governor, and first senator of Gozo; and two Maltese priests.

Huguenin v. *Thornton*, *esq.* *Feb.* 13th. Mr. Mingay stated, that in this case the plaintiff was a tradesman, being the younger partner in a large perfumers, which must be well known to many, as the house served part of the royal family. The defendant, colonel Thornton, was a gentleman of very large property. The action was brought to recover damages for an assault, which the colonel had committed upon the plaintiff, and he trusted the jury would be of opinion that his client merited something more than was usually given. He did not ask this because the defendant was a gentleman, and a man of large fortune; he was sure the jury would weigh out equal justice, without regard to this consideration, but the circumstances of the case were attended with much aggravation. The facts were as follow: The colonel being at his seat in Yorkshire, which was most finely named, and he supposed, from its elegance, it deserved its fine name. But in fact being at Thornville royal, he wrote to the defendant to send him powder, pomatum, and a Parmesan cheese. He presumed they were to be packed together for the benefit of scenting each other. The things were sent, and in the August following the plaintiff, as junior partner, was sent upon the dangerous service of asking for payment. When he got to the colonel's lodgings in Leicester-fields, and asked for his bill, the colonel replied he would pay for things he had ordered, but he would be d——'d if he would pay the other part of the bill. The plaintiff replied, Sir, you must

must pay my whole bill. He (the colonel) then got up and collared him, thrusting him out of the room, giving him a violent blow between the eyes. This the noble colonel must excuse him for calling a very cowardly action; for he considered it as very cowardly for any man to strike his inferior, who could not retort upon equal terms, and he hoped the jury would give him a gentle hint, in damages, to be more guarded in his conduct for the time to come. The facts being proved, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 30l.

Three thousand guineas for a service of plate have been voted in the handsomest manner, by the house of assembly of Jamaica, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in testimony of the gratitude of the assembly for his exertions in parliament in favour of their interests.

The Lord Chancellor determined lately a cause of some interest, on an application from the university of Cambridge, that the London booksellers were not justified in selling bibles printed in Scotland, by the king's printers; but that the injunction did not prevent the booksellers from exporting Scottish bibles to foreign countries, though it prevents the sale of them in England. The injunction which has been thus obtained by the university, is not it seems regarding pirated or unauthorized editions, but those printed by the king's printer in Scotland, which have hitherto been a free uninterrupted article of trade, under the act of union, beyond the memory of the oldest bookseller now living, in the same manner as the same books printed by authority in England, have always had, and still have, a free sale in Scotland.

A gentleman, who will not permit his name to be known, has, by a confidential friend, sent to lord Hood, governor of Greenwich hospital, the amount of the sale of 10,000l. in the three per cent. consols, for the use and benefit of the said hospital.—This truly benevolent gentleman has also given the like sum to the chest of Chatham. 27th.

Foster, v. *Mellish. Breach of Promise of Marriage.* The attorney-general, on behalf of the plaintiff, said he was a young gentleman about 27 years of age, of considerable respectability in the medical line at Highgate, whose health and peace of mind had been deeply affected by a cruel breach of promise on the part of the defendant. Being recommended by his friends to fix his business in or near London, he had, in the year 1799, purchased the house of a Mr. Sands, for the sum of 1,800l. and the good-will of his business, which, on average, was worth from 8 to 900l. per annum, for the sum of 1,600l. being two year's purchase, to be paid by instalments. The defendant, he understood to be a young lady of very considerable attainments, of a beautiful person, and a most graceful form, and the natural daughter of a person of considerable property. The plaintiff met her early in the year 1800, at the Highgate assembly, a mutual attachment was conceived between them, regular propofals were made and accepted, they had numerous meetings, and, at length, the defendant plighted herself in the most solemn manner

to become the wife of Mr. Foſter. Some interruption had taken place in their intercourſe; but, from the month of April to that of Auguſt 1801, it had continued unbroken. Her brothers were ſomewhat adverſe to the match; but nothing had been done clandeſtinely; every party had been appriſed of the proceedings; and, on her part, every thing had been ſettled, even to the purchaſing of her wedding cloaths. The attorney-general here read a number of letters which had been written by the defendant to the plaintiff, and to a Miſs Swain, her friend, on the ſubject of her intimacy with Mr. Foſter; all which, as Mr. Juſtice Le Blanc afterwards obſerved, tended to ſhew her firm intention to marry him.

The promiſe on the part of the defendant, and the ſubſequent breach of it, were afterwards proved by Miſs Swain, who had firſt become acquainted with the defendant, whom ſhe ſtated to be of the age of 23, at ſchool, and their acquaintance had recommenced at Brighton about two years ago. She had been the confidant of Miſs Melliſh throughout nearly the whole of the affair, and had materially aſſiſted in promoting the wiſhes of the parties. It was agreed between Miſs Melliſh and the defendant, that the half of her property, which was 13,900l. 3 per cents. was to be ſettled on herſelf and heirs, and, in default of heirs, ſhe was to have the power of willing it as ſhe pleaſed; the other half to be ſunk, ſo as to raiſe a ſum of money for the purpoſe of paying off ſome debts of the plaintiff; Mr. Swain, the father of Miſs Swain, being intended as one of her truſtees. On the croſs-examination of Miſs Swain it appeared, that throughout ſhe was acquainted with the violent averſion entertained by the brothers of the lady to the match.

Mr. Erſkine, on the part of the defendant, ſaid, the queſtion was, whether the promiſe the defendant had made, was not one which would be more honoured in the breach than the obſervance. If it ſhould appear, however, that the plaintiff had been capriciouſly and cruelly treated, that his attachment had been ſolely to the mind and perſon of the defendant, and that he had thought nothing of her miſerable three per cents. as he had made up his mind to be paid in money, in money let him be paid; though it certainly was not a very common thing for delicate-minded men to come to Weſtminſter-hall to claim a marriage portion. Mr. E. then contended, that the plaintiff had no affection for her; and only wanted to ſecure her fortune. From his ſtatements, and from evidence which he called, it appeared, that during an interruption which took place in this courtſhip, in the year 1800, in conſequence of the interference of Mr. Melliſh, the defendant's brother, Mr. Foſter paid his addreſſes to a Miſs Pullen, at Highgate, from whoſe father he had borrowed 1700l. and told her ſhe was the only woman he had ever ſeen with whom he could be happy. Mr. Pullen, the father, finding the plaintiff to be extravagant and embarraſſed in his affairs, broke off the connexion between him and his daughter. Mr. Foſter again renewed his addreſſes to Miſs Melliſh, who on the 28th of September laſt

laſt wrote him a letter, containing a ſolemn promiſe to marry him in December following. But before that time ſhe informed him that their correſpondence muſt terminate. The cauſe aſſigned for this reſolution on the part of the lady, was an anonymous letter which ſhe had received in Auguſt laſt, purporting to be written by a female acquaintance, with a view to terrify her into the match with Mr. Foſter, by holding out to her that her character was in danger of being loſt, &c. This letter Miſs Melliſh had every reaſon to think was written by the plaintiff, and it was on the proof of that fact that Mr. Erſkine reſted the defence; becauſe if it ſhould appear that he wrote it, the conduct of Miſs Melliſh in breaking off the match was highly juſtifiable. Mr. Samuel Melliſh, the defendant's brother, ſaid, he had no doubt of the hand writing being that of the plaintiff. The inſpector of franks, at the poſt office, ſaid, the hand writing of the letter was diſguiſed, and on comparing it with the admitted letters of the plaintiff, he had no doubt of its being written by him. On the other hand, Mr. Swain, Mr. Sands, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Folkes, ſwore they did not believe the letter to be the hand writing of the plaintiff. The jury found a verdict for plaintiff, damages 200l. This trial laſted from eleven in the morning till near ten at night.

The city of London have lately begun to pull down ſome of their old granaries, in Tooley-ſtreet, which have been built upwards of two centuries, as appears from the following inſcription now on a ſtone, on part of the premiſes: "This worke was begunne and finiſhed at the charges of the Bridg Houſe, Sir George Barn then being Lord Maior of the Citi of London, 1587." They were chiefly built of cheſnut-wood; and notwithſtanding the length of time that has elapſed, ſome of the timbers are now ſo ſound, that a ſaw can hardly penetrate them. About a century ago, theſe granaries were occupied by ſome of the principal companies of the city, for the laudable purpoſe of houſing corn in times of plenty, which, in times of ſcarcity, they retailed out to the poor of their reſpective companies, at reduced prices.

At a late court of common council of the city of London, Mr. Cowley moved, "that the annual gift to Mrs. Martha Middleton, of 20l. (a lineal deſcendant of Sir Hugh Middleton,) be increaſed to 50l. per annum. The annuity was accordingly voted. On this occaſion, Mr. Cowley read an abſtract from Stow, wherein it was ſtated "that Sir Hugh Middleton was a public ſpirited man and had rendered great ſervices to the city of London: particularly by bringing the New River to London, and thereby expending his whole fortune;" which was the cauſe of the preſent petitioner being in want.

At Leiceſter, a fellow who pretended to be deaf and dumb, and who had, in the courſe of a few days, realiſed 50l. by what is called fortune-telling, was publicly whipt there as a vagrant. During his trial and previouſly to his confinement, he conducted himſelf with conſummate art, and the moſt hypocritical conſiſtency; but when the cat o' nine tails came to

tingle on his back, his ſpeech and hearing returned, and he could ſpeak and hear, as well as any of the ſpectators. It appears that he had been a ſoldier in the 25th regiment, and was diſcharged in conſequence of having been wounded in the iſland of Grenada, and that on returning to his friends in Yorkſhire, he was met on the road by a woman who practiſed the profeſſion of fortune-telling, and prevailed on him to join her, but on his commitment, ſhe decamped with their joint earnings.

Summary of the exports from the iſland of Jamaica, as laid before the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, from the 30th Sept. 1800, *to the 30th Sept.* 1801 :—From the port of Kingſton, 57,398 hogſheads, 8,395 tierces, 2,272 barrels of ſugar; 18,195 puncheons, 893 hogſheads of rum; 88 bags, 12 caſks of ginger; 3,534 bags, 273 caſks of pimento; and 9,992,859 lbs. of coffee. From the different out-ports, 65,353 hogſheads, 10,309 tierces, 429 barrels of ſugar; 30,633 puncheons, 521 hogſheads of rum; 151 bags of ginger; 10,550 bags, 375 caſks of pimento; and 3,408,609 lbs. of coffee. Cattle imported during the ſame period: at Kingſton, 2203 horſes, 4231 mules, 109 aſſes, and 3601 horned cattle. At the different out-ports, 241 horſes, 228 mules, and 879 horned cattle.

The following ſtatement of the births, marriages, divorces, and deaths, in Paris, during the year 1801, is taken from the Moniteur of Feb. 18, 1802.

Born in wedlock -	14,829
Baſtards - -	4,841
Total births	19,670
Marriages - -	3,826
Divorces - -	720
Died in their own houſes	12,510
Died in the poor houſes and hoſpitals	8,257
Found dead in the ſtreets	201
Total deaths	20,968

The births in Paris, for the year 1784, were eſtimated at 20,500, and the population at 680,000 ſouls. They are then diminiſhed only 800 in number, and we may, therefore, conclude, that the population is now 650,000. The divorces and baſtards exhibit a horrid total; and when we perceive, that more than one third of the whole of the perſons who die, expire in poor houſes and hoſpitals, we may form ſome judgment of the proſperity and happineſs of the people. Another item in the above ſtatement will convey a tolerably correct notion of the degree of perſonal ſafety enjoyed in the metropolis of France, that is, the number of perſons *found dead in the ſtreets;* during the year this number is 201, to which, if we add all the deaths ariſing from the acts of aſſaſſination and ſuicide committed in the houſes, the picture is enough to make the ſtouteſt heart tremble.

9th.—Died in her 103d year, Elizabeth Stothard, of Kirton, near Brigg, co. Lincoln. She was ſcarcely ever known to have had a day's illneſs. In her youthful days ſhe has been ſeen to ſheer, bind, and ſtock an acre of wheat or oats a day for 40 days together. She carded and ſpun wool till near the time

time of her death; and could read tolerably well in her bible, with the uſe of ſpectacles. She had many children, grand-children, and great grand-children.

At Walton, near Ayleſbury, Bucks, Mrs. Heſter, at the age of 104. She poſſeſſed good health, and all her faculties to the laſt.

20th. At Richmond, John Moore, M. D. born at Stirling, 1730, where his father, a reſpectable clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, was one of the miniſters. He was matriculated at the univerſity of Glaſgow, and, being deſigned for the medical profeſſion, was placed under the care of Dr. Gordon, an eminent practitioner of that day both in ſurgery and pharmacy. When the Duke of Cumberland commanded the allied army in Flanders, 1747, Mr. M. was among the many ſtudents who flocked to his camp and its hoſpitals, and was preſented to the commander in chief by his relation the duke of Argyle, then a commoner. He attended the military hoſpital at Maeſtricht as ſurgeon's mate, and removed thence to Fluſhing, and afterwards aſſiſted the ſurgeon of the Coldſtream regiment under general Braddock, whom he accompanied to England on the peace, 1748, when only 18 years old. He went with Dr. Fordyce to Paris, when lord Albemarle, who was Britiſh embaſſador at the French court, appointed him ſurgeon to his houſehold. On his return, he continued to act as a ſurgeon at Glaſgow, till, in his 40th year, he accompanied to the Continent James-George Duke of Hamilton, who laboured under a conſumptive diſorder, of which he died in his 15th year. The late duke being of the ſame ſickly conſtitution, his mother recommended his travelling with the ſame perſon, who had now obtained a doctor's degree at Glaſgow, and they ſpent no leſs than five years abroad, in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Dr. Moore was alſo in France at the time the Baſtille was taken, and alſo with lord Lauderdale during the atrocious ſcenes of 1792; witneſſing the depoſition of Louis XVI, the maſſacres of September, and the meaſures preparatory to the trial of the dethroned monarch. He married Miſs Simſon, daughter of the profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Glaſgow, by whom he had five ſons and a daughter; one of his ſons is that diſtinguiſhed ornament of the military name general John Moore.

The works of Dr. Moore are, 1ſt. A View of Society and Manners in France, Italy, and Switzerland, 1779. 2d. Medical Sketches 1785. 3d. A View of Society and Manners in Italy 1787. 4th. Zeluco, a Novel, 1789. 5th. A Journal during a Reſidence in France 1793. 6th. A View of the Cauſes and Progreſs of the French Revolution, 1795. 7th. Edward, a Novel, 1796. 8th. Mordaunt, a Novel, 1800. He alſo wrote a preface to Smollet's Works.

At Gibraltar, after an illneſs of ſix months, during which he ſuffered the moſt excruciating tortures, from his wounds breaking out afreſh, and from a dreadful ſtranguary which followed, general O'Hara, commander of that fortreſs, and colonel of the 74th regiment of infantry. His property in the funds, amounting to near 70,000l. 21ſt.

he has veſted in truſtees, (Mr. Bownas, his agent, Mr. Raleigh, his late ſecretary, and captain Hope,) in truſt to pay annuities to two ladies and two children, whom he has left by each of them, with the beneſit of ſurviveſhip, and inheritance of the whole to the longeſt liver of each family. To his truſtees he has left a reſiduary property, that will amount to about 700l. each, and which is all his brother takes by the will. To his black ſervant, Moyſe, he has left his furniture, plate, linen, china, &c. and a legacy in money out of his floating caſh, that will, all together, amount to the value of 7000l. and upwards. His plate is particularly valuable, ſeveral articles of great price having been preſented to him at different periods, by public bodies, in teſtimony of their eſteem. One piece particularly, preſented by the merchants of Gibraltar, is valued at 1000l. ſterling.

The General's death is much lamented at Gibraltar. Few men poſſeſſed ſo happy a combination of rare talents. He was a brave and enterpriſing ſoldier, a ſtrict diſciplinarian, and a polite accompliſhed gentleman. At the garriſon he kept up a degree of hoſpitality little known there till his taking the government; from fifteen to twenty covers were laid daily, and the elegance of the entertainment could only be equalled by the attention of the hoſpitable entertainer.

26th. In an advanced period of life, at his houſe in the New road, Mary-le-Bonne, Alexander Geddes, LL.D. He was a native of Scotland, and a Roman catholick; in 1786, he publiſhed the proſpectus of a new tranſlation of the Bible; and, in the following year, a letter to the biſhop of London on the ſubject. To this tranſlation, although undertaken by a Roman catholic clergyman, the biſhops, clergy, nobility, and gentry, moſt liberally ſubſcribed. The firſt volume did not, perhaps, altogether anſwer the ſanguine expectations conceived of it; the ſecond volume was publiſhed in 1797. Previouſly to this, the doctor publiſhed a paraphraſtic tranſlation of ſelect ſatires of Horace, a performance which quickly reached its merited obſcurity. In 1786 he publiſhed a letter to a member of parliament on the caſe of the diſſenters; and, in 1787, a letter to Dr. Prieſtley, on the divinity of Chriſt. Since that time he has furniſhed the world with ſome ſtriking ſpecimens of his wit and humour. In 1790, "Epiſtola Macaronica ad fratrem de iis quæ geſta ſunt in nupero Diſſentientium conventu Londini habito prid. Id. Feb. 1790;" "Carmen ſeculare pro Gallicâ gente tyrannide ariſtocraticâ ereptâ;" "L'Avocat du Diable;" and "A Norfolk Tale;" a tranſlation of "Ver Vert, or, the Parrot of Nevers," a poem from the French of Greſſet; a facetious letter to biſhop Douglas, who, with other Roman catholic biſhops, publiſhed a paſtoral letter prohibiting the uſe of Dr. G.'s tranſlation of the bible; letter to the biſhop of Centurio, 1794. The complete liſt of his works carries the number to eighteen. As he was deeply involved in controverſy, and under the ſevereſt cenſures of the Roman church for heterodoxy, it may not be charitable to believe all the ill that is ſaid of him

him on one ſide; but as the very cenſures to which he had ſubjected himſelf, and the democratical principles he profeſſed, were ſure, in this age, to engage in his cauſe a hoſt of clamorous encomiaſts, it would alſo be unſafe to credit all the good that is pronounced reſpecting him, on the other.

28th. William Jolliffe, eſq. M. P. for Petersfield. His death was owing to an accident. Mr. Jolliffe had been for a long time previouſly employed in inſpecting ſome improvements on his eſtate at Mitcham, in Surrey. Going into a field adjoining the houſe, where a number of labourers were digging, and not obſerving a pit near, he fell in, broke the ſpine of his back, and fractured his ſkull in ſeveral places. He laid a ſhort time in that ſituation; but aſſiſtance being near, he was conveyed to his houſe, where, after languiſhing in extreme torture, he expired.

MARCH.

4th. A melancholy accident happened in the night in Perkins's-rents, Weſtminſter. A large old houſe, inhabited by a number of poor families, ſuddenly fell in, about half paſt ten o'clock, with a horrible craſh, which, at that ſtill hour, was heard at a great diſtance. The unfortunate beings who were thus buried alive, had retired to reſt, among whom were many children. The people who aſſembled, directed by their cries and groans, immediately ſet about removing the rubbiſh and extricating the ſufferers, ſo that by day-light it was thought that all, or nearly ſo, were dug out of the ruins, ſome miſerably wounded, and ſome dead. Among the dead is the wife of a ſoldier in the Guards, lately returned from Egypt, named Legget; he crept out of the ruins himſelf, and his wife was following him, when a beam ſhifted its poſition, fell acroſs her neck, and killed her. In the ſearch, her huſband was the firſt that diſcovered her. An old man, a child, and two or three other perſons, were taken out dead. The wounded were carried to the Weſtminſter Infirmary. It is conjectured this diſaſter was occaſioned by ſome improvements the landlord of the houſe was making in the lower part, and that the ſupports were damaged.

14th. As ſix colliers were at work in a coal pit near *Cheſterfield*, the inflammable air which had collected took fire, and three of them were burnt in ſo ſhocking a manner as to occaſion their deaths.

16th. *Corfu.* A few days ago a ſquadron of ſix Engliſh ſail of the line arrived here. The commodore delivered to our government a letter from the Ottoman adminiſtration, in which it was declared, that our conſtitution, not having been accepted by the ſublime Porte, was peremptorily annulled, and that the ancient government was immediately to be reſtored. In conſequence, all the forts were immediately occupied by the Engliſh troops, and the above orders were carried into execution. Some Ruſſian troops are alſo expected.

Accounts from Conſtantinople, dated Feb. 10, and from Brunn, dated March 9, relate increaſed commotions in the Turkiſh empire. The inhabitants of Boſnia having refuſed to receive the new gover-

nor, Curt Pacha, he had marched againſt them with an army of 30,000 men. Two engineers from Paſwan Oglou directed the repairs of the fortifications of Belgrade, the approaches to which continued in poſſeſſion of the Janiſſaries; who have refuſed to receive the new governor, the Pacha of Siliſtria.

Paſwan Oglou having concluded treaties with the Pachas of Travnick and Janina, by which each of them agrees to ſupply him with 6 or 8000 troops, the emperor of Germany has ordered a cordon to cover his frontiers.

25th. A man of the name of Warwick, of Compton-ſtreet, went to a Mr. Davies, in Guildford-ſtreet, for 13s. 6d. which he ſtated to be due to him for the carriage of ſome goods. It ſeems, that the goods carried were a lady's baggage to be ſhipped for the Weſt Indies, and had been only taken to the quay *that very day*. Warwick was not the perſon who had been hired for the purpoſe; but one Richardſon, who (unknown to Mr. Davies) had employed Warwick. When, therefore, the latter applied for the 13s. 6d. he was told, that they had no knowledge of him, and therefore could not think of paying one who was a perfect ſtranger; but that if he would fetch Richardſon, or an order from him, proving his claim to the porterage money, it ſhould be immediately paid. This he poſitively refuſed to do, or to go without the money; and Mr. D., having ineffectually tried to force him out, went into his back parlour for a piſtol, with which he threatened to ſhoot him unleſs he went away. After W. had exhauſted all his powers of abuſe, and even put himſelf in a poſture of ſtriking, he left, or rather was frighted, out of the houſe; but he ſtill kept hold of the knocker of the door, and when the door was opened to ſend for a conſtable, he forced in again, with another man whom he called his friend, and ſwore he would not leave the houſe without the money; ſaying, that he was as good a gentleman as Mr. D., who he knew meant to quit his houſe that night and bilk him of his money; with other opprobrious language. No conſtable could be found; Mr. D. on attempting to puſh W. toward the door, finding him by much the moſt powerful man, and prepared for violence, went to the back parlour and again brought the piſtol (from which he ſolemnly declared he had every reaſon to believe the charge had been drawn) to effect by intimidation what force was unable to perform. The piſtol went off; and the ball paſſed through Warwick's left jaw. Mr. D.'s horror and aſtoniſhment on finding his miſtake threw him into a ſtate in which he was with great difficulty prevented from ſwooning. He immediately ſurrendered himſelf at Bow-ſtreet, and was committed to Clerkenwell priſon.—The man has ever ſince been kept in Mr. D.'s houſe, attended by Dr. Marſhal, two or three ſurgeons, two nurſes, and every poſſible exertion made for his ſpeedy recovery. Till he ſhall be declared out of danger, the unhappy cauſe of the calamity remains in confinement.

26th. A young man working at the iron-foundery at Rotherhithe, fell into the flatting mill, when in an inſtant he was cut into ſeven pieces. His head and bones at length ſtopped the mill, which was thought a very extra-

extraordinary thing, which set the men to seek into the cause of it, when they found this shocking spectacle; the remains were gathered together, and have been since interred.

29th. Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to Marquis Cornwallis, arrived this morning at nine o'clock, with the definitive treaty of peace; which was signed at Amiens, at four in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the Plenipotentiary of his Majesty, and by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republick. *For particulars of the proclamation and rejoicings see Appendix.*

There are at present, in the School for the Indigent Blind, St. George's Fields, 16 male and nine female pupils, employed either in spinning flax, or in the manufacture of baskets, sash cord and clothes-lines, with a machine of a peculiar construction, expressly adapted to blind persons; at which last employment some are capable of earning from four shillings to six shillings per week. The above articles are sold at the school for the benefit of the institution.

30th. The Assistance, of 50 guns, foundered off Dunkirk. The crew were saved, with the exception of two marines, who became intoxicated, and would not leave the ship.

The long depending litigation between the creditors of Drury-lane Theatre and the proprietors was this day terminated to the satisfaction of all parties, the Lord Chancellor having made a final order, which is, that the claimants are to be paid by a nightly reservation on the profits, after paying the current expence of that night.

Kent assizes, Turner v. *Umferrel.* The counsel who opened this cause stated, that it was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young respectable attorney, against the defendant, a stout athletic farmer, to recover damages for a most violent assault, committed in violation of the rights of hospitality. Miss James, a young lady about 18 years of age, and sister-in-law to the defendant, said she had been upon a visit to the plaintiff's father, in London, and was so pleased with her treatment, and the attention of the plaintiff, who was about the age of twenty-one, that she in return invited him down to her brother's. The young lady shewed an extreme partiality for the young lawyer, and they were never happy but in each other's company. —They were accustomed to amuse themselves by walking in the groves of Greenwich Park, and on a certain evening, after having been a long-time missed, they were found enjoying a *tete-a-tete* in one of the vaults of Sir Gregory Page Turner's decayed mansion. Another source of amusement was reading novels to each other, and upon the evening when the supposed assault was committed, the defendant was preparing to go round his grounds with a pistol in his hand, as was his custom, when he heard the plaintiff in his sister's bed-chamber reading a novel. He immediately exclaimed to his wife—"What's that girl and boy about in the bed-room—they shan't be there." And he ordered that Miss should sleep in the same room with her sister that night; and he would take

take care to keep the lawyer from her. This determination ſo affronted the plaintiff that he reſolved upon leaving the houſe that inſtant. He went out, and Miſs James followed him, and inſiſted upon ſeeing him ſafe over the heath to ſome other houſe. She clung round and reſiſted every attempt of the farmer to get her away.—The aſſault conſiſted in nothing more than the ſtruggle, which was the conſequence of her laying tight hold of the plaintiff; no blow was ſtruck whatever; on the contrary, the defendant wiſhed the plaintiff to come back, and ſleep at his houſe that night. A ſurgeon was called, to prove that the defendant had been ſeized with a cold and fever, and had paid him 20l. He however admitted, that paſſing an hour or two in a damp vault was as likely as any other cauſe to produce ſuch a diſorder. The judge thought that the defendant had acted like a prudent man. He even intimated that he would not have, perhaps, far exceeded his authority if he had given the plaintiff a gentle horſe-whipping, and had locked the young lady up for a week, upon an allowance of bread and water.—Under his lordſhip's direction, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

12th.—Died Miſs Wilkes, the daughter of the celebrated John Wilkes, of political notoriety, at her houſe, in Groſvenor-ſquare. She walked in the Park the day before, and dined apparently in perfect health. About twelve at night ſhe called up her ſervants, and in leſs than an hour expired. She was much advanced in life, and for ſome years had been deprived of her voice. She recovered it in ſome degree, but ſpoke in a harſh, diſcordant manner. Her mind had been ſedulouſly cultivated by her father, and ſhe was a well-bred, intelligent woman.

15th—James Morris of Eccleſhall, near Darwen, aged 103.

In the village of Pontoux, Arrondiſſement de St. Claude, Department de Jura, aged 118 years, Claude Joſeph Julien. He was born February 6, 1684, and was always of a robuſt conſtitution and lively diſpoſition. He went to plough till within a year of his death, and to the laſt walked conſtantly without a ſtick. He fell ill about ſix weeks before his death, and, after having been ill about a fortnight, he ſent for a notary to make his will; and when the notary came, Julien got out of bed, and ſat by the fire-ſide to dictate it to him.

In Nottinghamſhire, in his 106th year, T. Seals, a peaſant, who to the laſt poſſeſſed all his mental faculties.

APRIL.

Liſbon. General Lannies arrived here on the 26th of laſt month, a carriage of the court, drawn by eight horſes ſuperbly decorated, remained on the quay of the Place de Commerce, waiting for him, from noon till ten o'clock at night. Greater honours were paid him than are generally rendered to the diplomatic rank which he holds, he being only envoy and miniſter plenipotentiary. His wife, a ſecond aid-du-camp, and the ſecretary Fitte, were with him. He had likewiſe carriages of the court for them. He ordered the former French chargé-des-affaires to announce to the factory that he would

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would receive them on Sunday the 28th, at eleven in the morning; but that he would only receive those who should wear the national cockade, and those only should have a claim to the protection of the representation of the nation. The duc de Luxembourg, who is erased from the list of emigrants, and whose daughter is married to the duc de Cadaual, conformed to this order. On the same day he dined with General Lannies, the envoy from Holland being of the party. The prince of Luxembourg, his son, in the service of Portugal, but who has been in France these two months, is about to marry the niece and heiress of the minister Talleyrand Perigord. On the 30th, the envoy and minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, presented his letter of credence to the Prince Regent. On this occasion the palace of Caylus was new furnished, and an order was given for all *fidalgos* to attend at the presentation. Never were such pains taken to receive, in the most marked and magnificent manner, any foreign embassador. It was at this moment of ceremony and parade, that by a *fatality* which can neither be conceived nor explained, the Portuguese gave to the English a severe mortification. On the 27th of March, the English frigate the Active arrived in three days from Gibraltar. From the tower of Bolem, a signal was made to her to stop her course, conformable to an ordonnance of health, which enjoins all ships coming from the Mediterranean to perform quarantine. The commandant of the frigate took the anchorage which to him appeared the best and safest. The sailors of the barges of the Active, and of the Constance, Captain Mudge, attending their respective captains to a place called the Packet-boat Stairs, were seized by the guard of the police, without any cause being assigned, and carried to one of the subterraneans of that guard. The commandants of the two frigates, upon their return not finding their men, went to demand them, when an officer ordered his men to conduct them both to the main guard, commanded by a captain of the regiment of Lisbon, who immediately upon their arrival ordered them to be shut up in one of his apartments, exposed to the insults of the soldiers. As soon as his royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Mr. Frere, and General Fraser, were informed of this transaction, they flew to the main guard, and assured themselves by their eyes of what they could not otherwise have believed. They immediately went to the proper authority to demand their release, but notwithstanding all their zeal and diligence, the two officers remained in an unwholesome place from eleven at night till the next day, after mid-day. The Portuguese government is disposed to give ample satisfaction, but that it equally demands it of the Captain of the Active. General Lannies has brought as a present for the Prince Regent, a superb set of harness, and a robe for the princess.

2d. G. H. Barlow, Esq. was appointed by the Court of India Directors to succeed to the office of Governor General, on the death or resignation of Marquis Wellesley.

David

David Forreſter, who was lately executed for the murder of Captain Pigot, of the Hermione, made the following ſhocking confeſſion a few minutes previous to his being turned off: "That he went into the cabin, and forced Capt. Pigot overboard through the port while he was alive. He then got on the quarter-deck and found the firſt lieutenant begging for his life, ſaying he had a wife and three children depending on him for ſupport; he took hold of him and aſſiſted in heaving him over-board alive, and declared he did not think the people would have taken his life, had he not firſt taken hold of him. A cry was then heard through the ſhip, that Lieut. Douglas could not be found; he took a lanthorn and a candle and went into the gun-rooms and found the lieutenant under the marine officer's cabin; he called in the reſt of the people, when they dragged him on deck and threw him over-board. He next caught hold of Mr. Smith, midſhipman; a ſcuffle enſued, and finding him likely to get away, he ſtruck him with his tomahawk, and threw him overboard. The general cry next was for putting all the officers to death, that they might not appear as evidence againſt them, and he ſeized on the captain's clerk, who was immediately put to death."

In March 1800, the ſhip Elkridge Planter, Capt. Moore (ſole owner) ſailed from Portſmouth to Gibraltar, with a cargo of coals from Newcaſtle, which produced nine thouſand dollars; with that ſum it was his intention to ſail to Oran, on the coaſt of Barbary, to purchaſe corn, but was prevented by his Engliſh crew being impreſſed, which obliged him to ſubſtitute a crew compoſed of Greeks, Sclavonians, and Portugueſe, who on the firſt night of leaving Gibraltar, entered the cabin while the captain was aſleep, and murdered him; after which they threw him overboard, and then murdered his ſon, only eight years old. They then took poſſeſſion of the ſpecie, ſcuttled the ſhip, and eſcaped in a boat to Almeira, in Spain, where they divided the plunder and diſperſed. For a length of time it was unknown what became of Capt. Moore, or the ſhip, until Providence brought to juſtice one of the criminals at Malaga, who having been condemned to ſuffer death, made the above confeſſion, which was tranſmitted by Mr. Cornforth to Mr. Collier in London. The unfortunate father left behind him a wife with four daughters and two ſons, without any means of ſupport. The gentlemen of Lloyd's Coffee-houſe, opened a ſubſcription for the relief of this family.

The Turkey Company have preſented Sir Sidney Smith with the freedom of the company, and a magnificent piece of plate, in the form of a vaſe highly decorated, the top terminating with the figure of an alligator, and one ſide bearing the following inſcription:—"Preſented by the governor and company of merchants of England, trading into the Levant ſeas, to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of his Majeſty's navy, Knight of the Royal Swediſh order of the Sword, as an acknowledgment for the ſignal ſervices rendered to his country, by his unparalleled defence of the ancient and important town of St. Jean D'Acre, when with

with a ſmall band of Britiſh ſeamen, co-operating with the efforts of the Turkiſh garriſon, he enabled that feeble and ill conſtructed fortreſs to withſtand, for the ſpace of 69 days, the repeated and obſtinate attacks of an enemy formidable from numbers and diſcipline, accumſtomed to unvarying ſucceſs, and led on by Bonaparte in perſon, thereby totally defeating the object of that general's expedition, and finally forcing him to retreat with the loſs of one third of his army."

10th. Upwards of 1000 French priſoners were on Monday morning liberated from the depôt at Norman-croſs, and eſcorted by detachments of the Eaſt Eſſex Militia, and 3d. dragoon guards, to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence they are to be conveyed to Dunkirk.

A meeting was lately held of noblemen and gentlemen, chiefly of perſons employed in the improvement of the national agriculture, at the houſe of Sir Joſeph Banks, bart. in Soho-ſquare, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, that a coloſſal ſtatue in bronze, of the late truly noble and illuſtrious Francis, Duke of Bedford, ſhould be erected in the center of Ruſſel-ſquare; and that to give an opportunity to the whole people, to manifeſt their veneration and reſpect for his memory, the ſaid monument ſhould be erected by a voluntary and general ſubſcription.

11th. This morning a fire happened at Mr. Burrege's, Bell's-Buildings, Saliſbury-ſquare, which conſumed the ſame. Mr. Burrege's family eſcaped from the flames with the utmoſt difficulty, without injury; but Mr. Purchaſe (a clerk to the commiſſioners of the Income), who lodged in the ſecond floor, had no other way to avoid the fire but by leaping down from the window of his apartment into the court, by which he broke his thigh, and fractured his ſkull. He was carried to the hoſpital, with little hopes of recovery; and is ſince dead. Several of the neighbours having judged it neceſſary to remove their furniture into the ſquare, it was immediately attacked by a great number of plundering wretches. Fortunately, however, a detachment of the Eaſt London Militia arrived about two o'clock, and put a ſtop to further depredations. The fire originated by a lighted candle being left in a bed-room cloſe to the furniture.

SEDUCTION.—Sheriff's Court, Saturday, April 17—Barriff *v.* Hollamby, Eſq. This was an action upon the caſe for ſeducing the plaintiff's daughter. The plaintiff, Mrs. Theodoſia Barriff, was the widow of an officer, who had ſerved with conſiderable reputation and bravery during the American war. Upon the termination of that diſpute, he came over to this country with his wife, the preſent plaintiff, who was the daughter of a diſtinguiſhed American loyaliſt. They took a houſe in the neighbourhood of Blackheath, where they lived for ſeveral years upon an annuity for their joint lives of 400l.

Mr. Barriff died about ſix years ago, leaving his wife and a daughter, then eleven years of age. Miſs Maria Barriff was a young lady extremely well educated, and poſſeſſed of uncommon beauty and accompliſhments. It happened about two years and a half ago

ſhe

ſhe went with her mother to Aſcot-Heath races, where they accidentally met the defendant, who was introduced to them as the acquaintance of the friend at whoſe houſe they reſided during their excurſion. The defendant paid very particular attention to Miſs Barriff, and profeſſed himſelf a candidate for the honour of her hand in marriage. Soon after her return home with her mother, ſhe was viſited by the defendant, who declared his intention in form; and as Mrs. Barriff, upon enquiry, found his connexions were reſpectable, and his proſpects flattering, ſhe gave her conſent to his addreſſing her daughter as her future huſband. The courtſhip continued till laſt ſummer, when the day for the celebration of the nuptials was appointed. No ſuſpicion whatever of any diſhonourable deſign on the part of the defendant was entertained, conſequently it was not thought neceſſary to impoſe any reſtraint with regard to the intercourſe of the young couple, who were to be ſo ſoon united. They frequently went to aſſemblies and different public places, ſometimes alone and ſometimes with their mutual friends.

In the month of July laſt, a few months before the marriage was to have taken place, Mr. Hollamby invited Miſs Barriff and her mother to accompany him with a party to Vauxhall; Mrs. Barriff excuſed herſelf on account of indiſpoſition, but ſuffered her daughter to go with him.

The remainder of the caſe was detailed by Miſs Barriff, who twice fainted during the recital. She ſaid ſhe accompanied the defendant in a coach as far as Weſtminſter Bridge, where they took water and proceeded to Vauxhall. When they had been ſome time in the gardens, they joined the defendant's party, conſiſting of ſeveral ladies and gentlemen, none of whom the witneſs knew. They engaged a box, and about eleven o'clock ſat down to ſupper. There were ſeveral ſorts of wine upon the table, of which the defendant preſſed her to partake. In the courſe of the evening, ſeveral of the company became much elevated, and drank her health as Mrs. Hollamby. Her own ſpirits were raiſed by the compliment, and ſhe was perſuaded to drink a glaſs of champagne. She found herſelf ſhortly after indiſpoſed, and ſignified her wiſh to return. The defendant and herſelf quitted the gardens, and he handed her into a carriage, and ordered the coachman to drive to Blackheath. She grew worſe, and became totally inſenſible. When ſhe recovered herſelf, ſhe perceived ſhe was in a bed-chamber, with the defendant near her. She was conſcious of her ſituation, and of the outrage ſhe had ſuſtained. She ſwooned, and was a long time before ſhe recovered. When ſhe came to herſelf, the defendant endeavoured to appeaſe her; but ſhe inſiſted on returning home. The defendant told her it was impoſſible they could return till the morning; that her mother would not expect her; and that their marriage would take place on the day appointed. She conſented to remain, on condition he quitted the room. He did ſo, and ſhe threw herſelf on the bed in a ſtate of diſtraction and deſpair.

The next morning ſhe returned to her mother, and related all that had paſſed. It appeared the houſe ſhe

ſhe had been in had been hired and furniſhed by the defendant. He never afterwards came near her mother's houſe, but on the contrary, paid his addreſſes to a young lady of fortune in London. Mrs. Barriff waited on the father of this lady, and appriſed him of the defendant's diſhonourable conduct, in conſequence of which he forbad his viſits to his daughter. The plaintiff then brought the preſent action, and after a full hearing of all the circumſtances, the Jury, to the great ſatisfaction of a crowded court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 1000l. damages.

19th. The Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the Governors of the Royal Hoſpitals, attended divine ſervice, as uſual, at Chriſt-Church, where the Spital ſermon was preached by the Biſhop of Briſtol; after which they returned to dine at the Manſion-houſe. The Prince of Wales, the great object of attraction, left Carlton Houſe about half paſt four, accompanied by the Dukes of Clarence, Cumberland, and Cambridge, with their ſeparate ſuites, attended by the Earls of Harrington, Stair, Moira, and Granard; Lords Forbes, and Peterſham; the Hon. T. Erſkine; Sir J. B. Warren, Sir H. Featherſtone; Generals Lee and Witham; Colonels Wynyard, Spenſer, Anſon, Tyrwhit, M'Mahon and Dalrymple. The Prince was dreſſed in the uniform of Field Marſhal of Artillery, in compliment to the city Artillery, of which he is colonel. He wore his diamond ſtar and epaulette. He looked remarkably well, and in high ſpirits, which were, no doubt, exhilarated by the very flattering marks of reſpect from all ranks as he paſſed through the city. Juſt as the proceſſion left Carlton Houſe, it was met by the gallant Nelſon, who fell into the ranks, and proceeded to the Manſion-houſe under the banners of the heir apparent. Soon after three, the populace began to aſſemble about Temple-bar, and along the ſtreets to the Manſion-houſe. The windows diſplayed nearly as much company as on a Lord Mayor's day. The City Marſhal, on horſeback, met the royal party at Temple-bar; and before they came up, a very great crowd was aſſembled. The Prince was received with repeated huzzas; and the populace took the horſes from his carriage, and drew it to the Manſion-houſe. The Lord Mayor made every effort to do honour to the firſt viſit of the Prince of Wales to the City, and to compliment the other Royal gueſts, and the numerous and ſpendid company which honoured the Manſion-houſe with their preſence. The Egyptian-Hall, in which the company dined, was fitted up with great magnificence.

The Hon. the Lord Mayor gave up the chair to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales; on whoſe left was placed the Duke of Clarence. After dinner the Lord-Mayor, gave as a toaſt, "The King," which was moſt cordially drunk. His Lordſhip then, in a neat ſpeech, complimented the royal family, and concluded with giving "the Prince of Wales," with three times three. This toaſt was received with univerſal burſts of applauſe. The Prince, in a ſhort, but elegant ſpeech, thanked the company for the honour they had done him, and in return, gave "the Lord Mayor, and proſperity

to the city of London." A great number of other appropriate toasts were given. The company proceeded to the ball room, where the ball was opened by the Prince of Wales and Miss Eamer, who also danced afterwards with the Duke of Cumberland. The Prince of Wales retired between eleven and twelve, after bestowing the highest encomiums on the handsome reception which he had experienced.

A dispute having arisen between the Sheriffs of London and the Lord Mayor, on account of the former not having received the number of tickets usually presented to the Sheriffs for the dinner at the Mansion-house; the Sheriffs, not wishing to be thought disrespectful by the Prince of Wales, addressed a letter to his Royal Highness, by whose order Mr. Tyrwhit wrote an appropriate answer.

20th. The crew of the Ajax, of 80 guns, having a few days since received 70l. at Portsmouth, on account of a superfluous allowance of bread whilst in the Mediterranean, generously made it a present to one of the sailors, who had lost his sight in Egypt.

21st. This day circular letters were sent from Lord Hobart to the several lord lieutenants of counties, signifying his Majesty's highest approbation of the zeal, &c. of the different bodies of volunteers and associated infantry, but dispensing with their further service. The same sense is expressed of the merit of the volunteer and yeomanry cavalry, the various corps of which, inclined to continue their service, may still remain embodied.

23d. Lord Ellenborough (late Sir Edward Law) presided for the first time in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall; when in an insurance cause, Penman and Co. *v.* Wheelwright, a verdict for 200l. was given for the plaintiffs.

24th. *The King*, v. *Macleod.*—The defendant, Alan Macleod, stood charged with having published two libels in the Albion newspaper, of which he was the printer and publisher. The first was against the character of the Earl of Clare, late chancellor of Ireland, and the information charged, that it was written with intent to stir up evil-disposed persons to kill him, or to do him great bodily harm. The libel, after adverting to some part of that nobleman's conduct, continued, "you have been twice pelted, my lord, by an enraged mob; beware the third time — Buckingham had three warnings before he fell under the dagger of Felton; you may resemble him in more instances than one."

The attorney-general led the cause, and commented, in a very able speech, on the mischievous tendency of such libels, in the course of which he drew an animated character of the late Lord Clare, whom he described as more illustrious for virtue, patriotism, fortitude, wisdom, and learning, than from his high and exalted station. The libel was proved in the usual way, by the person who purchased a copy of the paper. Mr. Scott then went into a long defence of Mr. Macleod, in which he insisted that all he wrote was "matter of history." He commented

mented at great length upon all the cafes of libel, which he inſiſted was a baſtard ſlip, and not a legitimate ſhoot, from the laws of England, derived out of the tyranny of the Court of Starchamber. Mr. Macleod himſelf alſo made an addreſs to the jury, in which he diſclaimed all perſonal animoſity againſt the Earl of Clare, and inſiſted before the jury could find him guilty, the crown ought to have produced to them evidence, to prove that his intentions were ſuch as were charged upon him by the information.

The jury however found him guilty.

He was then tried and found guilty upon the ſecond libel, being ſtrictures upon the Iriſh Martial Law Bill, which he deſcribed "as the laſt act in the tragedy of deſpotiſm, which no brave and generous people would ever ſit out." In order to prove his ſtatements with reſpect to the kingdom of Ireland, he had *ſubpœnaed* the Earl of Camden, the late lord lieutenant, and was proceeding to examine him on the ſubject, when the attorney-general interfered, and ſubmitted to the court, that his lordſhip could not be examined, as it would lead to the diſcloſure of matters which came to his lordſhip's knowledge as a privy counſellor, and on this ground his examination was over-ruled.

The following term (Eaſter) the defendant was brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, where he again ſpoke at great length. He was again remanded and brought up on a ſubſequent day, when he again wiſhed to addreſs the court; but was informed he had already been heard, and by the rules of the court could not be heard again. He, however, obſtinately perſiſted, and the court was obliged to remand him to priſon. As he went out, he threatened the judges by obſerving that "judges had been impeached in better times."

He was again brought up this (Trinity) term, and again begged to be heard, ſaying he had matter to lay before them which would arreſt the judgment. The court informed him, that if he had any thing to ſay in arreſt of judgment they would patiently hear him. He accordingly again made a long ſpeech, which was rather meant as a juſtification of all he had done, than applying to any matter in arreſt of judgment. He was frequently reminded by the court that he wandered from his point, but the intimation had very little effect upon him. Having at length concluded, Mr. juſtice Groſe pronounced the ſentence of the court, which was, that he ſhould be impriſoned for eighteen months in Newgate, for the firſt libel, to commence from the expiration of his preſent ſentence (which is in July), and a further impriſonment of eighteen months, to commence from the expiration of his laſt ſentence, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour, for ſeven years, himſelf in 1000l. and two others in 200l. each.

Macleod has already been impriſoned for eighteen months, for a libel in the Gazetteer upon the character of the Prince of Wales, for which he has alſo ſtood in the pillory, and is alſo fined 100l. for a libel upon the Houſe of Lords.

29th. Peace was proclaimed with great pomp through the cities of London and Weſtminſter; on which happy occaſion there was a general and ſplendid illumination, not only throughout the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom. *For a full account of the ceremony and other circumſtances, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.*

The committee of the Grand Junction Canal, under the authority of an act of parliament, have lately erected, and intend to open a market, at, and adjoining to the baſon of the ſaid canal, at Paddington, for the reception and ſale of hay and ſtraw, all ſorts of corn, grain, ſeeds, and pulſe, malt, meal, flour and bran, potatoes, and other vegetables, and cattle of all ſorts. The market for hay, &c. will be regularly held on Monday and Friday; the market for vegetables, on Tueſday and Saturday; and for cattle, on Thurſday, in each week. Standings will be erected, as ſoon as poſſible, for the ſale of meat, fowls, fiſh, and other proviſions. It is intended that the market tolls and dues ſhall be as low, if not lower, than thoſe of any other eſtabliſhed market within the metropolis; and means will be taken to regulate the charges of the ſaleſman, upon terms that may prove reaſonable and ſatisfactory to the ſaleſman, the ſeller, and the public at large.

The completion of the Glamorganſhire Canal from Merthyr to Cardiff, has opened a ready conveyance to the vaſt manufactory of iron eſtabliſhed in the mountains of that county, and many thouſand tons are now annually ſhipped from thence. A commodious dock has been likewiſe formed lately at the end of the canal, where veſſels of large burthen may lie afloat, and a little below this dock, ſhips are admitted into what is termed a ſealock, which communicates with the ocean, juſt within the entrance of Cardiff river. On the bank of the dock, ſpacious warehouſes are building by the direction of the proprietors of the iron works. At Merthyr, theſe various operations begin to diffuſe a ſpirit of exertion throughout the country, and will, no doubt, bring into action talents that have hitherto lain dormant; for, that the people of this part of the world have conſiderable genius in mechanics has been manifeſted heretofore on ſeveral occaſions. Particular inſtances of this may be ſeen at Cyfarthva, where Mr. Watkin George has erected a wheel no leſs than 50 feet in diameter (to blow three furnaces) turned by a very ſmall ſtream of water; and at Aberdare another extraordinary machine has been conſtructed, in which two wheels, each 40 feet in diameter, working like the figure of 8, increaſe the power of each other ſo much, that the water which drives the upper wheel falls down and ariſes in turning the lower one. The heath near this town (Cardiff) containing many hundred acres, hitherto neglected, is now about to be incloſed and cultivated. A large under-ground drain has been made to carry off the water, by which expedient the heath will be effectually changed from a moraſs into ground, and excellent glebe.

Accounts from Conſtantinople, dated the 11th ult. ſtate, that the Beys of Egypt, who had placed themſelves under the protection of the

the Engliſh, had renounced that protection, and fled to the Upper Province. This meaſure is ſtated to have been occaſioned by a communication made to them by the Engliſh general, purſuant to orders from his government, that he could only protect them in their perſons and property, but could not engage in any ſtep tending to reſtore them to thoſe rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, and which were deemed inconſiſtent with the ſovereignty belonging to the Porte. The Beys are ſaid to have declared that the Britiſh were bound to procure the full reſtoration of their power, by a ſolemn engagement entered into by the Commander in Chief with them previous to the expulſion of the French. The letter adds, that the Grand Vizier, on being informed of their flight, and of their having thrown up the protection of the Britiſh, immediately ſent out troops in purſuit of them, and it is ſaid ſome have been ſeized and put to death.

One of thoſe fires which are ſo common in Conſtantinople, lately conſumed above two thouſand houſes in that city. It happened in a quarter of the town that was principally inhabited by merchants, and deſtroyed property to the amount of ſome millions.

The jewels of the Queen of Portugal are propoſed to be pawned for about half a million of money, at an intereſt of eight per cent. to anſwer the demands of the Chief Conſul of France upon the court of Liſbon.

The ſhip Malabar caught fire in Madras roads in Auguſt laſt, and blew up.

The Emperor of China lately expended vaſt ſums of money in the erection of a palace, as a country reſidence, a ſhort diſtance from Pekin, but it was ſcarcely finiſhed, when one of the towers was ſet on fire by lightning, and the flames extending, the whole of this magnificent pile was reduced to aſhes. The accident happened about the firſt hour of prayer, and the flames were not ſuppreſſed till the ſucceeding day. It had occaſioned great alarm among the ſuperſtitious natives, who regard it as an omen of ſome dire calamity.

Bowles, the active and enterpriſing Indian chieftain, has again involved the Spaniards in hoſtility with the Indians, on the frontiers of Eaſt Florida. Bowles, with a party of Machaſooky Town Indians, plundered different plantations on St. John's River, and deſtroyed an extenſive ſettlement formed by Judge Hall at the Meranzas, to the ſouthward of St. Auguſtine, and advancing within a few miles of that city, carried away ſeveral women, murdered ſome men, and deſtroyed ſuch property as they could not remove. Theſe meaſures exaſperating the Spaniards, they murdered ſome friendly Creeks who were amongſt them for the ſale of furs, and thus commenced a war which has already been fatal to all the parties concerned, and threatens extenſive devaſtations.

A moſt horrible tranſaction took place lately at Roſetta. Several unfortunate girls, natives of the country, to the number of about thirty, who had been kept by Engliſh officers and others, were, at the moment of being deſerted by their lovers, murdered in cold blood by the Turks, and their

bodies thrown into the Nile. A similar act was perpetrated at Cairo, when that place was evacuated by the French, and it is feared that many wretched females at Alexandria will share the same fate on the departure of the English troops.

The following distressing occurrences lately took place at Utica, in the county of Chenango.—The wife of Mr. Herrick, a respectable farmer, far advanced in pregnancy, was employed in giving medicine to a sick cow, when the animal by a sudden motion of her h[illegible], struck one of her horns into the body of Mrs. Herrick;—the wound was of such nature, that the bowels fell from it, and the poor woman, after languishing for five days, expired, leaving five young children. A short time after, business took Mr. Herrick across the river, which fronted his house, and returning in the evening, his course had been, by some accident, removed, and the stream being deep and rapid, he was unable to regain his habitation; and it was therefore necessary that he should wait upon the bank till morning: about ten o'clock, however, he saw a volume of smoke arise from his house, which presently after became involved in flames: he heard his children's shrieks; when, regardless of the peril of the act, he plunged into the current, and reached the bank; but alas! nature was exhausted in the struggle, and he lived only to hear that his house and family had been a prey to the destructive element.

The total amount of the actual payment out of, and future charge upon, the consolidated fund, for the year ended January 5, 1802, is £. 24,385,224: 10.—The national debt, on the first of February last, amounted to £.477,989,894: 6: 5½.

At a meeting of the proprietors of bank stock in Dublin, it was agreed to purchase the parliament house for a national bank; they are to pay £.40,000, and £.240 per annum.

DIED.—Dr. Erasmus Darwin, 18th. He was born at Elston, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, Dec. 12, 1731, educated at Chesterfield school under the Rev. Mr. Burrows, he went, with two of his elder brothers, to St. John's college, Cambridge, and was elected to one of lord Exeter's scholarships, worth about 16l. a year. He resided in college for twelve terms successively, with the exception of one; afterward he went to Edinburgh; and on his return resided one term more at Cambridge, and then took the degree of batchelor of physick. As a physician, he first settled at Nottingham, where he did not obtain any practice; he went afterwards to Lichfield, where he soon rose into considerable practice. In 1757, he married Miss Mary Howard, daughter of Charles H. esq. by Penelope Foley, his wife. She died in 1770. By her he had five children, two of whom died infants; soon after the death of Mrs. Darwin, he began to write the "Zoonomia," though he did not publish it till within these few years. In 1778, he obtained a lease of a picturesque spot, consisting of about eight acres, two miles from Lichfield, with a strong spring which supplies a cold-bath erected by Sir John Floyer, an eminent physician in the beginning of the last century. This place, called *the Cold Bath*,

Bath, became his favourite retreat and amuſement, as it had been formerly that of Sir J. F. He formed a botanic garden in it; and here he began his poem on the "Loves of the Plants." In the ſpring of 1781, he married the widow of Col. Pole, of Radbourne, in Derbyſhire. On the 10th of April he was attacked with a ſevere ſhivering fit, followed by a proportionate hot fit, and ſymptoms of inflammation on the lungs, a diſeaſe from which he had often ſuffered, but moſt particularly laſt ſpring; it was removed, and in two or three days he became to all appearance quite well. He ſat with his family in the evening, converſing cheerfully as uſual; went to bed, and got up well at ſix the following morning; wrote ſome letters till after ſeven, when he went to a fire to warm himſelf, and deſired a ſervant to make one in his library. His chilly fit increaſed, and was attended with thirſt; he lay down upon a ſofa by the fire, but becoming more cold and torpid, he was raiſed up and placed in an arm-chair, when, without pain or any emotion, he expired a little before nine. His death is ſuppoſed to have been cauſed by the cold fit of an inflammatory fever; ſome conſidered the diſeaſe which occaſioned it to have been *angina pectoris*. Dr. Darwin has left a widow, and ſix children by his laſt marriage: beſides two natural daughters. During the whole of his life he was remarkable for great benevolence of diſpoſition, and it was particularly conſpicuous in the care he took even of the loweſt animals. He was of a middle ſtature, in perſon groſs and corpulent; his features were coarſe, and his countenance heavy; if not wholly void of animation, it certainly was by no means expreſſive. He was in habits of incontinence, and is reported by his beſt friends not to have believed in revelation.

MAY.

1ſt. At the Old Bailey, Henry Cock, an attorney, of Brewer's hall, and of highly reſpectable connexions, was capitally convicted of having forged three papers, purporting to be letters of attorney of the late Captain W. Storey, of Chatham, for the transfer of 7,000l. in the 5 per cents, thereby defrauding the bank of England. The priſoner was the relative and confidential agent of the late Mr. Storey, who dying in April laſt left the money in queſtion in truſt to his executors Sir A. S. Hammond and others. Mr. Cock, by the forged inſtruments in queſtion, ſold the ſtock previous to April 1801, but continued to pay the intereſt to Captain Storey, and afterwards to his executors; he admitted he had appropriated the money, but that it had uniformly been his intention to account for it. Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Alderman Price, and other reſpectable perſons, gave him a good character; but the offence appeared ſo manifeſt to the jury, that they pronounced him *guilty*.

3d. At the Old Bailey, J. Townſend, eſq. a native of Ireland, was indicted for forging an order for the ſum of 1000l. purporting to be the draft of H. Cavendiſh, eſq. with intent to defraud Meſſrs. Snow and Co. bankers. From the evidence of

the Marquis of Thomond, and ſeveral gentlemen of the greateſt reſpectability, the jury were ſatisfied that the priſoner's mind was deranged; they conſequently pronounced a verdict of acquittal.

4th. A moſt affecting trial took place before the ſheriff of Middleſex and a ſpecial jury. It was brought by the Rev. Mr. Markham, ſon of the Archbiſhop of York, againſt a man of the name of Fawcett, for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife. The plaintiff had been married to his lady in the year 1789, and at the period of the diſcovery of her adulterous intercourſe ſhe had become the mother of nine children. The defendant was a ſchoolfellow of the plaintiff, who introduced him to his family as a friend. Some of the moſt reſpectable characters gave evidence to the harmony which had always ſubſiſted between the plaintiff and his wife. The damages were laid at 20,000l. and the jury returned a verdict for 7,000l. The moſt afflicting part of this melancholy event is, that the adulterous intercourſe had exiſted upwards of five years before it was diſcovered. The defendant has fled to the Continent.

8th. At the Old Bailey, Sarah Hickſon, a very young girl, was indicted for ſtealing three pair of ſhoes from John Smith: the charge was fully ſubſtantiated; and the child in her defence ſaid, her mother uſed to ſend her out in the ſtreets every day to get money, and if ſhe did not return with a certain ſum, ſhe uſed to beat and whip her; that on the day ſtated in the indictment, ſhe had not been able to obtain the ſum her mother would expect, and, fearful of returning home, ſhe was tempted to take the ſhoes from the proſecutor's ſhop and pawn them. The jury were induced to acquit the priſoner, under an impreſſion that ſhe would be taken out of her courſe of life, and placed under the care of the Philanthropic Society. Every endeavour has been made to diſcover the unnatural mother, but without effect.

Paris. The Spaniſh ſquadron ſet ſail on the 1ſt from Breſt: the conduct of the Spaniſh officers and crews, during their whole abode there, has been exemplary. The Firſt Conſul has ordered, as a mark of his ſatisfaction, that there ſhould be made a preſent of a pair of piſtols and a ſabre to each captain in the fleet. —*Moniteur.* 5th.

The new diviſion of pariſhes in the dioceſe of Paris is completed; there are twelve rectors, and thirty-ſix ſuccurſals, for the city of Paris.

A report having been circulated that the importation of Engliſh merchandiſe, particularly the Engliſh manufacture of China and Delf ware, would be permitted by government, the miniſter of the interior has formally contradicted this report, by ſtating that the law of October 1797, which prohibits the importation of Engliſh manufactures, is ſtill in force. And orders have been given to the officers of the cuſtoms, not only to prevent the importation of ſuch merchandiſe, but to diſcover whether any has been imported, in order that the law which orders it to be ſeized may be carried into execution. 6th.

This afternoon a great part of the Marſhalſea priſon fell in; fortunately for its inhabitants, 16th.

inhabitants, no lives were loſt. This priſon has been in a ruinous ſtate for ſome years.

17th. Early in the morning the cotton-mill, at Calver, in Derbyſhire, was diſcovered to be on fire; and, notwithſtanding every exertion to extinguiſh the flames, in leſs than two hours it was entirely conſumed. It is not aſcertained how the accident happened, the works were minutely examined late the night before, and every thing appeared in perfect order. The loſs is eſtimated at 20,000l.

18th. At a meeting held at Lloyd's coffee-houſe, to conſider of the money raiſed for a ſtatue to Mr. Pitt, it was reſolved—That the money ſhould be laid out at intereſt until after his demiſe.

19th. In the evening, her Majeſty gave a ſplendid entertainment at Buckingham-houſe. In order to accommodate as many viſitors as poſſible, the whole ſuite of rooms was thrown open, and diſplayed a ſcene of great ſplendour and taſte. About half paſt nine the folding doors of the great ſaloon were thrown open for dancing. The whole of the furniture is painted by the princeſſes, and ſurpaſſes in beauty any thing of the kind.

20th. About four o'clock, the ſoldier on guard diſcovered a fire that had broke out at the repoſitory in Woolwich Warren. The alarm bells were rung, and the drums beat to arms, when every effort was immediately uſed to ſtop its progreſs. The gates of the warren were ſhut, to the excluſion of the town's people, who in their officious zeal might have produced that confuſion which it was the wiſh of the military power to prevent. Towards five o'clock the fire raged with uncommon fury, threatening the deſtruction of all the adjoining buildings. When it ſpread nearer and nearer to the laboratory, the conſequences of an exploſion were ſo truly alarming, that, at one time, to prevent a greater evil, it was in contemplation to batter it down with cannon. The wind, however, very fortunately confined the devaſtation to the repoſitory. After two hours laudable exertion on the part of the ſoldiers, firemen, and ſome of the inhabitants of the town, who were afterwards admitted, the fury of the flames began to abate, and the fire was gradually maſtered in ſuch a manner as to diſpel every alarm for its farther progreſs. The firſt and chief care was to remove the bombs and mortars from the imminent danger in which they were ſituated. Beſides the fears for the laboratory, in another building, adjoining, were about 6000 gun-carriages, and vaſt quantities of ammunition, in ſtore-houſes and workſhops. With the exception of three mortars, which made a terrible exploſion, all the articles of a dangerous nature were removed. The curious articles deſtroyed conſiſted of arms of a rare kind—Tippoo Saib's gun—Indian wall pieces—a variety of cannon—rockets—in ſhort, almoſt every article uſed in the military art, together with every ſpecimen of warlike weapons.

24th. A moſt ſplendid entertainment was given at the Manſion-houſe, by the Lord Mayor to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and the brethren of the Britannic

Britannic lodge of Freemasons. After the lodge had been opened in the Egyptian Hall, by the Prince as grand-master, attended by the greater part of its members, the company were conducted by a band of music into an adjoining apartment, where dinner was served up, consisting of the greatest delicacies of the season, and decorated with many appropriate emblems of masonry, tastefully designed, and correctly executed.

The *School for Scandal* was performed at Drury-lane theatre, for the benefit of that veteran of the stage, Mr. King. The audience was uncommonly numerous, it having been announced that he would on that night take leave of the public. Mr. King seemed to have collected his remaining powers for exertion, in order to grace his exit from a stage which he has trod with the highest reputation for the long period of *fifty-four years* *. Between the play and the farce, Mr. King came forward, attended by Mr. Charles Kemble (who kindly officiated as his prompter, lest on so trying an occasion his memory should happen to fail him), and delivered the following

FAREWELL ADDRESS,

Written by RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Esq.

WHILST in my heart those feelings yet survive,
That keep respect and gratitude alive—
Feelings which, tho' all others should decay, away;—
Will be the last that time can bear
The fate that none can fly from, I invite,
And doom my own dramatic death this night.
Patrons farewell!
Tho' you still kindly my defects would spare, bear?
Constant *indulgence* who would wish to
Who, that retains the sense of brighter days, praise?
Can sue for pardon, while he pants for
On well-earn'd fame the mind with pride reflects,
But Pity sinks the man whom it protects.
Your fathers had my strength. My only claim fame.
Was zeal; their favour was my only
Of late, too often, when the whole was due, you.
I've paid *half service* to the Muse and
Not what I was, I now decline the field,
And ground those arms which I but feebly wield.
The *Poet*, nearly breathless, lame, or blind,
Whilst the Muse visits his creative mind,
Continues wearing his immortal wreath,
Lives in his fame, and triumphs over death.
But every chance that deals the passing blow,
Lays the poor *Actor's* short-liv'd trophies low.
That chance has come to me, that comes to all;
My drama done, I let the curtain fall.

During the delivery Mr. King was much affected; but he struggled to conceal his agitation. His feeling was more discoverable in the low faultering tone of his voice, than in tears, a white handkerchief, fainting, or other theatrical trick. He received the most thundering applause; and as soon as he had made his bow, Mrs. Jordan came on the stage, and gracefully led him to the green-room, which he found filled with the performers, who had nobly and generously done honour to themselves by seizing on this opportunity of presenting a handsome testimonial of their esteem and regard for their retiring elder brother. Mr. Dowton, after al-

* He first appeared at Drury-lane Oct. 19, 1748, as *Ailworth*, in "*A New Way to pay Old Debts.*"

lowing

lowing Mr. King a little breathing time, came up to him, to beg that he would take a cheerful draught out of a ſilver cup, which his brothers and ſiſters of the *Sock* and *Buſkin* requeſted him to do them the favour to accept, with a ſalver, as a trifling token of their regard and grateful remembrance of his merit as a comedian, and his uniformly friendly conduct towards them all, during the many years that he had continued to pleaſe the public before the curtain, and endear himſelf to them behind it. Mr. King, in a tone that expreſſed his feeling, declared the deep ſenſe that he ſhould ever entertain of this moſt affectionate mark of their regard and eſteem; and aſſured them, that, if his health permitted, he ſhould gratify himſelf with the pleaſure of frequently coming among them. The cup was then handed round, and all the ladies and gentlemen of the theatre drank Mr. King's health. On the cup is an inſcription, ſignifying the cauſe and occaſion of the preſent, with all the performer's names (contributors to it); and on its baſe is the following motto from Henry V. Act 5.

"If he be not *fellow* with the *beſt King*,
"Thou ſhalt find him the *beſt* KING of *good fellows*."

The ſalver was richly decorated, and had the arms of Mr. King engraven in the center.

27th. A dreadful fire broke out in the town of Bedford, which threatened, in the firſt inſtance, to conſume the whole town. It began at a blackſmith's ſhop, but from what cauſe has not been diſcovered. It has deſtroyed ſeventy-two houſes, and deprived ſeven hundred perſons of their homes who have loſt their all. A very liberal ſubſcription has been ſet on foot for the relief of the ſufferers.

28th. Mr. Pitt's birth day was celebrated with extraordinary ſplendour and feſtivity. *For a full account, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.*

30th. A fire broke out in the caſtle of Roſeneath, Scotland, belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle, which was burned to the ground.

A duel was fought in the company's garden, at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 14th March laſt, between Lieutenant Rae of the marines, and Mr. Bremer, purſer of the Hindoſtan, when, after firing three rounds, Mr. B. received a wound in the body, of which he died the next morning. The lieutenant and his ſeconds are arrived at Portſmouth under arreſt.

31ſt. A duel was fought at nine o'clock in the morning, on Rathfarnham-ſtrand, Dublin, between Sir Richard Muſgrave, and Mr. William Todd Jones. Mr. May was ſecond to Sir Richard, and Mr. T. O'Mara was ſecond to Mr. Jones. Having taken their ground, Sir R. was wounded on the firſt fire, his antagoniſt's ball ſtriking him on the ſide of the abdomen, and paſſing out near the left thigh. The cauſe of this unfortunate affair was, Sir R. having made ſome animadverſions on the character of Mr. Jones, in his hiſtory of the "Iriſh Rebellion."

In a ſort of ſupplement to that work, intitled, "Obſervations on the Reply of Dr. Caulfield, a Roman Catholic Biſhop, and of the Roman

Roman Catholic Clergy of Wexford, to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. and on other writers who have animadverted on the "Memoirs of the Irish Rebellions," Sir Richard had the following passage:—

"Mr. William Todd Jones is very much incensed with me for having quoted part of a letter written by him in the year 1792, *to that illustrious body the united Irishmen* (of which it is said he was a member) in favour of the Roman catholics. From some part of Wales, where he resides, he published a furious tirade of abuse against me, which has been circulated with malignant sedulity by *his good friends, the united Irishmen*. In framing it he seems to have extracted from the Billingsgate vocabulary a number of opprobrious epithets and appellations, which those who know me must be convinced are no more attached to my character than the scurrilous railings of a drunken fishwoman to an unknown passenger. I will not degrade myself by attempting to answer so contemptible a production. I shall only observe, that any thing coming from the pen of Mr. Jones can no more wound my feelings than it can injure my character; and, though I am not an adept at scolding, I dread his pen as little as I do his sword."

On Sunday, May 23, Counsellors O'Brien and O'Dwyer, waited upon Sir Richard Musgrave, and delivered to him the following *written* message:

"Sir Richard, Mr. Todd Jones considers your mention of his sword in your late publication, joined to your other expressions, as a direct call upon him, and he desires you will please to appoint time and place for a meeting."

Sir Richard Musgrave then almost immediately signed the following paper, as previously drawn up:

"I am *sorry* for having imputed any unworthy motives to Wm. Todd Jones, Esq. and *I retract every expression* tending to wound his feelings."

"Richard Musgrave."

Signed in presence of Us,
May 23, 1802,
Morgan John O'Dwyer,
Dennis O'Brien, jun.

"The above transaction is to be published by Sir Richard Musgrave's consent, in the British and Irish Newspapers, and in the *Moniteur* of Paris; and a copy of Sir Richard's retraction is to be printed *by himself*, in nine days from the date hereof, in the new edition of his work now going to press.

"Promised in presence of us,
"Morgan J. O'Dwyer,
"Dennis O'Brien."

The account adds, that Sir Richard Musgrave, conceiving his character had suffered by his retraction, wished to withdraw it. The duel was the consequence.

A splendid Gala was given by the Union Club, in Pall Mall, in honour of the peace; and it is admitted, that every idea which was previously formed of this grand and novel exhibition fell far short of reality.—The demand for tickets had been excessive, and the anxiety of the fashionable world to arrive in time was so great, that every avenue to Cumberland-house was completely blocked up before midnight.—By one o'clock the house

houſe was completely filled, and a more varied or more ſplendid aſſembly it is not eaſy for the imagination to conceive. All that the inventive taſte of luxury could deviſe was combined in the dreſſes and metamorphoſes of the company. The decorations were profuſe in the extreme; and as the excluſion of dominos gave ſcope for the diſplay of a variety of characters, the whole was the moſt motley group ever remembered. The grand ſaloon being filled with company, there was no opportunity for dancing, nor did the viſitors ſeem inclined to partake of that amuſement. The terrace adjoining the ſaloon, at the back of the houſe, was illuminated with painted gauze lanterns, hanging from a ſhrubbery, planted on each ſide of the walk. The effect was charming, and univerſally admired. The long walk from the houſe to the Park was illuminated in the ſame manner, and would have afforded a delightful promenade, had not the weather been cold. The walk was planted on each ſide with fruit trees in full bearing, and flowers of every deſcription.—The billiard room was appropriated to the uſe of the Prince of Wales and his friends. The tables were here laid with a brilliancy that excited univerſal admiration. The wreaths of flowers, the elegance of the frame-work, and the feſtoon ornaments were unparalleled. On the principal table was a beautiful *water piece*, the centre of which was occupied by *Neptune* in his car, ſurrounded by Naiads, trophies, and other naval devices, and in the parterre were complimentary trophies to his Royal Highneſs, with allegorical deſigns. The canopy erected for the Prince evinced a magnificence ſuited to the rank of the Royal Viſitor. The ground was of crimſon ſatin, and the effect was greatly heightened by ſuperb fringe, and trimmings of gold and ſilver.—The ſupper-rooms above ſtairs were alſo comparatively ſplendid. The tables contained frame-work, down the middle, beautifully painted in a variety of colours, and ornamented with trophies and ſmall ſtatues of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip. Over the tables were arches, hung with ſilver gauze in feſtoons. In the large card-room there were two tables 41 feet in length, both ſuperbly ornamented. The ſupper-room of the club contained two tables 23 feet each, on which were two ſets of ornaments, in the Arabeſque ſtile, very ſuperb; in the centre of one, in an ornamented vaſe, were introduced live gold fiſh.—When the time of ſupper approached, a great ſcene of confuſion occurred. The company were obliged to aſcend to the upper rooms by a narrow ſtaircaſe, where hundreds were wedged in for the ſpace of two hours. The rooms had been filled in a few ſeconds, and the company preſſing from below, prevented thoſe who had aſcended from returning. With reſpect to the ſupper, it is only neceſſary to ſay that it conſiſted of every delicacy which art and nature could afford. The principal character of the evening was the Prince of Wales, as King Henry VIII. in a very ſuperb dreſs, and a cap ſurrounded with diamonds. Several accidents happened in Pall Mall; ſome coaches were overturned, and others daſhed to pieces; but

but no lives were loſt. We underſtand that upwards of 1200 perſons got admiſſion by means of forged tickets.

The net produce of the income-tax laſt year was 5,710,572l, 13s. 6d. of which 1,175,836l. 16s. 1d. aroſe from trade. The charges of collection were 162,825l. The deductions for children amounted to 371,040l. 17s. 3½d. The number of aſſeſſments was 320,759, and of theſe, upwards of one-ſixth part, viz. 54,321, were upon incomes from 60l. to 65l. a year.—Of incomes from 200l. to 500l. per annum, the aſſeſſments were 42,694.—From 2000l. to 5000l. the number was 3657, and thoſe which returned above 5000l. per annum 1020.—The total aggregate of income brought under the operation of the tax was 80,217,215l. 3s. 9¼d.—The county of Durham paid on incomes below 200l. per annum, 7914l. 5s. 10d.—on thoſe above 200l. per annum, 36,145l. 5s. 9d.—total, 44,059l. 11s. 7d.—Northumberland, below 200l. per annum, 9880l. 7s. 4½d.—above 200l. per annum, 66,347l. 2s. 0½d.—total, 76,227l. 9s. 5d.—Cumberland paid in the whole 21,950l. 12s. 8¾d.—The City of London, excluſive of Weſtminſter and the Borough of Southwark, paid on incomes below 200l. per annum, 29,557l. 18s. 11d.—and on thoſe above 200l. per anuum, the enormous ſum of 1,084,496l. 9s. 5½d.—total, 1,114,054l. 8s. 4½d. being more than three times the amount paid by all Scotland, which was about 344,015l. 10s. 10¼d.—Yorkſhire paid 311,008l. 18s. 6½d.

The following is an account of the commerce of this country for the laſt year:—Exports in colonial produce, 21,921,000l.—Britiſh manufactures, 24,000,000l.—Foreign merchandize, 17,000,000l.—Number of ſhips employed, 18,898—ſeamen, 143,000.

It appears, from the annual report of the Society for the Relief of Perſons impriſoned for Small Debts, that in the courſe of the laſt year, 1125 debtors have been liberated from different gaols in the kingdom; amongſt theſe were 13 from Kingſton-upon-Hull, 1 from Halifax, 1 from Ouſebridge-gaol, York, 8 from York caſtle, 15 from Appleby, Cumberland, 14 from Carliſle, 2 from Durham, 15 from Lancaſter-caſtle, 6 from Rothwell, near Leeds, 3 from Richmond, and 1 from Morpeth, in Northumberland.

Near Hillingley in Suſſex, William Reed, a youth aged about fifteen, while employed in driving a plough-team, incautiouſly ate part of the root of a plant turned up by the plough, and brought thither with a quantity of mould, collected from cleaning out the moat which ſurrounded Horſe-lunges-houſe; in botany, it is named *œnanthe crocata*, and commonly called hemlock dropwort, or dead tongue. In three quarters of an hour after having eaten the root, he was ſeized with dizzineſs, ſickneſs, locked-jaw, and a violent convulſive conſtriction of the muſcles of the throat, and all the other ſymptoms uſually produced by poiſon, and notwithſtanding various efforts to give him medical relief, he died in four hours, in moſt agonizing contorſions. Another boy who partook of the ſame root was attacked, at the ſame time, with the like ſymptoms, but was relieved from its deadly effects,

effects, by a ſtrong emetic, conſiſting of large and powerful doſes of white vitriol, from fifteen to twenty grains, and repeated in ſmaller quantities, the active operation of which is more expeditious than any other remedy. Acids he took alſo, to decompoſe the noxious matter, but afterwards combined with alkali in the act of effervescence, to excite a freſh action on his ſtomach. Hemlock is a ſpecies of vegetable poiſon, which does not deſtroy life, by producing inflammation or other cauſtic effects on the coats of the ſtomach (as mineral poiſons do) but kills by its effects on the nerves, and conſequently on the vital energies of the ſyſtem.

The Paris papers have given copies of the letters which paſſed between the French Generals Reynier, Deſtin, and Menou, on the ſubject of Egypt, and which led to the unfortunate duel between the two firſt-mentioned officers. The points of this correſpondence are briefly as follow: General Reynier having, in his work on Egypt, lately publiſhed, accuſed Deſtin of retiring from the field in conſequence of a very ſlight wound, the latter ſent him a challenge. The letter of the former, in anſwer to Deſtin, contained this remarkable paſſage: "General Reynier ought to fight no man but General Menou, on the ſubject of the affairs of Egypt. As a General he ought to refuſe that honour to a contemptible fellow, but as a private individual he will be at the Gate Chaillot of the Bois de Boulogne, at ſeven o'clock in the morning." The reſult was, that they met, and Deſtin was killed. Reynier then ſent a very violent letter to Menou, in which he accuſes him of mental derangement, in yielding to the artifices of an *intriguant*, and enſuring unmerited ſucceſs to the Engliſh. In the courſe of this letter he ſays, "A ſimple narrative of events, and of your conduct, is enough to load you with infamy; and ſhould your name go down to poſterity, it will be claſſed with thoſe whoſe memory hiſtorians have preſerved, in order to contraſt their character with the talents and the virtues of the great men, who have ſometimes betrayed the ſame indulgence which Bonaparte has been pleaſed to beſtow on you." After accuſing Menou of ingratitude, he concludes with the following violent declaration: "Should you continue to vegetate under the infamy to which public opinion muſt conſign you, I will ceaſe to notice the remains of a life ſullied by ſo many acts of perfidy and baſeneſs; but ſhould you again, by dint of intrigues, ſucceed in puffing yourſelf into notice, be aſſured you ſhall not be able to avoid me, even ſhould you be daſtard enough to ſolicit an order for our ſeparation." In conſequence of this letter, as more bloodſhed was to be apprehended, Reynier has been ordered to retire to the diſtance of thirty leagues from the capital.

DIED.—At Guernſey, aged 40, Serjeant Samuel Macdonald, well known by the appellation of "Big Sam." He was a native of the county of Sutherland, in Scotland; and during part of the American war, ſerved in the Fencible Corps raiſed there; he was afterwards flugel-man to the Royals, and continued in this ſituation till the year 1791. At that time, his extraordinary

extraordinary ſtature and obliging diſpoſition procured him a recommendation to His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, with whom he lived as lodge-porter at Carleton-houſe till 1793. He was then appointed ſerjeant in the Sutherland Fencibles; but, on account of his prodigious height, which made the reſt of the corps, though fine ſtout men, look like ſo many dwarfs, he was chiefly employed in the recruiting ſervice; he, however, continued with them after they were formed into the 93d, until the day of his death. He meaſured ſix feet ten inches high, four feet round the cheſt, extremely ſtrong-built and muſcular, but yet proportionable, unleſs his legs might be thought even too large for the load they had to bear. His ſtrength was prodigious; but ſuch was his pacific diſpoſition, that he was never known to exert it improperly. He always diſplayed a degree of manly pride, and, notwithſtanding very conſiderable offers were made to him, upon condition that he ſhould allow himſelf to be exhibited as a ſhow, he ſpurned at what he thought the hire of degradation. Once, and only once, he was prevailed upon to make a public appearance; nor was this obtained from him by leſs authority than that of His Royal Highneſs, whoſe ſervant he then was. This took place at the Opera-houſe, in the Haymarket, then occupied by the Drury-lane Company, where Sam appeared in the appropriate character of Hercules in Cymon and Iphigenia. His death was occaſioned by a collection of water in the thorax, an inſidious and almoſt incurable diſeaſe, to which the robuſt are more particularly liable. It is ſometimes the conſequence of exceſſive bleeding in pluriſies, and other complaints that affect the breaſt, but its origin is not unfrequently quite obſcure. It generally lurks under the maſk of an aſthma, and continues increaſing, till at length the patient can hardly breathe, unleſs upright in bed. At length a fit of coughing terminates the tragedy, though very often ſudden exertion cuts the ſufferer off at once, before the quantity of water would otherwiſe have occaſioned ſuffocation. Sam continued healthy and active till his 35th year; his health then began to decline, and it is by no means improbable that this was the firſt formation of the diſeaſe which finally terminated his exiſtence.

Aged 100, the widow Palmer, of St. Martin's, Stamford Baron. Her brother and ſiſter died this year, the former aged 75, and the latter aged 87. Two other brothers alſo within theſe three years, the one 95, the other 77. Their father attained the age of 103; and the ſurviving brother is 88 years of age.

Lately, at Roſemburg, in Sileſia, at the great age of 115, a widow woman, named Marianne Stanzy. She was born at Suly, in 1686: in 1711 ſhe married a farmer, whoſe name ſhe bore, and who died in 1776; from this union, which laſted ſixty-five years, ſhe had three ſons and five daughters, who brought ſixty-eight grand children, fifty-three great grand children, and two children of the fourth generation. She retained her hearing and ſight to the laſt, was never ill in the courſe of her life, and expired like a flame which has no more aliment to ſupport it.

JUNE.

JUNE.

2d. The gentlemen of Boodle's Club gave a grand entertainment at Ranelagh; and though it was not equal in point of ſplendour to that of the Union Club, yet of the two it was preferable, as there was more ſpace, and conſequently better accommodation for the numerous company which attended. At ten o'clock the lottery began drawing as the ladies preſented their tickets. All prizes and no blanks. The prizes conſiſted of ſhawls, paraſols, handkerchiefs, quizzing glaſſes, &c. and the drawing occaſioned great mirth. The miniature opera performances began about eleven. The ball began about half-paſt eleven, and about thirty couple danced. The prince entered alone at half-paſt eleven, dreſſed in ſcarlet regimentals, the uniform of a field marſhal; and Sir Willoughby Aſton immediately attended his highneſs round the room. The Duke of Cumberland entered arm in arm with Sir Sidney Smith. Some perſons came in maſks, but they were refuſed admittance. The buſineſs was well conducted by ſeveral gentlemen of the club; and the ſupper conſiſted of every rariety.

On the motion of Admiral Berkeley, and ſeconded by Sir Henry Mildmay, the Houſe of Commons voted 10,000l. to Dr. Jenner for his very important diſcovery of the vaccine inoculation, by which mode the dreadful malady the ſmall-pox was prevented. 1200l. were voted, at the ſame time, to Mr. Henry Greathead, for his ingenious invention of the life boat.

3d. About two this afternoon, a tremendous fire broke out at a warehouſe in Great Alie-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by a candle being left burning near ſome ſtraw, while the labourers were gone to their dinner. Several of the diſbanded Tower Hamlet Militia attended, with an officer, to clear the place of improper perſons. The flames were nearly ſubdued by five o'clock, without ſpreading any farther; but the damage ſuſtained is very great. This was "the old play-houſe, firſt founded by one Odel 1728, rebuilt in an expenſive manner, by Giffard 1737, but ſuppreſſed by the excellent act for licenſing places of dramatic entertainment. It was ſupported a few years by an evaſion; during which time Mr. Garrick entered himſelf of the company, and drew a crowd of nobility and gentry, whoſe carriages filled the whole ſpace from Temple-bar to Whitechapel."—Penant's London, page 250. After it fell into diſuſe, it was converted into warehouſes, and was filled with cotton when it was thus completely deſtroyed.

7th. About noon, a moſt tremendous fire ſuddenly broke out amongſt the rags in one of the upper-rooms of the paper-mill at Swanton, Norfolk, and raged with ſuch extreme violence, that great part of the building, with a very large ſtock of paper, was, in leſs than two hours, burnt down to the water's edge. The conflagation was ſo rapid, that, notwithſtanding the great exertions of the workmen and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, it was impoſſible to extinguiſh the flames. The damage is eſtimated at upwards of 4000l.; about half of which is inſured. A barn and cottage, at about 300 yards diſtance from the mill,

caught fire from the flames; but, being inſtantly diſcovered, no damage enſued to them.

8th. A party of gypſies were brought up to the Public-Office, Bow-ſtreet, charged with kidnapping a female child, named Mary Kellen. It appeared that on Friday laſt this child, in a moſt wretched ſtate, applied to ſome perſons at South End, near Lewiſham, for relief; and ſaid ſhe had juſt made her eſcape from ſome gypſies, who had ſtolen her from her friends at Plymouth. On being interrogated, ſhe aſſerted, that ſhe was the daughter of Captain K. of the marines; that ſhe was ſtolen about ſeven months ago, and that, after having been ſtripped of her cloaths, and dreſſed in a filthy garb, ſhe was forced to wander with the gang, who treated her with the greateſt cruelty. She alſo ſtated, that they lately entrapped a little boy, whom they treated in a ſimilar manner. The gypſies admitted that ſhe had been with them; but, inſtead of ſix or ſeven months, as ſhe ſaid, declared that ſhe had only come to them about ten days ago, and then by her own requeſt, one of the women meeting with her on Kennington Common apparently in the greateſt diſtreſs, and ſhe begging to be received among them. This aſſertion was poſitively denied by the child; and the vagrants were committed to the houſe of correction till the matter could be inveſtigated. The conſequence of further enquiry has been to prove, that the ſtatement of Mary Kellen, reſpecting her being kidnapped by gypſies, was a complete fabrication. The girl ran away from the Rotherhithe poor houſe, and offered to go with theſe gypſies who met her at Kennington. She did not appear much diſconcerted at being detected in her combination of falſehood; the magiſtrate committed her to the houſe of correction, and diſmiſſed the gypſies, for whom a handſome collection was made in the office.

Naples. Charles Emanuel the IVth. King of Sardinia, 9th. having by an inſtrument, dated at Rome, the fourth of this month, reſigned his crown and dominions in favour of his brother the Duke de Aoſt, his Royal Highneſs has acceded to the crown, under the name of Victor Emanuel.

Carey *v.* Kearſley.— 11th. This was an action for copying and pirating the book of the plaintiff, called "Carey's Itinerary," by a publication of the defendant, called "The Traveller's Companion," &c. It appeared in the courſe of examination of the two publications, that the defendant's book contained much of the matter which before was to be found in no other publication than the plaintiff's book, and therefore was taken from it, but that not a page of it was ſelected in which the copy was not accompanied by ſubſtantive matter that was original, and the whole arrangement of the defendant's book was different from that of the plaintiff; indeed, they were both taken from the book of Patterſon's roads. Lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that upon this iſſue the plaintiff had not made out his caſe, for that there was no evidence that the defendant's book was a piratical publication, or copy of the plaintiff's book; and this, his lordſhip ſaid, he was prepared to ſubmit as his opinion to the jury. The plaintiff's counſel obſerved,

ſerved, that the main object of the action was, to protect Mr. Carey in his excluſive right of publication of his own book; and as this was deemed not to be a copy of it, that right remained entire, the plaintiff's anxiety was at an end. Lord E. ſaid, that, certainly this cauſe did not touch the plaintiff's right to the publication of his book; that right remained in the ſame ſituation as it ſtood in before this action was brought. Plaintiff non-ſuited.

Memel. Royal interview between the King of Pruſſia and the Emperor of Ruſſia. In the forenoon of the 9th inſt. his Majeſty of Pruſſia, after the review, accompanied by her Majeſty, viſited the apartments deſigned for the Emperor of Ruſſia. The town had two triumphal arches erected; one before the gate of Lieban, the other at the end of Linden-ſtreet. On the 10th his imperial Majeſty arrived, under the name of a "Comte de Ruſſie," at Polangen, the laſt frontier town of Ruſſia, three German miles hence, where he was received by Comte Kalkruth, General of Cavalry, who accompanied his majeſty to the entrance of this town, on the way from Polangen to Bommels, half a mile off, where the royal ſtate coach, with eight horſes, was ready to receive him; he was accompanied by ſeveral picquets of huſſars, placed there for the purpoſe, and thence to the town by a ſquadron of dragoons, and by the merchants' guard of this place. His majeſty did not accept the ſtate-coach, but remained in his chariot, attended only by an adjutant. His imperial Majeſty had put on the inſignia of the Order of the Black Eagle. He was ſaluted from the camp with 100 guns. His majeſty the king, ornamented with the Ruſſian Order of St. Andrew, rode in the mean time, on horſeback, about a quarter of a mile from the town. On perceiving the emperor's chariot, his majeſty diſmounted, as did the emperor likewiſe, and the two illuſtrious perſonages welcomed and embraced each other. The Emperor then mounted one of the king's led horſes, and the two monarchs rode ſide by ſide, followed by their united ſuites, all on horſeback, into the town. Before the houſe of Mr. Lorck, where the king and queen were lodged, her Majeſty the queen came to meet the illuſtrious gueſt, and ſurpriſed him with an embrace, which the emperor returned by preſſing her majeſty's hand to his lips. He remained to dinner with their majeſties; and about four o'clock, accompanied by the royal princes, went to his apartments at the merchant Glagon's, in Linden-ſtreet. Before entering, his imperial majeſty paſſed twice before the guard of 172 men and four officers, and inſpected the grenadiers with viſible ſatisfaction. He then preſented Major Von Bulow with a gold ſnuff-box, ſet in pearls, and each of the officers commanding the guard with a gold one, and each private with a ducat. His imperial majeſty paſſed the evening alſo with their majeſties, the bands of three regiments performing Turkiſh muſic before the houſe all the time. On Friday morning he was preſent at the review, dined again with the king, and afterwards both, accompanied by the queen, who rode between them, all three on horſeback, took a ride to the camp, and through a

great part of the town. This morning early the troops were again exercised, to the great satisfaction of their Majesties. To please the queen, the emperor had ordered 20 cossacks, commanded by Col. Platon, and three officers from Polangen, to the camp, where they went through the manœuvres peculiar to them, in riding and fighting with great dexterity. The king presented the commander with a brilliant ring and gold snuff-box, each of the officers a gold snuff-box, and each cossack four Frederics d'or. To-day their majesties again dined together, and numerous instances of politeness and condescension occurred.

16th. The departure of his majesty the Emperor of Russia was at first appointed for the 15th instant; it did not, however, take place till to-day, when, between ten and eleven o'clock, he set out on his return, under the discharge of 100 pieces of cannon, with the same retinue and in the same order as he arrived. About noon the King and Queen of Prussia likewise left this city, amidst the acclamations of the populace, and proceeded to Tilse, whence they will go, by the way of Trakehnen and Rastenburg, to Jerutten. The following anecdote is told of the Emperor and the King of Prussia:—The two monarchs were walking in the port when an English vessel arrived there, the captain of which did not know that their majesties were in that town. The English captain wore a Russian Order. The emperor asked him how he had obtained it? He replied that it was at Ancona. The King of Prussia then told the captain, that he was speaking to the Emperor of Russia. The officer was considerably disconcerted at this information; but when the Emperor added, that the personage who was with him was the King of Prussia, he recovered his natural ease, and left them, saying, "Gentlemen, I am not to be *made a fool of*, I assure you."

A masked prisoner of state, lately embarked at Cadiz, was, it is now reported, the unfortunate Don Urquijo. This nobleman resided for a considerable time in England, as embassador from the Court of Madrid. His offence is said to have been an attempt to abridge the power of the inquisition. He is to be transported to one of the Philippine islands, there to remain in close confinement for life. A number of his friends have also become victims to their zealous co-operation with him in promoting the cause of humanity. Among these is the learned Jovellanus, who, it appears, had expressed his sentiments with too much freedom, in a memorial, which he drew up at the express request of the government, on the best means for meliorating the internal organization of the Spanish monarchy.

Letters from Madrid, of the 15th of May, state, that the city of Lorca, situated in the kingdom of Mercia, experienced on the 30th of April a dreadful disaster. The reservoir, which is of several leagues extent, and served to water the surrounding countries, suddenly burst, and inundated a space of more than 20 leagues, as also a part of the city. Five hundred houses have been destroyed. Above 1000 persons have lost their lives, and a great number of beasts have been drowned.

D. Michaels went to Newgate

to

to see his brother, who is under sentence of death for uttering counterfeit silver; and, while in the act of presenting him half a guinea, the villain in confinement ripped open his belly with a knife. He was immediately confined to his cell, and his brother was taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

A letter from Roseau, inserted in the Barbadoes Mercury of April 24, relates the dreadful circumstances of a revolt at Dominica. This letter is dated April 14. On the 9th, the 8th West India Regiment, composed of blacks, mutinied, and in a most barbarous manner put to death Capt. Cameron, Lieut. Mackay, Lieut. Wasteneys, Commissary Laing, and Quarter and Barrack-Master-Serjeant M'Key, Clerk of the Cheque Barron, and Quarter-Master-Serjeant Young, were both wounded; the former dangerously. His excellency the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, who is colonel of 8th West India regiment, and governor of the island of Dominica, immediately collected all the troops, militia, and other European forces he could muster, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, where the black regiment was stationed, and where they had committed the atrocities above recited. Fortunately some ships of war were in the bay, the marines of which were landed, and assisted in the reduction of the mutineers. The governor found them drawn up in their usual place of parade, with two of their officers, whom they had spared, in the front. They refused to obey the governor's order to ground their arms, and were immediately fired upon with such effect, that those who did not fall attempted to save themselves by flying to the hills. The disposition, however, made by the governor of his force, frustrated their designs, and the whole were exterminated, excepting about 130, who were secured, and sent as prisoners on board the ships of war. Lieutenants Mackay and Wasteney appeared to have been peculiar objects of their rage. Lieut. Wasteney's fate was truly lamentable. These barbarians having stripped him, fastened him to a tree, pricked him with their bayonets, and mutilated him in a most shocking manner; even retarding that death which would have been a boon, as terminating his sufferings; and the dead body of Lieut. Mackay, the first victim of their wrath, they equally insulted, by dragging it about the post in a manner too horrid to relate. The following is the account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops:—68th regiment, 3 men killed, 15 wounded.—Two marines of the Magnificent badly wounded.—Militia, 1 man killed, 6 wounded.—One volunteer sailor badly wounded. The loss of the 8th West-India regiment is stated to be, at the least, 100 killed and wounded.

A rebellion against the Emperor of Morocco lately broke out, and the insurgents were headed by the emperor's nephew, who has however, been defeated with great loss, as appears by the following letter from Tangiers, dated May 19. "We have this day received intelligence of an action having taken place between the Emperor of Morocco and his nephew, in which the latter has been completely defeated with great loss; it is already known that there are 8000 killed, 2400 taken prisoners, besides an immense number of wounded. The emperor

ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of the very great aſſiſtance he received from an officer who arrived at the camp the night before the action, and requeſted the emperor to accept his ſervices. He had the command of a ſquadron of horſe, and contributed in a great meaſure to the defeat of the enemy. It is expected that this week will put an end to the the war, as ambaſſadors are now going from the emperor in anſwer to terms propoſed by the nephew. The officer who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much belongs to the City of London Light Horſe, and was deputed, from ſome of the principal merchants in that city, to procure the releaſe of two ſhips detained by the Emperor of Morocco. In conſequence of his great ſervices on this occaſion, the emperor has lent a favourable ear to the object of his miſſion, and conferred ſome diſtinguiſhed honours upon him."

A letter from Genoa ſays, that place is nearly blockaded by brigands. Their chief, who, with ſome reaſon, has been called the *Devil*, has eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Capenardo, from whence his myrmidons make excurſions for the purpoſe of levying contributions upon travellers. Some time ſince they robbed an Engliſh merchant, named Lidven, of two bales of merchandize, ſhortly after which the merchant received a letter from the chief of the banditti, offering the goods to him for 2500 livres. "We promiſe *upon our honour*," ſay the brigands, "to tranſmit Lidven's goods, ſo that he may tranſport them to Genoa. If he wants an opportunity of ſo doing, we engage to tranſport them ourſelves. Nay, more; we will give him all the neceſſary paſſports and cards of ſafety, in order that he may not be incommoded by our patroles: and, if he deſires it, we will give him a guard of ſafety unto the firſt poſt occupied by Ligurian ſoldiers. Done at our reſidence at Capenardo, the 26th of April, 1802, in the third year of our Government. (Signed) "JOSEPH MUSSO. General, ſurnamed the Devil."

In the early part of May, Capt. Pico marched at the head of a body of troops to attack this Devil. He had 100 grenadiers under his orders. May 22. The famous Muſſo, chief of the brigands, better known by the name of *The Devil*, has quitted his head-quarters at Capenardo, about three leagues from that city, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the higheſt mountains of the Appenines, where he is acquainted with all the roads. Having a deſire to treat with our government as between power and power, he has made a propoſition in writing, the purport of which is, that 6000 livres ſhall be paid to himſelf, and 3000 to each of his comrades; and he promiſes, that they will henceforth live in the world as honeſt men, if the government will grant them a complete amneſty. This propoſition has not been anſwered.

18th. *Eton Montem.*—This triennial ceremony took place on Tueſday. Their Majeſties and the Princeſſes attended at eleven o'clock, and gave their uſual donation to the ſalt-bearers, after which the proceſſion moved to Salt Hill, where an elegant dinner was provided for gentlemen. A great portion of *ſalt* was collected; every perſon who entered Windſor on Tueſday, being obliged to contribute to the box.

Robertſon

19th. Robertſon *v.* Badcock. — The plaintiff is Miſs Robertſon of Blackheath, and this lady has publiſhed her life. It is needleſs to ſay any more reſpecting her, but refer our readers to it. The defendant is a bookſeller in Paternoſter-row, who ſolicited as a favour that Miſs Robertſon would employ him as her publiſher, which ſhe did, and this action was brought for the recovery of the profits of two pamphlets that paſſed through his hands. The contract made in November laſt was, that the defendant ſhould employ a printer, whom he was to pay out of the profits, and take the reſt on ſale, or return to account for the end of January following. Miſs Robertſon had ſeveral interviews with the defendant, who ſeemed much pleaſed with his engagement. When the time was expired. Miſs Robertſon made application for a ſettlement, which the defendant evaded. In February following Miſs Robertſon ſent for 100 of the pamphlets; the defendant could not produce any, and ſent her ſervant to another bookſeller for ſome, when only twenty could be procured. This proof of their being ſold induced Miſs Robertſon to aſk a friend to call with the bill, and urge a ſettlement. The defendant then admitted the account to be juſt. Some days after he called upon Miſs Robertſon with his account, and offered her 11. 8s. and ſaid that balanced the account. This ſhe refuſed to take, and requeſted the account might be left for inſpection; on which he cruſhed it up, and put it into his pocket, went out ſaying, he would have no more to do with it. Miſs Robertſon's attorney then applied for the money, and had ſeveral interviews with the defendant, who acknowledged he was indebted to Miſs Robertſon; but wiſhed her ſolicitor not to proceed in the buſineſs, and offered him a few guineas, which was refuſed. The action was then brought, and proceeded on with a laudable expedition by the plaintiff's attorney. The above facts, as ſtated by counſel, as well as the contract between the parties, were proved in evidence. The defence ſet up by the defendant was, that the plaintiff being Miſs Robertſon, of Blackheath, whom all the world knew by public report, the mere mention of her name was ſufficient to entitle him to a verdict, and the counſel addreſſed the jury to that effect. This produced a very able and ſpirited reply from Mr. Serjeant Cockell, who ſaid he was ſorry to hear it inſinuated in a court of juſtice, that becauſe a lady had unfortunately been involved in difficulties and diſtreſs, ſhe had no right to ſue a perſon for a legal debt. Such a defence he reprobated, and he was ſure his noble and learned brother on the bench would do the ſame. There never was, he ſaid, any thing more clear than that Miſs Robertſon had proved her property in the work in queſtion; and was he to be told in a free country, that ſhe ſhould have no redreſs for the wrong ſhe ſuffered; that ſhe was not entitled to recover her property, becauſe ſhe had contracted debts for which ſhe was now in confinement. Another part of the defence was, that a partnerſhip exiſted between the plaintiff and Miſs Sharp, and that therefore ſhe could not ſue ſingly. This, however, was not proved; but, on the contrary, it appeared, that the partnerſhip had been diſſolved ſince

Midſummer 1800; and that this was a diſtinct concern of Miſs Robertſon's. Lord Alvanley, in his able and impartial charge to the jury, ſaid, from the evidence before him, he ſaw nothing to warrant the inſinuations thrown out by the defendant's counſel; but on the contrary, it appeared to him that Miſs Robertſon had acted in the buſineſs of this ſuit with great fairneſs. The jury after deliberating about twenty minutes, found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 621. 4s. 6d.

The moſt tremendous ſtorm came on at Melton Mowbray, that has ever been remembered, attended with a whirlwind and water ſpout from the S. W. Many buildings were ſtripped of their roofs; trees were torn up by the roots; and the rain deſcended in ſuch torrents as to deluge the lower floors of the houſes. The lightening killed a bullock, but no perſon received any ſerious injury.

26th. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by ſeveral of his Majeſty's miniſters, the governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England, and many other perſons of diſtinction, went in proceſſion to the ſcite for the London Docks, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Hawkeſbury, Sir Richard Neave, Bart. chairman, and Edward Forſter, Eſq. deputy chairman, laid the firſt ſtone, in which were placed two bottles, containing the gold and ſilver coins, and ſome of the medals of the preſent reign, and over them a plate of pewter, with the following inſcription:—

THIS STONE
Was laid on Saturday, the 26th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1802.
In the foundation of the entrance baſon of the
LONDON DOCKS
Undertaken by private ſubſcriptions for the
Greater accommodation and ſecurity of
SHIPPING, COMMERCE, and REVENUE, within the
PORT of LONDON,
and
Purſuant to an act paſſed on the 29th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800,
In the 40th year of the Reign of Geo. III.

28th. This day his Majeſty went, in the uſual ſtate, to the Houſe of Peers; where, in a ſhort but excellent ſpeech he was pleaſed to prorogue the Parliament.

An elegant afternoon breakfaſt was given at Ranelagh by the directors of the *Pic Nic* Society, of which about 2000 perſons of the firſt diſtinction partook. About five o'clock, Mr. Garnerin, the celebrated aëronaut, accompanied by Capt. Sowden, of the navy, aſcended in his balloon. Its aſcent was, in the firſt inſtance, very gradual, in order that all poſſible gratification might be afforded to the crowd of ſpectators. Having evinced his ſkill in the management of his ſtupendous vehicle by manœuvring for a few minutes immediately over the gardens, M. Garnerin took his leave of the company, and ſaluting them with a flag which he held in his hand, proceeded in a North-Eaſtern direction over the town, at ſo moderate a height, as to be diſtinctly obſerved in every part of the metropolis. The atmoſphere being exceedingly clouded and heavy, he was under the neceſſity of parting

ing with the greater part of his ballaſt to enable him to aſcend to the deſired height. This, however, in a very ſhort time he effected. The balloon was about 30 feet in diameter, and about 45 in height; the car, about ſix feet by four, and about two feet and a half in depth, with a ſeat at each end, and a ſpace between for ballaſt, hung from the extremity of the netting with which the balloon was covered, at a diſtance of nearly eight feet, ſuſpended by no more than four cords. The figure and proportions of the balloon were grand and beautiful; its colours alternate ſections of dark green and yellow, diverſified by the netting. At their firſt aſcent Capt. Sowden was ſeated; but M. Garnerin, for what reaſon is not known, deſired him to riſe, or the conſequences might be fatal to him. Near the gardens, every window, every houſe-top, every tree, was filled; Chelſea gardens were crowded; the river was covered with boats; while the banks on both ſides, and every avenue from them towards Ranelagh, was ſo thronged, it was difficult to find a paſſage through them. The balloon took its direction toward Weſtminſter, paſſing over Duke-ſtreet, whence it kept its line, between the river, and the Strand, Fleet-ſtreet, Ludgate-hill, and St. Paul's Church-yard, &c. No balloon that ever before went up took a courſe ſo directly over London (from Weſt to Eaſt) as M. Garnerin's did. It paſſed over Weſtminſter Abbey and St. Paul's, and could be diſtinctly ſeen above every ſtreet. Every houſe and ſhop was totally deſerted; every ſoul flocked into the ſtreet as if there had been an earthquake.

Capt. Sowden's narrative of this truly extraordinary journey is given for its curioſity.—"As numberleſs queſtions have been put to me, reſpecting the ſenſations I experienced while in the upper regions, I think it a duty incumbent on me to inform the publick, and to ſet them right as to the erroneous ideas they have of an aëoſtatic voyage. On our firſt aſcending, we felt a few drops of rain. After we had gained the height of about 3000 feet, I deſired Mr. Garnerin not to aſcend any higher till he had paſſed the metropolis, that the inhabitants might be gratified with a fair view of us. When we had got at a ſmall diſtance from London, we aſcended through ſome very thick clouds, of which I could perceive three diſtinct rows, at the lower one of which we found the quickſilver of the thermometer at 15 deg. and I was obliged to put on my great coat; but on aſcending ſtill higher we found the air more temperate, and the quickſilver riſe gradually to five deg. above ſummer heat. We then ſeemed to be ſtationary, and felt no more motion than one would feel in ſitting in a chair in a room. I then propoſed to Mr. Garnerin to overhaul our lockers, where we found a ham, a cold fowl, a cake, and two bottles of orgeat, wines or ſpirits being dangerous to take, owing to the rarefication of the air. The chill of the clouds having given us an appetite we made a table on our knees with the ſeats of the car, and eat a very hearty meal. The clouds then diſperſed from under us, and we had a delightful

lightful view of the country. Whether it is owing to the rarefication of the air, or to the ſtrong light thrown on the earth, I cannot determine, but I found that my ſight, which at all times is rather weak, became ſo ſtrong, that I could eaſily diſtinguiſh the minuteſt objects on the earth: *it appeared like a vaſt panorama, or map, of about* 50 *miles in circumference, where we could not only follow with our eyes the different croſs-roads and interſections on it, but even diſtinguiſh the ruts on them, and the very furrows in the field. The ſenſe of hearing was ſtronger here than on earth; for at the height of* 15,000 *feet, we could diſtinctly hear the rattling of the carriages on the roads, the lowing of cattle, and the acclamations of the people who ſaw us; though at the ſame time we could hardly hear ourſelves ſpeak; and I am perſuaded that a perſon on the earth, with a ſtrong voice and a ſpeaking trumpet, might make himſelf perfectly underſtood by any perſon at that height in the air.* I have obſerved, that almoſt every ſenſation I experienced while in the upper regions was exactly the contrary to what is the general opinion of the publick. I was aſſured by a number of the moſt celebrated *literati*, who pretended to be very learned on that ſubject, that I ſhould find the cold increaſe, the higher I aſcended; inſtead of which, I found the heat increaſe to that degree, that I was obliged to take both my great coat and jacket off. It is alſo the general opinion, that looking down from ſo ſtupendous a height renders a perſon ſo giddy as not to be able to keep his ſeat: on the contrary, I found that I could look down with a vaſt deal of pleaſure, and without experiencing that inconvenience; whereas looking round on the vaſt expance that ſurrounded us rendered my eyes ſo dim, that I was ſometimes a few minutes before I could perfectly recover my ſight. I experienced no difficulty of breathing, or inconvenience from the motion of the balloon; for, though we moved with immenſe velocity, we felt not the leaſt wind or preſſure of air, it being ſo perfectly calm, that the flags in our hands, and thoſe with which the balloon was decorated, hung ſupine, nor did they ſtir. I obſerved, that between every row of clouds, not only the atmoſphere, but the wind, varied ſeveral degrees; for, on our paſſing through the firſt cloud after leaving London, the wind, which had before been nearly South-Weſt, changed to South-South-Eaſt, by which means we found ourſelves over St. Alban's, in Hertfordſhire. On aſcending ſtill higher, the wind became nearly Weſt, which *drove us over Epping Foreſt, which I diſtinguiſhed very plainly, it appeared like a gooſeberry-buſh.* I then pointed out our courſe to Mr. Garnerin on the map, and obſerved to him that we ſhould ſoon perceive the ſea, which in a ſhort time we ſaw very plainly. Mr. Garnerin then told me we had not a moment to loſe, and muſt deſcend with all poſſible ſpeed; at the ſame time pointing out a very heavy cloud to me, nearly under us; and ſaid "*Il faut que nous paſſions a travers de ce drole la; accrochez vous ferme car nous allons nous caſſer le col.*" I anſwered—"*De tout mon cœur.*" We then opened the valve, and we deſcended with rapidity. On ruſhing into the cloud, I found, as he had conjectured, it contained as violent a ſquall

a fquall of wind and rain as ever I experienced. The attraction of the water, the force of the wind, and the conſtant emiſſion of gas from the valve, hurled us with ſuch velocity towards the earth, that I expected to ſee his prediction verified, though, I can aſſure you, my ideas at that time did not coincide with the anſwer I made him. Mr. Garnerin ſtill retained all his coolneſs and preſence of mind; and, while we were deſcending with that extreme ſwiftneſs, deſired me, the moment I ſhould find the car about to touch the earth, to catch hold of the hoop which was faſtened to the bottom of the net, to which the car was ſuſpended, and ſhift myſelf up into the net; by which means we ſaved ourſelves from being daſhed to pieces. The balloon did not re-aſcend immediately, but dragged us along the ground, with aſtoniſhing ſwiftneſs, for the length of nearly three fields, before the grappling iron took good hold, and then we thought ourſelves ſafe, being cloſe to a farm-houſe, from which ſeveral perſons came out to ſee us; but though we threw out ropes to them, and called for help, they were ſo conſternated that neither threats nor intreaties could prevail on them to come to our aſſiſtance; for, as I afterwards heard, they took us to be two ſorcerers, it being rather an unuſual thing to ſee two men coming down poſt-haſte from the clouds. We were for about three minutes in that ſituation, till another guſt of wind broke our cable, and we aſcended again nearly 600 feet. In the buſtle of preparing the ropes for the farmers, Mr. Garnerin had let the rope belonging to the valve ſlip out of his hand, by which means the bottom of the balloon was preſſed upwards by the wind. Mr. Garnerin deſired me to try to regain it, which I at laſt effected by climing up in the net, though the force of the wind ſtruck the tin tubes faſtened at the bottom of the balloon, and through which the rope led, with ſuch violence againſt my face, that it had nearly ſtunned me. Having recovered, we re-deſcended, but were borne with ſuch violence acroſs the country, ſometimes along the ground, ſometimes in the air, that I ſeveral times propoſed to Mr. Garnerin to abandon the balloon, and to ſave ourſelves; but he continually objected to it, and reminded me of my promiſe not to quit him. In the mean time, we were daſhed againſt ſeveral trees, one of which had nearly deſtroyed us. Being with my back towards it, I received a blow on the head, which threw me at full length at the bottom of the car. Mr. Garnerin, in attempting to aſſiſt me, was nearly thrown overboard; two of the cords that held the car broke, and at the ſame time ſome of the branches tore the balloon; upon which Mr. Garnerin cried out, "The balloon is torn, and we are ſaved." Another guſt of wind diſengaged us from the tree, and we touched the ground once more, with a leſs violent ſhock than before. We then both got out, but ſo exhauſted with our numerous exertions, that we had hardly ſtrength to follow the balloon, which fell again about 200 paces further, when we completely maſtered it, by throwing ourſelves upon it, and by that means preſſing out the remainder of the gas. It rained ſo very hard, that I propoſed

poſed to Mr. Garnerin to leave the balloon in the field, and go in ſearch of ſome houſe for ſhelter and refreſhment. We accordingly made the beſt of our way to a houſe, which we eſpied about half a mile off, belonging to a Mr. Kingſbery, and here a very curious miſtake took place. When we inquired for the maſter of the houſe, Mr. Kingſbery appeared, but ſeeing two perſons of ſo ſtrange an appearance (Mr. Garnerin having a French hat on, with the National Cockade, bearing the tricoloured flag, and myſelf being in a ſailor's dreſs, with the union jack in my hand,) he imagined we came on account of the election; and before we could addreſs him, ſaid, "Gentlemen, though I am a freeholder, I have made a determination not to vote for one ſide or the other." So much was he impreſſed with this idea, that it was ſome time before we could make him ſenſible that we had nothing to do with the election, but that we came in a balloon in three quarters of an hour from London; that we were very much bruiſed and tired, and that we required his aſſiſtance and ſhelter. He then received us in the moſt hoſpitable manner, not only providing us with refreſhments and dry clothes, but even offered us beds, the uſe of his houſe and horſes, and ſent immediately ſome farmers with a cart, to carry the balloon from the field, and convey it to a place of ſafety; and as we expreſſed a wiſh to get to Colcheſter that night, he ſent for a poſtchaiſe to convey us thither, where we were received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants. The next day we returned to Fingering Hoe, where we had left the balloon, and after drying it on the graſs, packed it up, and made the beſt of our way to town, where we arrived about four o'clock the next morning. I cannot help admiring the coolneſs and preſence of mind Mr. Garnerin preſerved, even in the moſt imminent danger; and I am ſo confident of his great talents and ſkill in conducting a balloon, that I would venture to go to the end of the world with him. This is as near a ſtatement as I can recollect; and I ſhould take it as a favour if you would inſert it in your publication, as you will thereby ſave me a great deal of trouble, having hardly breath enough to anſwer the numerous inquiries concerning our aërial excurſion.

R. C. SOWDEN."

This day was iſſued the Royal proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament. 29th.

A plan is in agitation for improving the harbour of Briſtol, by floating docks, which, according to the report of Mr. Jeſſon, the engineer, will render it as commodious as any in the kingdom. A ſubſcription has been lately entered into at Briſtol, for the purpoſe of carrying the plan into execution. The ſum of 100,000l. was ſubſcribed in about three days time, being about two-thirds of the ſum which, it is calculated, will be requiſite.

The Creek Indians being deſirous of making peace with the Spaniards propoſed to the Governor of St. Auguſtine, that they would deliver up to him the famous Bowles, the chief of one of their tribes, together with all the Spaniſh priſoners, negroes, and property of every deſcription, that they had taken from Florida; in return, they demanded that the Indian priſoners

priſoners in the Spaniſh fortreſſes ſhould be delivered up, and that the Indians ſhould be admitted to have intercourſe with the Spaniards, and ſome other conditions, which were acceded to.

On an application to the court of chancery, to ſet aſide the charter of *Downing College*, as having been unduly obtained, after an hearing of three days, the validity of that charter was eſtabliſhed.

A very ſingular circumſtance occurred towards the end of April at Baltimore: as the ſhip Birmingham, Captain M'Carthy, was entering the river, the mate blew out his brains in the forecaſtle; and immediately afterwards, a young lady, a paſſenger in the ſhip, threw herſelf overboard, and was drowned. The mate had a wife and family on ſhore, and the father and brother of the young lady were on board the veſſel.

VACCINE INOCULATION.—The Central Committee of the Vaccine Inoculation in France have lately publiſhed a very ſuccinct account of their correſpondence; from which it appears, that there are uniform accounts from all parts of France in favour of the Vaccine. All the medical men who, during the laſt year, adopted this mode of inoculation, and who have noticed the preſent appearance of the ſmall-pox, declare, that none have contracted it who have received the inoculation, although they have all lived among thoſe who were infected with the ſmall-pox. "If," ſay the Committee, "we add, to all the evidences of cohabitation, thoſe which have been proved by inoculation for the ſmall-pox, we ſhall acquire a degree of certainty which no other diſcovery has ever yet attained. Hitherto no circumſtance can be adduced in evidence againſt the Vaccine. A few partial declamations, and aſſertions proved to be eſſentially fallacious, have been urged by doubting and deceitful men. The Committee have enlightened the former by a candid communication of their experience, and have ſilenced the perfidious ſuggeſtions of the latter by authentic documents. As they are about to publiſh a general account of their labours, they have thought it their duty to gratify the natural impatience of the publick, by proclaiming that, *for the laſt two years the Vaccine Inoculation has continually afforded them ſatisfactory conſequences;* and that they will deliver with pleaſure to any medical man, or to any other perſon who may apply, the vaccine fluid gratis."

JULY.

Vienna, June 23. We learn from Hungary, that a terrible fire has happened at Debretzein (between Tockai and Wardin), by which two thouſand houſes have been reduced to aſhes, together with the college and the reformed church. A great number of cattle periſhed in the flames. The damage is eſtimated at more than 2,000,000 of florins.

Within the ſpace of two months forty-ſeven ſuicides have been committed at Vienna, and it is ſaid to be in contemplation to order that the dead bodies of thoſe who ſhall kill themſelves, ſhall be hung on the gallows by the public executioner,

tioner, in order to deter others from this desperate act.

3d. At *Corva*, near St. Ive's, a woman whose name is Brey, whilst her husband was on his business at a tin-mine (where he is a Captain), and no one in the room with her, took an infant child, of about ten months old, out of the cradle, wherein it was fast asleep, undressed it, and laid it on a red-hot baking iron, which was then on the fire, then throwing a sheave of reeds over the infant, set it in a blaze; but the child, through the torture, was heard to cry vehemently, which immediately brought her sister-in-law and daughter, who were in another part of the house, into the kitchen, where this horrid barbarity was committed. They found the child just taken off the fire by this unnatural monster, burned in a most shocking manner. A surgeon and the child's father were immediately sent for, but to no purpose; it languished a few hours, and then expired in great agonies. This wretched woman, it seems, has been in a kind of melancholy for some months past; and sometimes so outrageous, that her husband was obliged to bind her for some days together; but that morning she seemed to talk sensibly, and desired him to let her loose, which he consented to, in an unguarded hour. The jury, after examining the child and its inhuman mother, gave a verdict—*Insanity*. The Mayor, who attended, ordered her husband to confine her in future, and by no means to let her loose again.

The inhabitants of Glasgow have resolved to raise a subscription to erect a statue, without delay, in that city, to our late Prime Minister.

5th. At a meeting of the Lord Provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh, it was unanimously resolved to erect by subscription a statue of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

6th. *Flushing*.—The 4th inst. a small cutter arrived here from London, laden with piece-goods. This vessel, immediately on her arrival, was stopped by the French Custom-house Officers, and taken possession of, under pretence that it was laden with contraband goods. This seizure, however, which was likely to have produced the most serious consequences for our city, did not occur without violent opposition on the part of the people on board, who positively insisted that there was nothing contraband in the ship. In the mean time this circumstance had attracted a great number of persons towards the quay where she lay. The mob, with indignation at what had happened, manifested their displeasure towards the officers, by pelting them with stones. The French guard having got intelligence of this, a corporal and four men were sent to keep the people off from the ship. But the mob having by this time considerably increased, the choler of the people was so greatly heated on seeing these French military, who were unable to cope with them, that they pushed one into the water, and compelled the others to flight. The French Commander immediately caused an alarm to beat, and ordered the whole garrison under arms. This seemed as if it were the signal of a frightful carnage: the whole city collected;

and

and the rage of the mob being wound up to its height, on beholding the French troops, a terrific cry for vengeance aſcended from among them. A particular claſs, called *Bylties*, ſingularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, exclaiming, "We have arms too!" and made a motion to go and fetch them. In this critical moment, our Bailiff ventured himſelf in the midſt of the rabble, and ſucceeded in quieting them by the force of argument: in conſequence of which every thing ended without further misfortunes. There is ſtill a French guard on board the veſſel in queſtion.

8th. Between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, a terrible fire broke out at *Waddon*, near *Croydon*, in the houſe of Mr. Hume. It raged with ſuch violence, that no part of the furniture or effects of any kind could be ſaved. The family, by not being in bed, were preſerved, except an infant child of four years old, a granddaughter of Mr. Hume, which was ſuffocated in bed by the ſmoke, but it was not injured by the fire. As no cauſe for this dreadful accident can be aſſigned with certainty, it is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by a beam communicating with the kitchen chimney; but this is merely conjecture. The houſe being old, the fury of the fire was ſuch, that, had it taken place an hour and a half later, every ſoul in it muſt have periſhed.

The Board of Treaſury has adopted a regulation admirably calculated to promote an emulation among the profeſſors of ſculpture, and at the ſame time tending to ſecure immortality to the memory of thoſe great men who have fallen in the defence of their country. A Committee of Taſte has been appointed, of which Mr. C. Long is the preſident: it is compoſed of five or ſix gentlemen, who are authorized by the Treaſury to examine the models.

Specimens of a herring net wrought in a loom, were laid before the Royal Highland Society, the knots of which are more firm, and the meſhes more equidiſtant than thoſe wrought with a needle. The machine is the invention of a Highlander, and did not coſt more than 5l. to complete it; and has this advantage, that a child ten years of age may work 36 ſquare yards in a day, of 36 meſhes in breadth.

Hague.—Citizen Schimmelpenninck, who has been 12th. ſo long Ambaſſador from our Republic to the French, is appointed in the ſame capacity to the Court of London. Before the revolution, he was the moſt celebrated advocate of Amſterdam.

On the night, of the illumination, Mr. Cobbett, 14th. commonly known by the name of *Peter Porcupine*, who within the laſt two years had removed from America to England, refuſed to put up any lights. As this determination was well known, and indeed publiſhed by himſelf, a mob was aſſembled before his houſe a little before nine o'clock, who began to break his windows. About 10 o'clock three young gentlemen, Mr. Charles Beloe, Mr. Charles Wagſtaff, and Mr. John Harwood, accidentally paſſed through Pall-mall, and, elevated partly by the occaſion, and partly from having dined together, very fooliſhly and thoughtleſsly

lefsly threw *bricks* at the houſe. The young gentlemen were ſeized by the police officers, and taken to Bow-ſtreet, and committed to Tothil-fields Bridewell for the night, brought up again next morning, and *not admitted to bail*, but ordered again to be brought up on the Tueſday for re-examination; thus ſuffering ſix days impriſonment. The proſecutor refuſing every apology, and every extent of compenſation, the parties were indicted, and after three months, during which they ſuſtained much ſcurrility from the preſs of Mr. Cobbett, their caſe came on to be tried. The jury after a full hearing pronounced a verdict of guilty, but recommended the young men in very ſtrong terms to the clemency of the court. The proſecutor was urged to join in the recommendation. His reply was—Certainly not: I came here for juſtice, and not for mercy. The firſt two defendants, all of whom were accompanied by a number of the moſt reſpectable individuals, zealous to teſtify their irreproachable characters, were fined 30*l.*; and the latter 10*l.*

21ſt. *Blake v. the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.* This was an action againſt the Bank of England, on one of their promiſſory notes for 1000*l.* which they refuſed to pay, on the ground that it was a note which had been loſt, and the value of which they had already paid, being indemnified by the aſſignees of the bankrupt, who either loſt the note, or, with a fraudulent intent, pretended to have loſt it.—Mr. Park ſtated the circumſtances of the tranſaction as follows:—On the 5th. of April laſt, the plaintiff received a letter by the poſt, having the Bath poſt-mark on it, ſigned "R. Dallow," in which the writer deſcribed himſelf as a perſon who expected a large ſum of money from an uncle in order to ſet him up in the buſineſs of a ſilverſmith at Bath; he therefore deſired the plaintiff to ſend him an account of the prices he would charge for an aſſortment of goods, ſpecified in the letter, at the ſame time mentioning, that as he ſhould pay ready money, he would expect to be charged at the loweſt price. In conſequence of this letter, the plaintiff ſent down a liſt of prices he charged for the articles therein ſpecified. Another letter came by return of the poſt, giving a poſitive order for the goods to the amount of 800*l.* and deſiring that they might be got ready as ſoon as poſſible. On the 21ſt. of April, the perſon who ſtiled himſelf "Dallow," called upon the plaintiff, and aſked for ſo much of the goods as were ready for delivery purſuant to his order; the plaintiff accordingly delivered him goods to the amount of 545*l.* 10*s.*; he alſo delivered in caſh, bank-notes and checks upon bankers, the difference between the value of the goods ſo furniſhed, and the amount of the bank-note for 1000*l.* Dallow went off the night he had ſo received the goods and caſh, and has not ſince been heard of. The plaintiff conſidered himſelf entitled to recover againſt the bank for the amount of their note, which he had ſo received in the courſe of his buſineſs for a full conſideration. The note was admitted to be a note of the bank of England.—Mr. Erſkine, on the part of the defendants, obſerved, that it was not the

the bank, but thoſe gentlemen to whom the bank had already paid the full amount of this note (as a loſt note), that were the real defendants in this action; that this action muſt be judged by the peculiar circumſtances attending it. Was it not ſuſpicious that ſo large an order ſhould have been at once executed for an utter ſtranger? That an old note to the amount of 1000*l.* ſhould be taken without the leaſt inquiry from a total ſtranger? If the jury could not conceive a tradeſman of common prudence and diſcretion to act in this manner in the ordinary courſe of his buſineſs, they muſt ſuppoſe that he had not taken this bill *bona fide* in the courſe of buſineſs, and muſt have known, or at leaſt ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the perſon who offered it in payment had not come fairly by it. In ſuch caſe they muſt find their verdict for the defendant. Mr. Kay, ſolicitor to the bank, proved, that in a converſation he had with the plaintiff a few days after the bill had been preſented and refuſed payment at the bank, the plaintiff poſitively refuſed to take any trouble in tracing out this perſon, calling himſelf "Dallow," unleſs the bank would pay his expences.——Mr. A. Newland proved, that it was a very uncommon circumſtance to have a note of 1000*l.* which was nine years old, preſented to the bank for payment; he ſaid, that notes which were more than a year old always underwent a particular examination at the bank before they were paid. An old gazette was alſo produced, which contained an advertiſement of this note as being loſt. Lord Ellenborough ſummed up the evidence, and pointed out every minute circumſtance that could direct the jury to form a right judgment on the fact, whether the plaintiff had conducted himſelf with ſuch common prudence and diſcretion, as to deſerve to be conſidered a *bona fide* holder of the note in queſtion. If he either knew or ſuſpected that the bill was not fairly obtained, or if ſuch ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion preſented themſelves as that any man of common caution could not avoid ſuſpecting it, in ſuch caſe, this ſtrong ſuſpicion would have an effect like a formal notice to prevent his being conſidered a *bona fide* holder of the note, even though he might have given conſideration for it. Whether this tranſaction was or was not, under ſuch circumſtances of ſuſpicion, it was the province of the jury to decide. The jury found for the plaintiff—Damages 1000*l.*

Before Lord Alvanley and a Special Jury—Breach of Promiſe of Marriage.—*Hand* v. *Kiſten*.—Mr. Serjeant Cockel ſtated, that his client was a young lady who ſought redreſs for one of the moſt cruel injuries that could be offered to her ſex. She reſided at Harbro' with her brother, a reſpectable tradeſman in that town. The defendant was put apprentice to Mr. Hand, and in the courſe of ſome years a mutual affection ſprung up between him and Miſs Hand. An *eclairciſſement* at laſt took place, and the lovers vowed eternal conſtancy. The term of the defendant's apprenticeſhip was now nearly expired, and he reſolved to try his fortune in London. After a tender parting he accordingly ſet

out. Miſs Hand was much depreſſed, and her fears of the diſſipation of the Metropolis proved to have been prophetic. For ſome time, however, he remained true to his promiſes. He wrote her affectionate letters, and having ſeen her once in town, he teſtified all the fondneſs for her which had formerly marked his paſſion when at its height. But when he ought to have led her to the altar he forgot his plighted troth, and drew back from his ſacred engagements. She was thus diſappointed in her views of future happineſs, and held up to the ridicule of all her acquaintance. The learned Serjeant added many other particulars, and deſcribed in the moſt glowing terms the ill uſage which Miſs Hand had received. The evidence conſiſted chiefly of the letters which the defendant had written from London to his miſtreſs at Harbro'. Theſe occaſioned infinite merriment. In the firſt place they diſcloſed the fact that Mr. Kiſten was a *journeyman tallow chandler*. In painting the ardour of his attachment, he likewiſe borrowed many terms from his art. Although it appeared that he was not always in a *melting mood*, he talks of his ſoul being *diſſolved*, of being *dipped* in wretchedneſs; of his heart being *caſt in a delicate mould*, of the *ſtore* of happineſs which he conceived was awaiting him; of his love *burning clear*; of his liver being conſumed like the *wick of a candle*; of his fears leſt her paſſion died away like the *flame in the ſocket of a candleſtick*, &c. &c. There was one paſſage which afforded peculiar amuſement, as it reminded every one of the ſtile of a noble Marquis, who after painting the ardour of his paſſion, ſtops ſuddenly ſhort, and deſcants upon the price of wheat in Reading Market. "My love (ſays Mr. Kiſten), my Angel, my HAND, when ſhall we be joined together, *and mix like wax and ſpermaceti?* By the bye, I have news for your brother. Tallow is as high as ever, and at preſent there is a proſpect of its riſing higher ſtill. As ſuch he cannot do better than buy any that comes in his way?" From an able croſs examination, it came out that this diſconſolate virgin is 37 years of age, and the fickle ſwain might almoſt be her ſon.—Mr. Serjeant Beſt addreſſed the jury in behalf of the defendant. He allowed that the young man had acted very indiſcreetly, but ſtrenuouſly contended, that the plaintiff had no reaſon to complain. He thought it unneceſſary to call any witneſſes, as it already appeared that the match was quite diſproportionate, and that if it had taken place, it could have produced nothing but miſery. Lord Alvanley obſerved to the jury, that though caſes of this kind were often very ſerious, yet that the preſent could ſcarcely be conſidered of ſuch a complexion. From the rupture that took place, Miſs Hand could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have been deprived of much happineſs. Where the ages of the parties were ſo unequal, and where there had been no conſent of parents, little could be expected but diſcord and miſery. However the lady had met with a diſappointment, and was certainly intitled to ſome compenſation. Verdict for the plaintiff—damages 100*l*.

A very

22d. A very melancholy event took place, at the eaſtern entrance into the Weſt India Docks, at Blackwall. In order to bay out the water at the entrance of the baſon, next the Thames, a coffre-dam had been conſtructed, which had hitherto bid defiance to every returning tide. It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Kent, the Maſter Bailiff, that about ten minutes before ſeven, the tide being at its height, he was looking towards the ſouth coffre-dam, when he obſerved the head of one of the piles decline towards the river. He inſtantly called out to the people who were at work below, at a depth of about thirty feet, exclaiming, "For God's ſake, come up; the coffre-dam is blown." The people ran in all directions; the water ruſhed in with a dreadful noiſe, and, daſhing againſt the gates, returned by the eaſtern wall, and ſwept away all who had not had time to get up. The baſon in an inſtant filled to the depth of 22 feet. Some, by the violence of the torrent, were forced againſt the piles, and jammed between them. At firſt, it was ſuppoſed the whole of the docks would have been prematurely filled; but this fear was happily diſſipated, by the effectual reſiſtance of an inner dam, which ſtopped the progreſs of ſo deſtructive an inundation. There were about twenty men at work, cutting away the earth on the inſide; but by the alarm being given, all were enabled to climb on the wharf in the centre, and ſave themſelves, except eight perſons, who unfortunately loſt their lives. Among the ſufferers, was a Mr. Bough, the brother of the ſuperintendant of the works. It is a circumſtance of infinite regret, that the melancholy effects of this accident might eaſily have been avoided, had the warning voice of prudence been attended to. It appeared, by the proceedings before the coroner, that Mr. Kent foreſaw what would happen, and that a committee was called; who, inſtead of acting upon his report, paid a fatal deference to the opinions of the ſurveyors, who pledged themſelves for the ſecurity of the dam. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of *accidental death*.

21ſt. The cloathing factory belonging to Mr. Naſh, of *Trowbridge*, was ſet on fire and burnt to the ground. It ſeems the woollen-manufacturers are incenſed at the introduction of new machinery, which deprives them of a part of their employ. And July 23, the cloathing-mills at *Clifford* were ſet on fire, and entirely conſumed.

A ſtatue of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, by Roſſi, ſeven feet high, on a pedeſtal eleven feet high, has been lately placed in the front of the new buildings called the Royal Creſcent, at Brighton. The Prince is repreſented as dreſſed in his regimental uniform, with his arm extended towards the ſea. The likeneſs is thought to be very ſtriking.

The ſides of a well, near Blackburn, in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter, thirteen yards deep, fell in while two men were at work. The accident happened at two o'clock in the afternoon, and after inceſſant labouring till ten at night, R. Wilſon, a ſinker, was

heard to ſpeak; at twelve, the other perſon was found dead. At this period, from the preſſure of a crowd, the earth again gave way, and the dead and living man were once more buried. About four in the morning the latter was releaſed, not only without broken limbs, but little bruiſed.

The following ſhocking circumſtances occurred in Birmingham: a ſoldier who had been abſent nine years, returned, and found his wife cohabiting with another man: he demanded her, and ſhe went with him; but having left ſome writings in the hands of her paramour, ſhe went to fetch them, when the wretch firſt cut her throat, and then his own.

23d. Lord Nelſon and Sir W. Hamilton were preſented by the corporation of Oxford with freedoms of that city, in gold boxes.

25th. A fire broke out at the houſe of Mr. Bond, farmer, at Shobrook, which was attended with very melancholy conſequences. When the accident happened, Mr. B. and part of his family were at church, and at home were two of his daughters, one 18, the other 15 years of age. After dinner, they had both repoſed themſelves on a bed, and did not awake till ſurrounded by flames. The eldeſt immediately flew to the window, and deſcended in ſafety; the other attempted to follow; but ſome fire falling before her, ſhe became alarmed, and ran to another part of the houſe; ſhe ſoon returned to the window, but, overcome with the ſuffocating flames, ſhe fell backwards, and periſhed! Her body was ſoon diſcovered, but in a ſtate too ſhocking to deſcribe. A ſervant maid approaching too near while a chimney was falling, had her ſkull fractured.

28th. Hadfield, the maniac, who has for ſome time been confined in Bedlam for firing a piſtol at his Majeſty, eſcaped from that place with another madman, formerly a purſer in the navy. They were retaken at Deal.

The Surry Iron Railway is now completed over the high road through Wandſworth town. On Wedneſday, June 8, ſeveral carriages, of all deſcriptions, paſſed over the iron rails without meeting with the leaſt obſtacle. Among theſe, the Portſmouth waggon, drawn by eight horſes, and weighing from eight to ten tons, paſſed over the rails, and did not appear to make the ſlighteſt impreſſion on them. The road will be immediately opened for traffick up to Mitcham, as there only remains the iron to lay down, which is conſidered to be a very expeditious proceſs.

A level has been lately taken to prove the practicability of making a canal, which may effect a junction between Paddington and the Weſt India docks. This canal is intended to be brought in a direct line from Paddington to the field below the New River Head; then to proceed acroſs the City Road, and ſkirt Shoreditch and Spital Fields pariſhes, through the centre of the pariſh of Bethnal Green; and then to paſs Whitechapel pariſh at the Mount, and to communicate with the commercial road;

road; and likewiſe with the London Docks, in the pariſh of Saint George in the eaſt.

Account of the number of cargoes of fiſh brought to the port of London, and ſold in Billingſgate market, as lately laid before the Houſe of Commons:—From the 25th of March, 1792, to 25th of March 1799, 1407 cargoes.—From the 25th March 1799, to 25th March 1800, 1623 cargoes.—From 25th March 1800 to 25th March 1801, 2167 cargoes.—From 25th March 1801, to 25th March 1802, 2668 cargoes.

By papers laid before the Houſe of Commons, it appears that the value of exports of Britiſh manufactures within the laſt year, amounted to the ſum of 417,703, 54*l.* and that within the laſt eighteen years, the amount of Britiſh exports has been doubled.

Among the grants lately voted by the legiſlature, was 1700*l.* for the expence of copying manuſcripts found at Herculaneum and Pompeia, in the kingdom of Naples. A few thouſand pounds judiciouſly employed in objects of this uſeful and intereſting nature would indeed reflect honour upon the nation, and ſerve the cauſe of humanity in general.

Lieutenant Grant has lately arrived in London from Port Jackſon, New South Wales, with ſpecimens of a kind of wood lately diſcovered on the banks of Hunter's River, in that ſettlement, in great plenty, well qualified for the maſting of ſhipping. The top maſts, the top gallant maſts, and yards of the veſſel in which he came, the Ann Joſephine, a brig, were all made of this wood, and appear to have anſwered remarkably well. Mr. Grant has had particular opportunities of proving the excellent qualities of this wood, in conſequence of the very heavy weather uſually met with in thoſe ſeas. A non-deſcript wood, reſembling fuſtic, has likewiſe been found there. From further information by this conveyance, it appears that the colony of New South Wales is no longer in want of that ſtaple commodity, coals; this article, of an excellent quality, being likewiſe found in great abundance in the vicinity of Hunter's River. Mr. Grant, on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, ſold the coals, (the brig being laden with ſpars for maſts, and coals), at 36 rix-dollars per ton, amounting to nearly 6l. ſterling. Governor King has formed a ſettlement at Hunter's River, for the purpoſe of working the coal, which is much of the ſame nature with that at Newcaſtle. Mr. Grant proceeded up this river in the boat of the Lady Nelſon, to an extent of nearly 70 miles, without being able to diſcover its ſource. On his return, Mr. Grant, by order of Governor King, ſurveyed the coaſt of Van Diemen's Straights, (and gave a very favourable report of the ſame), from Wilſon's Promontory, to Weſtern Port; which laſt is a capacious and well-ſheltered harbour. There is a great abundance of wood eaſy to be got, and plenty of water; though the latter is difficult to be procured, on account of the diſtance, and from ſeveral ſhoals lying in the way, which render it neceſſary to take advantage of the tide.

A moſt outrageous and alarming

affray took place in the market-place of Hull, originating in a diſpute reſpecting the price of green peas, a cart load of which a dealer in vegetables having purchaſed at the rate of 4d. per peck, attempted to retail to the people at an advance to 6d. or 7d. Irritated by this, the mob immediately deſtroyed the peas, and then proceeding to open hoſtility overturned the ſtalls, without diſcrimination, of every perſon in the market. Meeting with little or no oppoſition, the ſhops of the butchers next became their object, ſeveral of theſe they forced open, and plundered the contents, which were carried away by men, women, and children, ſome of whom being apprehended were conveyed to the houſe of correction. Finding that ſeveral of their companions were in confinement, they attempted to reſcue them by breaking open the doors of the Guildhall; which proving ineffectual, they turned their attention to the windows, every one of which they broke with the moſt determined fury.

York Aſſizes.—Breach of Promiſe of Marriage.—*Storey* v. *Eagle.*—Mr. Serjeant Heywood ſtated the caſe of the plaintiff, who was in a very humble ſituation in life, a maid ſervant to Mr. Stockdale of Knareſborough; but the feelings of the humbleſt individual are not wantonly and barbarouſly to be outraged, nor ſolemn promiſes to be broken, without giving that individual a right to appeal to a jury for a compenſation adequate to the injury ſuſtained. It was not merely to recover damages that his client brought the preſent action, but alſo to vindicate her character, which ſhe found might ſuffer from ſo ſudden and unaccountable a deſertion as ſhe had experienced from the man who had publicly profeſſed himſelf her lover, and courted her for two years, and yet quitted her the day before that which was appointed for their marriage. The defendant in this action was alſo himſelf in an humble ſituation in life, he had been an oſtler in the town of Knareſborough when firſt he began his courtſhip, but is now an innkeeper in that town, and worth 600l. by his own confeſſion. The plaintiff, who was at firſt adverſe to his ſuit, had conſented to it at laſt; the day of marriage had been fixed, and preparation made for it, when the defendant ſuddenly, and without reaſon, changed his mind, married a girl then reſident at Harrowgate, and has now ſet up an inn at Knareſborough. Ellen Sly was the principal witneſs for the plaintiff, ſhe had known her for the laſt two years. The witneſs waſhed for Mr. Stockdale during the whole of that time; and almoſt every waſhing day ſhe had ſeen the defendant by the ſide of the plaintiff's tub paying his addreſſes to her. He appeared to be ſincerely in love with her, and often talked of marriage, but at length told her of his taking the houſe, and conſulted her about the furniture and the proviſions he was to lay in, and whether it was beſt to get corn or flour. At that time the marriage ſeemed very near, when he told the witneſs that he was in a very diſtreſſing ſituation: there was a d—d girl at Harrowgate, to whom he had promiſed marriage before two witneſſes, and

who

who vowed she would prosecute him if he did not keep his promise. He accordingly went to Harrowgate, and on his return told the witness he had settled with that girl, and asked if Mary (the plaintiff) would marry him the next day. The witness bid him ask Mary; he accordingly did so; and the plaintiff that day gave her mistress warning, and gave the witness a gown, petticoat, and a pair of stockings, to be washed against the next day, and made some other little preparations for her approaching nuptials. Before the next day came, the defendant disappeared, and in a day or two after married the Harrowgate girl. About a fortnight after he paid a visit to the witness, with whom the plaintiff was then sitting; the plaintiff told him "She would be glad to wish him joy, but his bad behaviour would not allow her." The defendant said, "he was very sorry, and would make her any compensation in his power." Mrs. Sly said, he ought to give her 30 guineas; he replied "she will never take that." Mary then burst out a crying, and left the house; the defendant followed and overtook her, and the next day told the witness she had cried a great deal, and he was extremely sorry for her. One *Piercy*, a servant of Mr. Stockdale's, proved, that the defendant had applied to him to procure a licence, and that the plaintiff had made preparations for the marriage; and, in particular, had borrowed linen and other things from him. On his cross examination, he was asked why those things were borrowed only? he answered, because the marriage bore a very *nunpluss* kind of appearance. Being requested to explain the meaning of the word *nunpluss*, he said the defendant did not know his own mind, and therefore it was a doubt whether the marriage would take place or not. Mr. Park for the defendant, said, that although this little ale-house which the defendant had taken at Knaresborough, was for the purposes of this cause swelled into a *great inn*, and it was attempted to insinuate, that the defendant was a man of property; yet, in truth and in fact, he was a poor man now, and had been an humble hostler, when first he paid his devotions at the shrine of his adoration, the *wash-tub* of the plaintiff in this action; his client was a most unfortunate poor devil, and he trusted the jury would not, by giving heavy damages in this silly case, immure him in a jail for the rest of his days. For two long years his client had paid his addresses, and offered his sincere love, at the plaintiff's *wash-tub*; all that while the scornful *lady of the suds* refused his suit, and treated him with ineffable contempt; at length, wearied of her scorn, in a moment of despair and vexation, he talked of love and marriage to the Harrowgate girl, and, unfortunately for him, before two witnesses: in the mean time this scornful beauty, who brought the present action, hearing that he was going to take a house, and had some money, relaxed from her wonted cruelty, and consented to be his bride.—What was his poor client to do in such a dilemma? On the one hand, there was a most unexpected consent from the scornful *nymph of*

the Suds, who exclusively possessed his heart, and on the other, that *d—d Harrowgate girl*, as he had called her, with her two witnesses, threatening him with prosecution and a jail if he did not marry her. Was ever man (to use the expression of the witness) in such a *numpluſh?* Indeed, if the jury were to give much encouragement to these actions, every maid servant in England would be bringing her action; for all of them have had, no doubt, in their turn, nonsense talked to them by idle fellows about love and marriage, and in the presence of some *Mrs. Sly*.—Lord Ellenborough said, it had been clearly proved, that the defendant had, both by his conduct, and by his express promise, raised expectations which he had defrauded, and hopes which he had deceived: the jury were, therefore, bound to give compensation in damages for the injury so received from the defendant by the plaintiff.—The jury after a few minutes consideration, found for the plaintiff—50l. damages.

Elections.—In consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, several spirited contests were maintained in various parts of the kingdom. The following were among the most conspicuous:—

The contest for the election at Worcester terminated July 9. At the close of the poll the numbers were as follow, for

Mr. Robarts	854
Mr. Scott	486
Mr. Wigley	463.

The latter gentleman then sent a letter to the sheriff declining to continue the poll.

The following account of the election at Nottingham is taken from a democratical publication. At the final close of the poll, July 13, the numbers were as under: for

Sir J. Warren,	972
J. Birch, esq.	912
D. P. Coke, esq.	634.

Mr. Coke declined any further contest on the 12th. The procession, at the chairing of Mr. Birch, the popular candidate, was truly novel, grand, and interesting; his friends, besides other decorations, were attended and accompanied with various symbols of civil liberty, a band of music playing all the while to patriotic airs and hymns, which were sung with great spirit and enthusiasm, by those who formed the procession. Mr. Birch was preceded by 24 young damsels dressed in white ornamented with wreaths of flowers, and carrying leaves of laurel in their hands; the foremost supporting a standard of the arms of the worthy representative. Sir J. B. Warren thought proper to decline the honour of being chaired.

At Hull, Mr. W. Bell, auctioneer, announced himself as a candidate, but very soon, in his usual eccentric manner, resigned his pretensions, having only three votes. The successful candidates were S. Thornton, esq. and J. Stamforth, esq. J. W. Dennison, esq. was the other unsuccessful one. The canvas of this last gentleman was very spirited, and the contest thought to be severer than any ever known at that town.

The contest at Coventry, which was one of the most violent in the kingdom, finally closed in favour of Captain Barlow, and N. Jefferys,

ferys, esq. Mr. Bird, and Mr. Peter Moore, were the unsuccessful candidates.

The numbers at the close of the poll for the county of Norfolk were, for

Mr. Coke	4317
Sir Jacob Astley	3612
Col. Woodhouse	3517

When the poll for the election of the representatives was finally closed for the city of Norwich, the numbers appeared as follow :—

Mr. Fellowes	1515
M. Smith	1427
Mr. Windham	1339
Mr. Frere	1318.

In Kent the numbers were, for

Mr. Honeywood	4763
Sir William Geary	4085
Sir Ed. Knatchbull	3933.

In Bristol, an opposition altogether unexpected started up on the day of election, which was crowned with success. Against Sir Morton Eden, appeared Mr. Evan Bailie, a respectable merchant. On his nomination on the hustings, he, together with Mr. Bragge, was unanimously elected, no poll being demanded.

At the final close of the poll for the city of London, July 14, the numbers stood as follows :

Mr. Ald. Combe	3377
Mr. Ald. Price	3276
Sir W. Curtis	2989
Sir J. W. Anderson	2287
Mr. Travers	1371
Sir W. Lewes	652
Mr. Lushington	113.

In Westminster, Mr. Horne Tooke, by an address to the electors, declared that he should have offered himself as a candidate, had he not been prevented by an act of Parliament, framed, as he pretended for that sole purpose. An obscure person, one John Graham, an auctioneer and sheriff's broker, however presented himself as an opponent to Mr. Fox or Lord Gardner, and, strange as it may seem, met with such support as to draw forth the exertions of all Mr. Fox's friends. On the 15th, his pretensions terminated, the numbers polled being, for

Mr. Fox	2673
Lord Gardner	2434
Mr. Graham	1691.

Mr. Thornton and Mr. Tierney were returned for the Borough of Southwark; Sir Thomas Turton was the unsuccessful candidate.

In Middlesex, Mr. Mainwaring who had represented the county in three successive parliaments, was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, whose pretensions though disclaimed at the first, were, toward the end of the poll, openly supported by Mr. Byng. After a scene of riot and every kind of turpitude, which lasted fifteen days, a fictitious majority was gained against Mr. Mainwaring; the numbers being at the close of the poll, for

Mr. Byng	3848
Sir F. Burdett	3207
Mr. Mainwaring	2936.

Died—21st. At his house in Stanhope-street, May-fair, after two days illness, in his 76th year, the Right Hon. Isaac Barré, clerk of the pells. His health was declining for a considerable time past; and, a few hours before his dissolution, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which was the immediate cause of his death. Though blind for nearly the last 20 years of his life, he continued a cheerful companion to the last. He began

began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in his political career at the ſame time with his countryman Edmund Burke; and was a celebrated parliamentary debater during the American war. The office which has become vacant by his death he had held about 15 or 16 years, it having been granted to him during the early part of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, in order to ſave the country the expence of a penſion, which had been previouſly granted to the Colonel, and was in conſequence relinquiſhed.

In this month, the perſon known by the name of M. De Verdion, whom almoſt every one muſt have remembered about the ſtreets of London, and particularly at book auctions, for a great number of years, wearing a little bag-wig and a large cocked-hat, and carrying an umbrella, died of a cancer in the breaſt, being, it appears, a female, though ſhe always wore a maſculine habit. By papers found in her apartments it ſeems ſhe was the natural daughter of a former King of Pruſſia, and came to England with Madame Schwellenberg, miſtreſs of the robes to her majeſty. It is underſtood ſhe was once in poſſeſſion of property to the amount of 8000l. which truſting in the hands of a foreign banker who failed, ſhe entirely loſt. She afterwards obtained a genteel ſubſiſtence, chiefly by tranſlating German; but, for ſome time previous to her death, in conſequence of her increaſing infirmities, ſhe was nearly reduced to poverty. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, though ſhe was in the conſtant habit of ſacrificing very copiouſly to Bacchus, ſhe never inadvertently revealed the ſecret of her ſex. About a week before her death, the tortures ariſing from her diſorder, which ſhe had long endured without complaint, induced her to reveal her ſituation and her ſex to a German phyſician who lodged in the houſe where ſhe reſided, and who not only faithfully kept the ſecret, but procured for her, from ſome German friends, a liberal ſubſcription, which rendered the ſmall remnant of her life as comfortable as the nature of her ſituation would admit. In her lodgings a number of valuable ſuits of cloaths have been found, in which ſhe uſed, till within theſe few years, to attend at Court on gala-days, in the male character, having never been known in any other ſince her reſidence in this country, except to her patroneſs. Her exterior form was, however, ſuch as almoſt to have cauſed a ſuſpicion of the real fact. The *enſemble* of her figure, when decorated in its uſual paraphernalia, was whimſically groteſque. By a paper found on her table ſhe has bequeathed what little property ſhe poſſeſſed to a perſon who keeps a coffee-houſe in the neighbourhood, which ſhe had been in the habit of frequenting many years.

At Weſt Bromwich, aged 102, Mr. J. Sheldon, leaving nine children, 51 grandchildren, 95 great-grandchildren, and five children of the fourth generation.

AUGUST.

4th. As ſome workmen were employed in repairing the New Church in the Strand, one of the

the ornamental vases fell into the street, and striking the face of a sailor, literally deprived him of his nose. These vases from their decayed state, being considered dangerous, have been since removed.

5th. *Woolwich.* Several of the convicts who are to be transported to New South Wales, formed a plan for an escape, which they endeavoured to carry into execution this day. They were all on shore, to the number of about 170, and were confined within a building near to the water side, where they are accustomed to work, and which is fenced round with a high wall. On a sudden they rushed out and seized some of their keepers, and others they knocked down. The ringleader had armed himself with a large knife, and on finding that the convicts had secured the keepers, proceeded to the outer gate, where a centinel was placed. To him the armed convict, and several others addressed themselves, and insisted upon the gate being opened, or they would instantly run him through. The soldier fell back a few paces, and shot the ringleader through the head. At the instant he saw the centinel about to fire, he turned away his head, but the ball entered the back part of it, and he died immediately. Another of the convicts was attempting to scale the wall, and was shot by another soldier. It was their intention to have seized those boats which are generally in waiting to take the convicts on board the hulks; when many of them would have got clear off.

The powder-mill at Cork blew up this day with a tremendous explosion; by which accident seven men lost their lives.

A few days since a child went to bathe in a pond in St. George's Fields, when it immediately sunk, and was drowned. A man who was standing in his room saw the child sink, without any emotion or offering to give assistance. On being dragged for, it proved to be his own son.

7th. *Bath.* Mrs. Evans, a widow lady, sister to the Rev. Dr. Sheppard, of Andover, stopping at a house in Westgate-buildings, seated in a wheel chair, while the servant went to deliver a message by her direction, the chair, running back, upset, and this unfortunate lady was precipitated into the road-way: a coal waggon passing at this critical juncture, went over her head, and her almost immediate death followed. No blame whatever can be attached to any party in this lamentable affair.

9th. H. Ibbetson and his wife were committed to Wakefield House of Correction, for violently assaulting and wounding E. Berry, their niece, who had been married a few days before. These ignorant people having conceived the idea that the young woman had *bewitched* them, had formed a plan to draw blood from her, in order to dispel the charm; and meeting with her in the market-place, they both suddenly assailed her, the woman biting and scratching her, while the husband stabbed her in the body.

10th. At eight o'clock in the morning a very singular circumstance occurred at Teignmouth. The sea, at low water, instan-

inſtantaneouſly roſe and fell nearly two feet ſeveral times in the ſpace of ten minutes; and the fiſhing-ſmacks at ſea experienced ſuch a violent commotion, that they were in danger of being loſt. The ſame phenomenon has been obſerved at Exmouth, Weymouth, and ſeveral places along the coaſt. —On the ſhores of Italy ſuch phenomena are not uncommon; they are generally regarded as the forerunners of earthquakes. A ſimilar occurrence happened at the time of the deſtruction of Liſbon.

12th. Sir Sidney Smith appeared at Greenwich in a ſloop of ſingular conſtruction, preſented to him by the Dey of Algiers. The maſts are not upright, as in Engliſh veſſels, but lean towards the ſtern. The cabin is richly gilt, and, from the ſhape of the veſſel, ſhe ſeems to be a ſafe and good ſailer.

13th. A Mr. Barrett having announced his intention to aſcend with a balloon, from Mr. Andrade's cloſe, at Greenwich, on the 12th, an incalculable number of perſons flocked to the neighbourhood; but Mr. Barrett, Capt. Sowden and others aſſiſting him, being in no degree prepared, gave notice that the attempt could not then be made, but would take place on the 13th; when preparations were again made, and the people attended equally numerous as yeſterday. After a variety of efforts, it was found that the balloon could not be ſufficiently filled with gas, or brought to bear, to take up the parties intending to make this aërial excurſion; and night coming on, all that then could be done to ſatisfy the multitude was, to fix a cradle, inſtead of the car, to the balloon; in which ſtate, no one being in the cradle, the ropes were cut, and the balloon aſcended. About an hour after its aſcenſion, information arrived at Mr. Andrade's, that it had fallen in ſome marſhes near the river, about three miles from Greenwich, in a field called Bugſby's Hole.

15th. About twelve this day, a party of eight perſons took a boat at the Iſle of Dogs, Blackwall, intending to land at Greenwich-ſtairs. They had not proceeded far when the boat unfortunately ran athwart the hauſer of a ſhip at anchor in the river. The motion of the ſhip elevated the cable with a ſudden jerk, and overſet the boat. All the boats within ſight of this accident inſtantly put off, and every effort was made to reſcue theſe unfortunate perſons from the death with which they were threatened. Seven were inſtantly picked up; but one, a very aimable young woman, periſhed. She had been only one month married to a Mr. Coultman, one of the principal clerks in Mr. Perry's dock-yard, who accompanied her on this aquatic excurſion. When this gentleman was taken out of the water, he looked round for his wife, and finding that ſhe had not been taken up, plunged into the river, as he ſaid to ſearch for her. He was reſcued a ſecond time, but with much difficulty. The ſcene was extremely affecting to thoſe who witneſſed it. Care was taken to prevent him from repeating the attempt; but he has been ever ſince in a ſtate of delirium. The body of the young woman was found, and the Coroner's

roner's Inquest has returned a verdict of—Accidental Death.

22d. A male tiger, which broke loose in Essex a few days ago, has been killed; but not until he mangled a young child in a shocking manner, and killed a sheep. He was so gorged with his prey, that he was overcome without difficulty, in a sheep-fold near the spot where he made his escape.

26th. There was a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning at Malaga. So strong was the electrical fluid, that the bells in the churches rung as loud as if they had been pulled by the ropes. The torrents of rain from the mountains carried every thing before them. There is an old bed of a river near the town, which has been long dry, and on which many houses, stables, &c. have been built; all these, with four men, several children, 16 oxen, 13 mules, 38 swine, and 10 waggons were forced into the sea. The bridge in the town was broken, and the ships in port were driven out.

28th. As the mail coach was travelling between Princeton and Trenton, in America, the lightning struck the back part of the carriage, and descending to the axel-tree ran along the pole, and immediately killed the four horses. The coach was much shattered, but the passengers escaped unhurt; as did the driver, although for some time rendered insensible by the violence of the shock. On the same day, several houses at Petersburg, in Virginia, were struck by lightning, and a lady and her daughter, while at dinner, were killed; the father, who sat at the table, escaped unhurt. A brig going down James River was at the same time dismasted by lightning.

The following is extracted from the Carlisle Journal of Saturday, Aug. 28th.—"Within these few years an insect, before unknown in this country, has made its appearance in the British orchards, which, if means are not generally taken to root it out, will in a short period destroy every apple-tree in the kingdom. It exhibits upon the trees, the appearance of a white efflorescence, like what may be sometimes seen on the stones in the fields; this seems, however, to be only the habitation of the insects, which exist in millions wherever they have once lodged themselves. On bruising the efflorescence-like matter between the fingers, a deep red-coloured fluid, like blood, is expressed, and which probably is of that nature. Already have several valuable orchards been much injured by this insect, which corrodes the apple-trees in such a manner as, at last, completely to destroy their organization, and to kill them, without the proprietors, many of them at least, even once suspecting the cause. The following recipe is then given, of a cheap composition, which has been found effectually to answer the purpose: To one hundred gallons of human urine, and one bushel of lime, add cow-dung in a sufficient quantity to bring it to the consistence of paint. With this composition anoint the trees. If the white efflorescence-like substance, in which the insects are lodged, has made its appearance, it should previously be brushed off."

The taste, judgment, and libe-

rality

rality of the inhabitants of Liverpool has been lately displayed, in the erection of a superb and elegant building, to be denominated the Lyceum, consisting of a magnificent coffee-room, library, reading-room or lesser library, and other necessary appendages. The coffee-room is universally allowed to be unrivalled, with respect to size, situation, elegance and convenience. It is an oblong of nearly 70 feet by 38, with a recess on the side opposite the window, of 46 feet by ten. Its height is in due proportion to its other dimensions, being 31 feet from the floor to the centre of the building. The library is a rotunda of 45 feet diameter, and about 40 in height, finished with a dome, and lighted only by a central sky-light. The reading-room or lesser library is 33 feet by 21, and over it is a committee-room of like dimensions. The principal front to Bold-street is in extent 133 feet. The above building is considered by professional men as, in many respects, the first architectural ornament of Liverpool, there being a chasteness, simplicity and majesty, in the whole design, both external and internal, and the workmanship throughout is executed in a style and manner, which reflects the highest credit on the contractor.

30th. On Monday, about four o'clock, the West-India Docks, being considered as complete, the water was admitted. The first aperture for letting in the water was made about a foot under the low-water mark, in the Preventer-dam, (the place that stood the shock when the Coffre-dam gave way some time since), but it was found necessary, in consequence of the water coming in very slowly, to make another aperture, of the same dimensions, on Tuesday afternoon. Such is the extent of this vast undertaking, that although the water ran into the docks, after the rate of 500 to a 1000 gallons in a second, yet the great dock was not completely covered by the next morning at six o'clock. No kind of form was used on the occasion of letting in the water. Friday, Sept. 3d. being the day appointed for the grand ceremony of receiving the first ship in the Great Dock, at Limehouse, a vast assemblage of persons of rank were present, to witness the ceremony. At one o'clock precisely, the Henry Addington, Capt. Lacy, a new built West-India vessel, and one of the finest in the trade, the property of R. Milligan, esq. a merchant of great respectability, and Chairman of the Company, about 350 tons burthen, entered the dock; she was towed in by ropes amidst the cheers of at least 10,000 spectators. The vessel exhibited a splendid and beautiful appearance, being decorated with the colours of all the different nations in the world. She was brought to anchor exactly opposite the warehouse, No. VIII. which was then made ready for the reception of goods. Another West-Indiamen, called the Echo, followed the Henry Addington, and moored within a short distance. The motion of the ship through the bason was very slow. The former was light, but the latter contained between eight and nine hundred hogsheads of sugar, which will be the first goods deposited in

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the new warehouſes. The Earl of Roſslyn, Lords Hood, Pelham, Hobart, Hawkeſbury, Sheffield, Harvey, and Glenbervie; Sir Sydney Smith, the Lord Mayor, Sir G. Shee, Mr. Alderman Curtis and Mr. Manning, honoured the ceremony with their preſence. An elegant cold collation was provided. On the fore-top-gallant-maſt was the Admiralty flag. At two o'clock they landed from the ſhip, under a diſcharge of 14 guns, which fired a ſecond ſalute, and they afterwards returned to town, to dine with the directors at the London Tavern. The Weſt-India Docks, thus opened, are intended for homeward-bound ſhips, but in which they will not be allowed to ſtay after their cargoes are diſcharged. It is 1600 feet long, 514 wide, and 29 deep, built round with brick-work, five feet in thickneſs at the top, and covered with large ſquare ſtones, as coping to the wall. Another lock is yet to be made for the outward-bound ſhips, which will be of the ſame length, but narrower by 100 feet. A magnificent entrance or gateway to the quays is intended, with allegorical devices, and there will be a high wall round the whole, beſides a ſloping ditch. The number of houſes, for the reſidence of clerks and workmen, will convert the marſh, in time, into a town, ſo that London will then extend from Paddington-turnpike to Blackwall, without any interruption whatever. It is now ſomewhat more than two years ſince the firſt ſtone of this great commercial improvement was laid, and it reflects much credit on thoſe employed in carrying it into execution, that, in ſo ſhort a time, they ſhould have ſucceeded in rendering the dock fit for the reception of merchandize and ſhipping. The depth of the water is 25 feet at high tide. The dock itſelf, appearing like a great lake, is, at once, an object of beauty and aſtoniſhment. The warehouſes are the grandeſt, the moſt commodious and ſpacious, that ever were ſeen in this country, and are capable of containing a vaſt quantity of goods.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. Early in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out in the houſe of Mr. H. Davis, oilman, in Leadenhall-ſtreet. On the firſt alarm, the watchmen belonging to the India-houſe afforded aſſiſtance with the company's engines, which prevented the extenſion of the fire; but a ſufficient quantity of water could not be procured for two hours, when the conflagration had extended itſelf to Mr. Swift's, trunk-maker, Mr. Ward's, the Ship-tavern, the geneva warehouſe, and the top part of Mr. Tinkler's premiſes. The fury of the flames was ſo great that very little property could be ſaved. The premiſes above-mentioned, with the exception of Mr. Tinkler's, are entirely deſtroyed. During the fire, two Jew boys were detected in attempting to cut the leathern hoſe belonging to the Eaſt-India Company's engines, when they were ſecured and ſent to the compter. Some villains, alſo, during the progreſs of the flames, got into Mr. Tinkler's houſe,

houſe, under the pretence of affording aſſiſtance; they faſtened the door and began to plunder the houſe, when the door was forced by ſome people without, who ſuſpected their intentions, and they were all taken and ſent to the Compter.

A very extraordinary robbery was effected in the pariſh of St. Andrew's, Holborn. A young woman, genteelly dreſſed, went to the overſeers of the workhouſe, and deſired to know whether they could provide a wet nurſe for a lady of rank and fortune. They informed her there was a young woman who had juſt lain-in of a fine healthy child. It was ſhewn her; ſhe praiſed its beauty, and ſaid ſhe would inform the lady, and call again. She returned in the evening, again kiſſed and praiſed the child, and requeſted permiſſion to take it to ſhew the lady, who was waiting near the place in her carriage. The child was intruſted to her care, but ſhe never afterwards made her appearance with it. Every ſearch was made, but without effect. The mother has been in a ſtate of diſtraction ever ſince.

A few days ago, Mr. Judd, a reſpectable attorney, of Old-ſtreet-road, was on a viſit to a friend in Lincolnſhire, whoſe houſe being attacked in the night by ſome thieves, the man-ſervant took a loaded piece, and went down ſtairs, followed by Mr. R. though unperceived by him; when the ſervant, (ſuppoſing him to be one of the villains) fired, and wounded him ſo that he expired two hours after.

2d. Between nine and ten o'clock this evening, upwards of 100 deſperate villians, ſtationed themſelves in Moorfields, near Finſbury-ſquare, armed with large knives and bludgeons, and robbed every paſſenger going that way. One gentleman, in particular, loſt twenty-four pounds in Bank notes and caſh.

Paris. The audience given on the 3d. to the *Corps Diplomatique* by the firſt Conſul was more brilliant and more numerous than any that preceded it. It is, indeed, a grand, ſolemn, and affecting ſight, to ſee this aſſemblage of all the ambaſſadors of Europe, now reſtored to peace. What added to the intereſt of this audience was the preſence of a man who had advocated with ſo much ability that peace: it was at this audience that Mr. Fox was preſented. Twice did the Firſt Conſul accoſt him; and among many flattering things, ſaid, "There are in the world but two nations; the one inhabits the Eaſt, the other the Weſt. The Engliſh, French, Germans, Italians, &c. under the ſame civil code, having the ſame manners, the ſame habits, and almoſt the ſame religion, are all members of the ſame family; and the men who wiſh to light up again the flame of war among them, wiſh for *civil war*. Theſe principles, Sir, were developed in your ſpeeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as to your head." Alderman Combe (late Lord Mayor of London) was preſented at the ſame audience; and the Conſul obſerved to him, that "the firm and paternal conduct which he had adopted during the ſcarcity in London, enſured him the eſteem and gratitude of all 5th.

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governments, and of all ſtateſmen." Mr. Fox dined on the ſame day with the Firſt Conſul, who had a very long converſation with him, in preſence of a numerous company, as to the liberty of the preſs in England, and the neceſſity of its continuance ſo long as England was to be conſidered as a free nation. In alluſion to certain paragraphs which have given great offence, Mr. Fox obſerved, that great characters were beyond the reach of malignant reports, which were to be attributed very frequently to want of more important matter, and were often contradicted by the author himſelf; that newſpaper criticiſm and ſeverity ought not to have much effect upon men in eminent ſituations of life, &c. But it did not appear that the Firſt Conſul was at all perſuaded of the neceſſity for ſuch freedom as the London editors of newſpapers ſeem to enjoy.

The Engliſh newſpapers have been forbidden in France; and the ſame reſtriction has been put upon them throughout Belgium.

7th. In the afternoon, a few minutes after three o'clock, the corning mill, No. 1, part of the royal gunpowder works, ſituated about three quarters of a mile North-weſt of the town of Faverſham, blew up with a moſt tremendous exploſion, and killed ſix men, who were at work therein, and three horſes. The fragments of the building were diſperſed in thouſands of pieces over the adjoining grounds, and the maſſy preſſes and mill timbers ſplintered and diſplaced in ſuch a manner as to preſent a heap of ruins impoſſible for words to deſcribe: but owing to the choſen ſituation of the corning mills, and drying ſtoves, which were removed from the town after the dreadful accident in 1781, and the further judicious precautions of detaching the buildings from each other, raiſing banks of earth between ſome, and ſurrounding others with ſtrong hedges and plantations of wood, the deſtruction has not extended beyond the place where it begun; the windows of a houſe in Broad-ſtreet, and a few at Mr. Crow's, baker, in Weſt-ſtreet, being all the damage ſuſtained in Faverſham, which is ſomewhat ſingular, as a great number of buildings adjoining, and others much nearer, were untouched. The corning mills are timber buildings, of an oblong quadrangular form, ſomewhat like a barn, and covered with tiles, having four entrances; the internal ſpace divided by two partitions into three compartments. The firſt contains the preſſes with their levers and capſtan for preſſing the powder into cakes; which cakes being coarſely granulated are conveyed in ſieves, of different degrees of fineneſs, into the ſecond compartment, containing the apparatus for ſifting; in the third compartment is the horſe-wheel, the cogs of which give motion to the whole of the machinery. How the fatal ſpark was produced, which cauſed this devaſtation, whether from friction or from any incautious act of the workmen, as no fire is ever employed in this part of the works, is, and ever muſt remain unknown. The unfortunate ſufferers by this calamity were, John Haſtings, foreman, who has left a wife; John Coveney, a wife and three children; George Taylor, a wife; John White, a wife and five children; William Thur-

ſton, a wife and three children; and William Simmons, unmarried. Three of the men were found alive after the exploſion, with every article of clothing torn off, their bodies ſcorched black, and miſerably lacerated; they died, however, in a few minutes. Two others were diſcovered among the ruins in a ſimilar condition, dead; but William Simmons, whoſe employ was with the mill horſes in that part of the building which ſet in motion the machinery for ſifting, had his ſhoulder and thigh broken, and a dangerous wound upon his head, by the falling of a piece of timber, but was not burnt; he ſurvived nearly two hours, during which he was perfectly collected, knew Mr. Giraud the ſurgeon, and anſwered ſeveral queſtions put to him relative to the accident, but could give no account of the cauſe: he ſeemed perfectly reſigned, and ſenſible that death only could end his preſent ſufferings. John White had entered the mill only a few minutes, and Mr. Pledger, an officer belonging to the works, had left it only ten minutes before the exploſion. It was heard many miles in every direction round the country, ſending forth an immenſe pillar of ſmoke, ſo high into the atmoſphere, as to be ſeen from the Dane-john-hill at Canterbury, where the ſound reſembled that of a large piece of ordnance. The premiſes were ſuppoſed to contain about 10 barrels, or 1000 lb. of powder. One of the horſes, otherwiſe but little hurt, had a large ſplinter driven into his ſkull ſo faſt that it could not be drawn out; he was killed on the following day. The widows and children of the workmen have the pay of their huſbands and fathers continued to them for life; government, with a laudable humanity, adopting this rule in all caſes of a like nature. The laſt exploſion, which took place previous to this, was on Feb. 20, 1793, when about forty barrels of gunpowder, which were in one of the ſtoves in a marſh below the town, were blown up, and three men killed.

Early in the morning Mr. Tolerton, of Flanſhaw-lane, near Wakefield, looking out of the window, obſerved a man on the other ſide of the road waſhing his hands, and a light in the houſe of Elizabeth Smith, one of his neighbours oppoſite. On his giving the alarm, the light was extinguiſhed, and the man run away. Mr. T. then entered the houſe, and found Mrs. S. covered with blood, and writhing in the agonies of death. She was quite ſpeechleſs, and ſurvived but a few minutes. From ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances a young man about nineteen years of age was taken up. On his firſt examination he flatly denied the horrid event, but at length confeſſed that he committed the murder in company with R. Heald, another young man in the neighbourhood. Underſtanding the deceaſed was worth money, they broke open the houſe with a reſolution to rob and murder her. The former held the unhappy woman while Heald cut and beat her, and by accident wounded his accomplice's hand, which he was employed in waſhing when ſeen by Mr. T. Heald denies the whole. The villains are both apprentices, and 9th.

and are committed to York caſtle for trial. The deceaſed was upwards of 70 years old.

11th. *Sheriff's Court*,—*Hurſt* v. *Halford*.—The plaintiff in this cauſe was of a profeſſion technically called a *Nicknackiterian*, that is, a dealer in all kinds of curioſities, ſuch as Egyptian mummies, Indian implements of war, arrows dipped in the poiſon of the upas trees, bows, antique ſhields, helmets, &c. and was deſcribed as poſſeſſing the ſkin of the cameleopard exhibited in the Roman amphitheatre, the head of the ſpear, uſed by King Arthur, and the breech of the firſt cannon uſed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople; and, in ſhort, of almoſt every rarity that the moſt ardent virtuoſo would wiſh to poſſeſs. The defendant was the executor of a widow lady of the name of Morgan, who, in the enjoyment of a conſiderable fortune, indulged her fancy, and amuſed herſelf in collecting objects of natural curioſity. She had been long in the habit of purchaſing a variety of rare articles of the plaintiff; ſhe had bought of him models of the temple of Jeruſalem and the Alexandrian Library, a ſpecimen of the type invented by Memnon, the Egyptian, and a genuine manuſcript of the firſt play acted by Theſpis and his company in a waggon; for all theſe ſhe had in her life-time paid moſt liberally. It appeared alſo ſhe had erected a mauſoleum, in which her deceaſed huſband was laid, and ſhe projected the depoſiting her own remains, when death ſhould overtake her, by the ſide of him. The plaintiff was employed in fitting it up, and ornamenting it with a teſſellated pavement; this was alſo paid for, and conſtituted no part of the preſent demand. This action was brought againſt the defendant, her executor, to recover the ſum of 40l. for ſtuffing and embalming a bird of paradiſe, a fly bird, an orangoutang, ichneumon, and a caſſowary. The defendant did not deny that the plaintiff had a claim on the eſtate of the deceaſed, but he had let judgment go by default, and attempted merely to cut down the amount of the demand. The plaintiff's foreman, or aſſiſtant, proved, that the work had been done by the direction of Mrs. Morgan, and that the charge was extremely reaſonable. On the contrary, the defendant's ſolicitor contended, that the charge was moſt extravagant: he ſtated, that the muſeum of the deceaſed virtuoſo had been ſold by public auction, and including the models of the temple of Jeruſalem and the Alexandrian library, the antique type, Theſpian manuſcript, Spearhead, and every thing elſe ſhe had been all her life collecting, it had not netted more than 110l. As to the ſtuffed monkies and birds, which conſtituted the foundation of the plaintiff's claim, they ſcarce had defrayed the expence of carrying them away; they were abſolute rubbiſh. The plaintiff's attorney replied, that his client's labour was not to be appreciated by what the objects of it produced at a common ſale, attended, perhaps, by brokers, who were as ignorant as the ſtuffed animals they were purchaſing. The under-ſheriff obſerved, that in matters of taſte the intrinſic value of an article was not the proper medium of aſcertaining the compenſation due to the labour which produced it; a virtuoſo frequently

expended a large ſum of money for what another man would kick out of his houſe as lumber. If Mrs. Morgan, who it was proved was a lady of fortune, wiſhed to amuſe the gloomy hours of her widowhood by ſtuffing apes and birds, her executor was at leaſt bound to pay the expence ſhe had incurred, in indulging her whimſical fancy. He ſaw no reaſon why a ſingle ſhilling of the plaintiff's demand ſhould be ſubtracted.—The jury accordingly gave a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 40l.

11th. The directors of the Bank, in conſequence of the increaſing emoluments of that corporation, have propoſed that the ſum of 2½ per cent. on their capital (which is £.11,642,400) ſhould be divided among the proprietors in the 5 per cent annuities. This recommendation having been adopted by a court of proprietors, each holder of bank-ſtock has 2½ per cent addition to his capital in 5 per cent annuities.

Some workmen, who were employed on the roof of a building in King's Bench Walk, in drawing up ſheets of lead to the roof, careleſsly let fall a large ſheet rolled up, which they had juſt drawn to the top of the building. This immenſe weight fell through the ceiling between the rafters upon a deſk below, at which a gentleman was ſitting, whoſe head was ſtruck by the lead, but owing to his having his hat on at the time, and the lead falling in rather an oblique direction, his life was preſerved. The deſk was broken to pieces, and the building much ſhaken by the accident.

At Union Hall, Southwark, Mary Robinſon was brought up on a charge of ſtealing little children, and ſtripping them of their frocks. The parents of no leſs than five infants, of the ages of from three years to five, appeared againſt this wretch; they proved the property in the frocks. It appeared the priſoner uſed to ſeize every opportunity of inticing children to her, and having carried them out of the neighbourhood, plundered them of their cloaths, which ſhe immediately pawned. The pawnbrokers identified the priſoner. One of them, from her ſo repeatedly coming to him, ſuſpected her, and was the cauſe of her apprehenſion.—She was fully committed for trial.

12th. The Congregation of German Jews in London have elected, after a vacancy of 10 years, a High Prieſt of their nation, with a ſalary of 4000l. a year. The choice has fallen on the Rev. Dr. Soloman Hart, a ſon of a former High Prieſt. He is a native of England, but went with his father to the Continent, where he afterwards ſettled. On his arrival, he was met at Rumford by the Elders, Rabbis, and many other reſpectable Jews. The venerable Chief ſeemed much affected by the favourable reception he experienced. As he is a zealous promoter of good morals, it is hoped his example and influence will have a powerful effect in ſuppreſſing the vice and immorality among the Jews, which often expoſe them to hatred and contempt.

This evening a fire broke out at Mr. Hodſell's, muſicſeller, No. 45, High Holborn, which ſeems to have originated in the back kitchen. The family in the

the firſt floor had but juſt time to eſcape, without being able to ſave any property. The want of water was ſeverely felt; and about 8 o'clock the fire communicated to Mrs. Potter's, fruiterer, No. 46, which was ſhortly in a blaze. About nine the roof of Mr. Hodſell's houſe fell in. Plenty of water being now procured, the engines poured ſuch torrents on the adjoining houſes, as ſecured them from the progreſs of the flames. Of the two houſes, the bare walls only remained at 11 o'clock.

At Liverpool, on Tueſday, September 14, a diſaſtrous and deſtructive fire broke out in the warehouſes belonging to T. France, eſq. at Goree, whoſe ſpacious and lofty front has long attracted the admiration of ſtrangers, and which was not ſurpaſſed in magnitude, by any ſimilar ſtructure in the kingdom. The celebrated warehouſes at Antwerp, as well as thoſe at Venice, equally famous, were neither ſo lofty nor commodious as this warehouſe, or rather this pile of warehouſes. About 10 o'clock in the evening a ſmoke was obſerved to iſſue from a room in the warehouſe, and though for a time appearances ſeemed to juſtify a hope that the miſchief might be ſubdued without much effort, no ſooner were the doors and windows of the building forced, than the flames, which had been ſmothered, burſt out with horrid fury, extending their ravages in every direction with equal rapidity and violence, and exhibiting a ſpectacle of ſolemn grandeur, a ſcene ſublime, terrific, and of ſuch majeſtic horror, as no tongue nor pencil can deſcribe. In a few hours that immenſe pile, together with the large and commodious range of warehouſes which was erected in front, at the diſtance of ſixteen yards, as well as that which extends from it, in a line to Water-ſtreet, was a heap of ruins, and a great proportion of all that rich and various produce with which every apartment of theſe buildings had been ſtored and crowded, was conſumed. The whole number of warehouſes deſtroyed is about *thirty*, from ſix to thirteen ſtories high, and of a proportionable depth, though Billing's Liverpool Advertiſer mentions only *ſeventeen!* The tide being fortunately at flood, it afforded an opportunity to the ſhipping to remove beyond the reach of the flames. Not a ſingle individual loſt his life during the conflagration; but it appears, that ſome time afterwards part of the ruins fell on Mr. Phillips, employed in the ſervice of Mr. Foſter, and that he was ſo dreadfully cruſhed, that he died in the ſpace of a few hours. The moſt beneficial effects were produced from the abundance of water which the ſprings of Bootle water-works yielded, in arreſting the dreadful conflagration. Greatly to be deſired is the completion of thoſe immenſe reſervoirs now conſtructing in the yard of the company of proprietors, (on the Vauxhall-road) as theſe works, from their height, would have commanded thoſe towering warehouſes, that were deſtroyed without even the reſiſtance of an engine. The fire-engines were likewiſe liberally ſupplied with water from the pipes belonging to the corporation water-works. The value of the property

deſtroyed has been variouſly eſtimated; but, according to a medium computation, may be ſtated thus:—The buildings, 52,000l.—Sugar, 51,000l.—Cotton, 26,000l.—Coffee, and other Weſt India produce 40,000l.—Grain, 110,000l.—Tallow, hemp, &c. 16,000l.—Total, 295,000l.

14th. *Manchester.*—This afternoon there was an alarm of fire, in the factory in Portland-ſtreet, belonging to Meſſrs. Shallcroſs and Barnes, and in part occupied by Meſſrs. Olivant. Immediate aſſiſtance was given; but, part of the building (only lately erected) was ſoon in flames; which ſlowly, but effectually, got beyond the diviſion wall, and every thing was conſumed to the walls, a part of which was obliged to be pulled down. Some of the machinery was got out, but in a very damaged ſtate.

15th. An indictment was preferred at the Middleſex Seſſions againſt E. Salmon, for feloniouſly receiving, knowing them to have been ſtolen, a child's cap, gown, and other articles, the property of Elizabeth Impey. The mother of the child, Elizabeth Impey, ſtated, that ſhe reſided on the 22d of June in Red Lion Market. On that day a man, whom ſhe did not know, came to her, and ſaid that he was ſent by Mrs. James, of Finſbury-place, to enquire after her child, and relieve her. Mrs. J. had frequently relieved her when in diſtreſſed circumſtances. He then gave her a trifle of money to go and procure neceſſaries, and ſaid he would take care of her child till ſhe returned. She entruſted him with her infant, but on her return ſhe found he had decamped with it. After many ineffectual enquiries, ſhe was adviſed by a neighbour to go to the houſe of the priſoner. She went, accompanied by a police officar, and found her child, which ſhe recognized by "certain ſigns," in bed with Mrs. Salmon, who inſiſted that it was her own, of which ſhe had lately been delivered. A ſurgeon, who was called in to examine the priſoner, ſtated his opinion that ſhe had not been delivered, in conſequence of which the child was given up. The Counſel for the defendant ſubmitted to the Court, that the preſent indictment could not be ſuſtained, as there had not been proved any intention of ſtealing the cloaths: and this being alſo the opinion of the Chairman, the priſoner was acquitted: but was ordered to be detained.

Lord St. Helen's had his audience of leave of the Emperor Alexander; and Mr. Garlick, ſecretary of legation, was introduced in form as chargé d'affaires, until the arrival of Sir J. B. Warren at Peterſburgh. His Lordſhip was preſented with a very valuable diamond ring, as a mark of his Imperial Majeſty's favour and approbation.

17th. The incorporation of Piedmont with the French Republic is at length formally announced. By an Organic Senatus Conſultum of the 11th inſt. inſerted in the Moniteur of this day, the departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, forming the whole of Piedmont, are declared to be united to the territory of the Republic. Theſe newly-incorporated depart-

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ments are to send 17 deputies to the Legiſlative Body, making the whole number of that body 318; and the city of Turin is to be comprized among thoſe principal cities of the Republic, the mayors of which are to be preſent when the oaths are taken by the perſon appointed to ſucceed the Firſt Conſul.

19th. About one o'clock, a fire broke out in a ſtable rented by Mr. Cooper, near the patent ſhot manufactory, near Cuper's Garden, Lambeth, which conſumed the whole of the buildings, beſides damaging the cooperage and the lead-melter's adjoining. Nine horſes out of eleven, kept by Mr. Cooper, were burnt to death; and one man, endeavouring to draw them from the ſtables, was ſo dreadfully bruiſed by the roof falling in upon him, that he is not expected to live; five others were alſo maimed at the ſame time; and two children were cruſhed nearly to death by the engines coming unexpectedly upon them. Mr. Hitchcock had 200l. worth of planks of wood conſumed.

21ſt. Mr. Garnerin's promiſe, of a deſcent from a parachute, was at laſt realized. At a quarter before ſix a ſmall pilot balloon was launched from the place where the balloon was filling, an incloſure near North Audley-ſtreet, to aſcertain the current of air, which proved to be very light from the ſouthward and weſtward, with a clear horizon. The parachute conſiſted of a caſe or bag of white canvaſs or ſail-cloth, formed, by thirty-two gores, into a hemiſpherical form of twenty-three feet diameter, at the top of which was a truck, or round piece of wood, of ten inches diameter, with a hole in its centre, faſtened to the canvaſs by thirty-two ſhort pieces of tape. At about four feet and a half from the top of the canvaſs, a wooden hoop, about eight feet diameter, was put on and tied by a ſtring from each ſeam, ſo that when the balloon aſcended, the parachute hung like a curtain from this hoop, and appeared cylindrical, between the balloon and the car, or a cylindrical baſket covered with canvaſs, about four feet high, and two and a quarter diameter, in which M. Garnerin aſcended. Garnerin, who was dreſſed in a cloſe jacket and a pair of trowſers, exerted himſelf much in attaching the apparatus of his parachute, to the net of the balloon, and at about five minutes before ſix o'clock he entered his machine and aſcended. After being about ſeven or eight minutes in the upper regions, the cord which attached the parachute to the balloon was cut; the parachute almoſt directly expanded, and for a ſecond or two remained nearly ſtationary; after that its deſcent appeared rapid for another ſecond or two, when its motions became ſo agitated, as ſeveral times to give the car an appearance of being nearly on an horizontal line with the parachute. The courſe the parachute took was over Mary-le-bonne and Somer's-town; on the paſſing of which laſt place it was not more than forty or fifty feet above the houſes, and at that height was borne over St. Pancras. Here M. Garnerin was obliged to let out ſome of his ballaſt, in order to clear the houſes, and he ſtruck the ground about two fields from

the church-yard. So violent was the ſhock as to throw him on his face, which was much cut, and bled conſiderably. M. Garnerin appeared conſiderably agitated, and trembled much when relieved from the parachute, which was probably occaſioned by the untoward circumſtance of one of the cords, which were diſpoſed to confine the extremities of the parachute, and by which it preſerved its umbrella-like appearance, having given way, from which accident, the violent motion which ſo agitated the parachute took its riſe. Perhaps no ſpectacle ever more eagerly engaged the public attention than Mr. Garnerin's promiſe of a deſcent by a parachute. The experiment was in this country new, and by many believed impracticable, with ſafety to the perſon of the aëronaut. As early this day as 12 o'clock, the ſtreets and avenues leading to North Audley-ſtreet began to be attended by a number of ſpectators; and long before four, the top of every houſe that could command a view of the ground whence the balloon was to aſcend, was crowded by every deſcription of perſons. The deſcent occupied rather more than 10 minutes. At the place where he deſcended, near 5000 people and 50 horſemen ſoon collected. M. Garnerin, on horſe-back, preceded by ſeveral gentlemen, was then conducted home in ſafety; though not without much inconvenience from the preſſure of the mob. The balloon deſcended in ſafety the nextday at Mr. Harding's, near Farnham Hill, Surrey.

25th. The Gazette contains a notice from the Corporation of London, of their intention to apply to parliament for five acts. The firſt, to remove Bethlem Hoſpital, and on its ſite to build a new ſquare, with two new ſtreets; the one leading into Throgmorton-ſtreet and the Royal Exchange, and the other from Moorgate to Manſion-houſe-ſtreet, and to widen, improve, &c. the intermediate lanes, &c. The ſecond, for taking down London Bridge, and rebuilding another bridge acroſs the Thames inſtead of it. The third, for enlarging Smithfield market, and for the better regulation of it. The fourth, for enlarging and amending the powers in the act for improving the port of London. And the fifth, for eſtabliſhing a free market for the ſale of coals in the wards of Billingſgate and Tower, or one of them, and to prevent impoſition in the ſale of this article.

Laſt week a large copper table, weighing twenty tons, was caſt at Berſham iron works, for the Ravenhead Glaſs Company. The metal was melted in five furnaces, each containing four tons: the building was ſecured from the immenſe heat of the caſting by a wrought iron umbrella. A carriage with eight wheels has been conſtructed to convey it to the place of its deſtination. 26th.

In the morning, a fire broke out in a large ſtore-houſe, in Store-ſtreet, Bedford-ſquare, belonging to Meſſrs. Combe and Co. brewers, by which the greater part of the building was deſtroyed. A large quantity of porter was in the ſtore-houſe at the time the fire broke 27th.

out, and was used to supply the engines for an hour, till water could be procured.

Same night, about eleven o'clock, a fire broke out at the new Assembly-room behind Russel-square, which was entirely consumed. The fire is attributed to an incendiary.

28th. A shocking murder was committed at Mortlake:—A man named Stillwell, who keeps a public-house in that village, rose at five o'clock; and having some words with his wife, towards whom he had always manifested great conjugal affection, was so hurried away by passion, that, fetching a horse-pistol, loaded with eight slugs, he presented it at her, and pulled the trigger! The flint being worn out, the discharge was prevented; when, with a vengeance truly diabolical, he rushed upon the woman, and with the but-end of the pistol beat her on the head till her brains were scattered about the room.

Cambridge.—Yesterday evening, at our theatre at *Stirbitch*, just after half-price, the ladies and gentlemen in the front-boxes were alarmed by the cry of "Fire." They arose, and, seeing nothing, were sitting down again; but hearing it repeated, they began to make their way out, when every part of the house was immediately alarmed. Many from the gallery threw themselves into the pit; others ran to the stairs, and choaked up the passage; while some fell headlong down the stairs, and were trod upon by others. Ladies and gentlemen threw themselves from the upper boxes into the pit, and made their way over the orchestra. Numbers were much bruised and hurt. Few limbs were broken, but four lives were lost: two young women, aged about 22, Mason, of Waterbeat Farms, and Cooke, of Cambridge, bed-maker; a girl, Freeman of Cambridge, basket-maker, aged 11; and a boy, Smith, of Cambridge, tailor, aged 14. These were all in the gallery, and were either trampled on or pressed to death. A gang of pickpockets, it is supposed, set on foot this alarm, as several ladies' pockets were cut off, and watches and bracelets lost, &c. The Managers have offered 100 guineas upon conviction of the offenders.

The unhappy state of Switzerland becomes every day more manifest. In addition to the five cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glarus, and Appenzel, those of Rheinthal, Zug and Baden, have now declared themselves in a state of insurrection. In short a determined spirit of hostility appears to be spreading so rapidly throughout that country, as to render it impossible for the government of the Helvetic Republic singly to contend with it, with any prospect of success.

The Committee for improving the Port of London have lately advertised to receive proposals from any person willing to undertake the blasting, or otherwise breaking and removing Blackwall-rock. This rock is situated in the river Thames, at Blackwall, and the top is sometimes seen above water at very low tides. The body of it extends about forty feet in length, and thirty feet in breadth, and is to be reduced or lowered eighteen feet perpendicular at the least.

Accord-

According to ſome letters lately received from the Baptiſt Miſſionaries in Bengal, it appears that Meſſrs. Carey and his ſons (formerly of Leiceſter) Mr. Ward and Mr. Merſham are in good health, and buſily proſecuting the ends of their miſſion. The baptiſed Hindoos continue ſteady to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding the ſufferings to which the conſequent loſs of caſt expoſes them. Great attention is excited in the country, to the Goſpel, and many of the natives hear the Miſſionaries with eagerneſs, and are very deſirous of obtaining copies of the New Teſtament. The firſt volume of the Old Teſtament is completed, at preſs, which contains the five books of Moſes, and the reſt is in great forwardneſs. The Miſſionary-ſociety are exerting themſelves, to obtain contributions to defray the expence, as upwards of 1000l. is ſtill wanting, to enable them to publiſh the whole Bible in the Bengalee language.

Curious ſpecimen of the diviſion of labour.—At the manufactory of Meſſrs. Noel and Kippax, in Sheffield, upwards of 90 perſons are employed in forming thoſe uſeful inſtruments called knives, in every branch of the manufacture, from the rude iron-bar to the beautiful and complicated articles which coſt ſeven or eight guineas, and which contain 28 different pieces within the handle. Some, indeed, are not of ſo high a value, for having paſſed through at leaſt 60 different hands, from the rough ore to the laſt poliſhing, they are ſold afterwards at the rate of 2½d. each. Five hundred different patterns of knives are made at this manufactory. Almoſt all the people employed work by the piece, and commonly earn, if induſtrious, 4s. a day.

The cotton manufactories, in the north of England, have lately increaſed to a degree almoſt incredible. Lancaſter is, and perhaps will continue to be, the grand centre of this riſing branch of trade. But the manufactory of this article, has, within the laſt four or five years been gaining much ground in Cheſhire, Staffordſhire and Weſtmoreland; and ſo conſiderable has its progreſs been in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, that the labouring poor are at preſent, in many places, principally employed in it. In the neighbourhood of Halliſax, Huddersfield, Bradford, and even Dewſbury, ſeveral large manufactories have been lately erected, and the enterpriſing proprietors of theſe works have, every where, the moſt flattering proſpects of ſucceſs.

Preſton Guild or Feſtival.—This Guild, is by charter, celebrated at the end of every twenty-one years, in default of which, the elective franchiſe of the inhabitants of Preſton, in ſending members to parliament, and their rights as burgeſſes would be forfeited. Twenty-eight days grace are allowed to thoſe who are inclined to renew their freedom, whether acquired by anceſtry or purchaſe. This is always announced before the corporation in full aſſembly, by a proclamation of the Town-cryer, who ends with theſe words "or ever after they are to be debarred of the ſame on any ſimilar occaſion." The Derby family, which has the principal patronage of the borough, are, of courſe, deeply intereſted in giving eclat to this

this festival. Every kind of sport, suited to each rank and degree in life, is introduced. The Guild commenced on Monday, the 30th of August under the most propitious auspices, and with as favourable weather as could be desired. The concourse of people of all ranks, from the nobleman to the peasant, was such as was never before collected there, on any similar occasion. The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells and sounding of trumpets. At the different inns, where the companies assembled, colours were seen flying from the windows, and bands of music playing. The gentlemen's procession commenced on Monday morning, immediately after breakfast; it was preceded by the marshal, armed cap-a-pee, on horseback, trumpeters on horseback, &c. then came twenty-four young women, belonging to the different cotton-mills, in an uniform of peculiar beauty and simplicity, consisting wholly of the manufacture of the town. Each carried in her hand the branch of an artificial cotton-tree, as the symbol of her profession. These branches appeared as in full bloom, and had a strong resemblance to nature. The gentlemen walked in pairs, preceded by Lord Derby and the Hon. T. Erskine. They amounted to about four-hundred, consisting of all the principal noblemen, gentlemen, merchants and manufacturers, of this and the neighbouring counties. At the head of the manufacturers were J. Horrocks, esq. M. P. and J. Watson, esq. arm in arm, (the two principal and indeed rival cotton manufacturers of the county), carrying white wands in their hands: upwards of one hundred workmen and mechanics followed, two and two. They paraded through all the principal streets in the town, attended by bands of music and flags, with various emblematical devices, &c. &c. and then proceeded to the parish-church. In the course of the procession came Nicholas Grimshaw, esq. the mayor, with his mace, the recorder, bailiffs, aldermen, common-council-men, halbert-men, and other corporation officers, town-cryer, beadle, &c. as likewise all the different companies or incorporated bodies, headed by their wardens, with staves of office, in their state dresses, and with the usual insignia; also one of the lodges of free-masons, in their appropriate decorations. Each company was attended by a band of music and a very elegant ensign. After divine service the procession paraded the streets, in the same order as they had gone to the church, and then broke up at the Guildhall, where they had first assembled, about nine o'clock in the morning. After the procession, Mr. Grimshaw, the Mayor, entertained the gentlemen with a sumptuous dinner at his house, in Winkley-place. The Mayoress, likewise, entertained the ladies on the following day.

On Tuesday was the ladies procession. A numerous body of gentlemen, holding white rods in their hands, walked before and filed off, making a line on each side of the street, through which the ladies were to pass. The girls from the cotton manufactory, led the van, as before, afterwards came the ladies, walking in pairs; in all near four hundred in number, consisting

ſiſting of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ladies in this and the other neighbouring counties. After attending the Mayoreſs to church, and hearing divine ſervice, the ladies paraded in the ſame order, quite round the market-place. In the courſe of the proceſſion, a complete ſteam-engine, in miniature, at full work, and performing all the various operations of the cotton manufactory, was exhibited, for the inſtruction and amuſement of the ladies. On Monday, there was a ſplendid aſſembly at the town-hall, (the tickets at half a guinea each) which was crowded to an uncommon degree, and on Wedneſday night the Mayoreſs gave a ball, at the ſame place, for which more than four hundred tickets were iſſued. The crowd was ſo great that dancing was hardly practicable. The New Theatre, at Preſton, a very elegant and convenient houſe, was attended by crowded audiences every night, at double prices: a great part of the pit had been laid into boxes, notwithſtanding which ſcarcely a place was to be had, on moſt of the nights. The races began on Wedneſday, and the concourſe of people on Fulwood moor was greater than ever before remembered. This Guild was inſtituted in the reign of King Henry III. and the late one makes the eighteenth which has been held, under the reign of twelve monarchs. The firſt was held in the ſecond year of King Edward III. His preſent Majeſty is the only ſovereign, during whoſe reign, three of theſe feſtivals have been celebrated.

The following particulars, among others, have been lately publiſhed, reſpecting the improvements and alterations in the Prince of Wales's reſidence at Brighton. The Prince's bedchamber is divided into three compartments: the center incloſes, by ſliding partitions, the bed, which is fitted up as a tent, with reflectors, exhibiting to his Royal Highneſs the Promenade on the Steyne very diſtinctly, while he reclines on his pillow. On one ſide is an anti-chamber, and on the other a breakfaſt room. The grand ſaloon remains as before. The painting by Rebecca has been cleaned by Mr. Crace, jun. The dome, however, is partly new, except the figures, by the artiſt Barzago. The Conſervatory, an additional wing, is extremely light and elegant; the ceiling is painted in ſky-treillage in freſco. The plants are to be of the moſt rare and variegated kind. The eating-room, the other additional wing, commands an entire view of the Steyne and ſea. The ceiling painted ſky-colour, the pannels dark maroon, and ſtyle yellow. The windows of the whole ſuite are executed with uncommon mechanical ſkill. The library will be fitted up in the French ſtyle, the paper a brilliant yellow. The billiard-room is very extenſive, and will include hazard, billiard, and money-tables. The entrance to the ſtair-caſe from the anti-room is truly ſpacious and grand; four pillars in *ſcalioli* are by Richter. The newells and ſkirting-boards are made to imitate wainſcott, the walls are painted of a bright-green, and the ceiling of the ſtair-caſe grey and white. The hall, a ſtone-colour and white; in the centre is placed a patent ſtove, which communicates warmth to the whole building.

ing. All the corridors are painted a beautiful French blue, the effect of which, from one end to the other, is novel and ſtriking. The front of the edifice, viewed from the Steyne, is highly pleaſing, the additional wings preſenting an uniformity which was wanting before. The grounds are diſpoſed with great picturesque beauty and effect, by Meſſrs. Lapidge and Hooper, pupils of the late celebrated Mr. Brown. The drive-in, which before was by much too narrow, has been rendered commodious by the taſte and judgment of Sir John Lade. The family part of the houſe and domeſtic offices are ſtill conſidered as too ſmall for the accommodation of the ſervants; the Prince, however, intends to add another wing to correſpond with the houſe, late Weltjie's. The ſtables and coach-houſes, which are very ſpacious, have not been altered, but merely re-painted.

About the middle of September, a very uncommon phenomenon preſented itſelf in a mountain that borders on Loch Tay, in the highlands of Scotland. A ſhepherd happened to be paſturing his flocks about the ſummit of the mountain, when he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed by a ſhower of ſtones which fell all around him. Terrified at ſuch an unuſual appearance, he haſtily ran down the mountain to the villages ſituated in the low-grounds beneath, and told the aſtoniſhing prodigy which he had ſeen. The inhabitants gave him little credit; yet, as ghoſts and other ſtrange appearances are not altogether diſbelieved in that part of the kingdom, he at laſt prevailed on ſome of them to viſit the ſpot and aſcertain the fact. On coming to the place, they were no leſs ſurpriſed than he to find the ground all ſtrewed over with a vaſt number of looſe ſtones that evidently bore the marks of having recently fallen there. On looking round to diſcover the cauſe of this ſtrange appearance, they perceived an aperture in the earth, of a cylindrical form, in the centre of the place about which the ſtones were ſcattered. From this aperture the ſtones had evidently been emitted, but by what impulſe they were unable to diſcover. The mountain where this phenomenon took place lies not more than twenty miles diſtant in a ſtraight line from the village of Comrie, where ſo many convulſions of the earth have been felt. An uncommonly violent ſhock took place at Comrie ſoon after the appearance of the above phenomenon; from which it may be concluded that they muſt have had ſome connexion together.

The following recipe, for preſerving proviſions, which is eminently uſeful to navigators and in hot climates, has appeared in a French journal:—"When the aliments, from intenſe heat and long keeping, are likely to paſs into a ſtate of corruption," ſays the writer, "the ſimple but ſure mode of keeping them ſound and healthful, is by putting a few pieces of charcoal into your pot or ſaucepan where the fiſh or meat is to be boiled. The effects of this are, that your ſoup will be good, and that the fiſh or fleſh will be both ſound and agreeable to the taſte." This experiment has been tried, and ſhould not be forgotten.

Died.—At Twickenham, in his 86th year, Richard Owen Cam-

Cambridge, esq. He was author of "The Scribleriad, a Mock Heroick Poem, in six Books." 4to. 1751. "An Account of the War in India, between the English and French, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the Year 1750 to 1760, &c." 4to. 1761. Some poems in the sixth volume of Dodsley's Collection, and some papers in "The World."—As an author, Mr. Cambridge was well known to the public by his several much approved writings, both in prose and verse; and his various and extensive information, his pure and classical taste, his brilliant yet harmless wit, his uncommon cheerfulness and vivacity, were acknowledged, during a long series of years, by all who had the happiness of enjoying his society, which was sought for and highly valued by many of the most distinguished scholars and statesmen of this country. But his talents and his acquirements make the least part of the praise belonging to him. It is chiefly for the upright manliness and independence of his mind, for his mild and benevolent disposition, his warm and unvaried affection to his family and friends, his kindness to his dependents, and for his firm faith and trust in the Christian religion, which were manifested through life by the practice of every Christian duty, and produced the most exemplary patience under the various infirmities of a tedious decline.

At Hampton-in-Arden, aged 104, Mrs. Reynolds. She could read the smallest print without spectacles, and retained the use of all her faculties till the day of her death.

OCTOBER.

This morning, at a quarter past 6, a sudden whirlwind came on at *Portsmouth*, and lasted about 20 minutes. It carried almost every thing before it; and occasioned the oversetting the ship Thames, from the West Indies, at the back of the Isle of Wight; by which the ship and whole crew were lost. 4th.

Died, at the house of Colonel O'Kelly, in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly, his wonderful parrot, who had been in his family 30 years, having been purchased at Bristol out of a West-India ship. It sang, with the greatest clearness and precision, "the civth Psalm," "The Banks of the Dee," "God save the King!" and other favourite songs; and, if it blundered in any one, instantly began again, till it had the tune complete. One hundred guineas had been refused for it in London. After its death the stomach was opened, from an apprehension something had stuck in it, but no obstruction was discovered, and probably it died the natural death of old age. This extraordinary bird escaped the observation of our modern Pliny, in his memoir on singing-birds; and we do not find that it was noticed by Mr. Pennant in his Natural History, or his "London;" or by Mr. Lysons, who paid a tribute to the Colonel's famous horse, Eclipse, whose "bones are buried in the park" at Canons, where, probably, those of this celebrated fowl will accompany them. 9th.

Gravesend.—This evening, the steam engine-house that cleared away the water, which 10th.

which impedes the ſubterraneous works of the Tunnel under the Thames, appeared in one general blaze, and all the internal erections of wood were conſumed. The flames, it is reported, originated in ſome flax or tow taking fire at the foot of the ſtairs. The total loſs does not exceed 500l. The power of the engine is far ſuperior to the weight of the water to be raiſed; for, the excavation had been ſucceſsfully arched by what the miners term a *curbing*, and had penned out the ſprings equal to the moſt ſanguine expectation.

10th. The Moniteur contained a long and pompous account of the celebration at Turin of the Union of Piedmont with France. It ſeems to have been a kind of maſquerade buſineſs; for a ſolemn maſs and Te Deuin in the cathedral of Turin was followed by military evolutions, dances, fireworks, and bumper toaſts. Over the principal entrance of the cathedral were two figures of Fame, proclaiming theſe words—"The Union of Piedmont with the French Republic;" "Glory to the Eternal Being." On one of the ſide gates was written "Toleration;" and on the other "Concord." In the ſaloon of the department of the Tanaro, in the National Palace, was a large painting repreſenting the firſt deſcent of Bonaparte into Piedmont; and the genius of France dictating peace to the King of Sardinia in the city of Cheraſco, with the inſcription, "The firſt who opened their arms to the *Conquerors of the World*," decorated the ſaloon of the department of the Stura.

Madeira.—The Portugueze Indiaman Aurora, from Liſbon, bound to the Brazils, has been blown up off this iſland, and every ſoul on-board periſhed. She was underwritten in this country for 90,000l. The two ſuper-cargoes were with a boat's crew, who had fortunately taken them from the ſhip on ſhore; which ſaved their lives.

A ſervant at *Harrowgate* had been riding a ſmall ſtallion poney, the property of a phyſician at Mancheſter; and, on alighting, ſlackly retained the rein whilſt he ſtood with his back towards him. The poney threw the man on the ground, knelt on him, and in the moſt vengeful manner worried him to death. The corpſe was reſcued with difficulty from the devouring beaſt. 15th.

About five o'clock in the evening, a man genteelly dreſſed went into Mr. Maryan's (ſilverſmith's), in Lombard-ſtreet, drew a piſtol from his pocket, and demanded money; which Mr. M. heſitating at, he fired, and the contents grazed his hair. He then attempted to eſcape; being cloſely purſued, he endeavoured to ſhoot himſelf; the piſtol miſſing fire, he drew out a claſp-knife to defend himſelf, but was ſecured and lodged in the Compter. From Saturday night to Tueſday noon he obſtinately refuſed to take any ſuſtenance, and ſtill perſiſts in concealing his name, alleging that his brother is a reputable merchant in the city, but ſhould never know his preſent diſgrace. 16th.

The ſon of a taylor at Framlingham, in Suffolk, died there ſome days ſince; he was eight years old, only 28 inches high, and weighed no more than 28½ pounds.

Weſt-

22d. *Weſtminſter Seſſions.*—*W. Putney*, foreman of Mrs. Bridges, a chimney-ſweeper in Swallow-ſtreet, was indicted for aſſaulting and ill-treating a child, the ſon of — Kavanagh, an infant under eight years old. The priſoner having lately beaten the child unmercifully, ſome female neighbours, attracted by its cries, ruſhed into the houſe, ſeized the object of their pity, and carried him to the workhouſe. The treatment which this infant had experienced, was ſhocking in the extreme. Beſides compelling him to go up chimnies by goading him with ſticks having pins at the end, Mrs. B. who was ill in bed, uſed to have him brought frequently to her bed-ſide, for the purpoſe of caſtigation. The priſoner was found guilty, and ſentenced to ſix months impriſonment.

Accounts from Gibraltar, of the 23d ult. mention the occurrence of a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which did great damage to the Britiſh ſquadron lying in the Bay. The accidents were the more numerous, as none of the ſhips were provided with metallic conductors. The Gibraltar was firſt ſtruck by a tremendous flaſh on the fore-top-gallant-maſt head; it ſplit the fore-top-maſt, and ſhivered the top-maſt to pieces, propelling vaſt ſplinters in every direction; it then paſſed into the light-room, cloſe to the magazine, breaking the whole of the ſtrong plate glaſs, and thence to the gunner's ſtore-room, where it completely deſtroyed ſeveral boxes of grape ſhot. Two men only were injured by the ſtroke. Shortly afterwards the Active was ſtruck by another flaſh, which ſplit the top gallant-maſt, and in a ſingular manner carried away part of the main-top-maſt, ſeveral feet of which completely diſappeared. The main-maſt was alſo ſplit; and the ſhip's butcher, who was ſtanding on deck with his cleaver in his hand, was ſtruck dead, and almoſt every perſon on deck was forced down by the ſhock.—The Superb and Dragon were alſo ſtruck; the former was much injured.

23d. *Deal.*—Three of Lord Carrington's women ſervants, induced by the mildneſs of the evening, imprudently ventured to bathe on the beach between 9 and 10 at night, unknown to the reſt of the family. As the ſhore is ſteep and dangerous at that place, two of them were ſoon out of their depth. The cries of women in diſtreſs were heard in the caſtle; and ſeveral perſons ran out to their relief. The bodies were brought on ſhore, and medical aſſiſtance was immediately procured. One of them was ſoon recovered; but every method of the Humane Society was tried on the other, for ſeveral hours, without ſucceſs. She had lived in the family for ſeveral years, and was the daughter of one of his lordſhip's tenants.

A very violent earthquake was experienced, with greater or leſſer effect, on and about the 26th of October, in Conſtantinople and in all Syrmium. It extended as far as Servia, Boſnia, and the other Turkiſh provinces on the Black Sea. At Conſtantinople, a number of houſes and moſques in the ſuburb of Galata were deſtroyed. The ſhocks laſted more than 30 minutes, and followed each other with the greateſt rapidity. The Seraglio was much ſhaken. The Grand Seignior fled into

into the principal mosque, formerly the Church of St. Sophia, where the people collected in a mass; that mosque being reputed indestructible. The effects of this or a similar earthquake were also severely felt in Transylvania, Wallachia, Gallicia, Hungary, and at Algiers.—A considerable tract of ground between Silistria and Rastock has sunk down, and a lake appeared in its place; and the fine castle of Count Adam de Nemas, at Hidweg, near Cronstadt, in Transylvania, has been entirely destroyed; the castle of Buchareſt is said to be a heap of ruins, and the unpaved part of the city to have sunk and become a lake emitting a strong sulphureous vapour. About six leagues from Algiers towards Belida, there was a small village, consisting of two hundred houses, which has been completely destroyed, and all the inhabitants have perished. The Aga has marched with troops to the spot.

26th. *W. Codlin* and *J. Reed* were tried at the Admiralty Sessions in the Old Bailey, charged with sinking the Adventure brig, off Sussex, in August last, after insuring her to the amount of 9000l. for the purpose of defrauding the underwriters; and *G. Eaſterby* and *W. M'Farlane*, were charged on the same indictment for procuring the other prisoners to commit the said felony. The counsel for the prosecution, after enlarging upon the nature of the crime, entered into a sort of history of the vessel. The brig sailed in the month of July from London to Yarmouth, without taking in her cargo, and at this time policies were effected on her. At Yarmouth she took in goods to an inconsiderable amount, and about ten tons of ballast. At this time a Mr. Storrow was supercargo, but it would appear that he never intended to pursue the voyage. The ship proceeded to the Downs, where Storrow left it, and was succeeded by the prisoner Reed. While she lay at the Downs, a person of the name of Douglas, who was mate, was taken ill and left her; and Codlin instead of appointing a man in his stead, who was capable of performing the duties, made choice of a person of the name of Cooper, who was ignorant of navigation. The prisoner Codlin, conscious that the object of the voyage was not Gibraltar nor Leghorn, but that the Adventure should find her grave before she left the British coast, told him his duty would not be very arduous. There were frequent opportunities for the ship sailing, but Codlin pretended that the wind did not suit, and that he waited for letters. He spoke of her as a ship that was unfit to cross the Bay of Biscay, and that she should soon be destroyed. When she got to Brighton, Codlin went on deck, and observed to Cooper, that he was a clumsy fellow, and could not get into the locker of the cabin to bore the holes to destroy her: he ordered Cooper to go, telling him he would find the instruments in the cabin; and, in order to avoid creating an alarm, he took care to employ all hands in taking in the sails, and on such duties as precluded the possibility of their hearing what was going forward. After this larger holes were made by the same person. To keep up the farce, signals of distress were made, on which some

boats came off from Brighton, but the captain would not suffer any of the persons to come on board; he had just before declared, that the vessel should go to the bottom. The ship being afterwards weighed up and brought in, an order was issued to apprehend the captain; but the proprietors, Easterby and M'Farlane, having arrived at Brighton before the officers of justice, pledged themselves that the prisoner should be forthcoming when called on. They however connived at his escape to London, whence it was intended he should proceed to Hamburgh under a fictitious name. Invoices had been made out for goods, some of which had never been put on board: others, which had been shipped, were afterwards relanded, and were found in the apartments of Codlin. The counsel then proceeded to call his witnesses. T. Cooper, a sailor belonging to the vessel, deposed as to her sailing, &c. After the witness left Deal, the captain told him they would not be in her 48 hours longer. He then deposed to the facts stated in the opening, relative to the boring of holes, and the consequences. J. Morris, a cabin-boy, stated, that being sent to one of the cabin-lockers by the captain, he heard the water rush in, and gave the alarm; but the captain refused to believe him, and the next morning he shut himself up with the mate in the cabin, and would not suffer the witness to enter. Several other witnesses deposed, that the captain would not suffer them to assist when the vessel let in water. Mr. Storrow stated, that he had a meeting with the proprietors and captain: they wished him to proceed from Yarmouth to Gibraltar, and, after selling part of the cargo there, to sink the vessel in the Mediterranean, that they might recover for a partial loss. Captain Douglas, on the part of the underwriters, described the manner in which the holes were made, the apprehension of the prisoners, &c. An insurance-broker proved that he had effected insurances on this vessel at different times in June and July, by the desire of Easterby, to the amount of nearly 5000l. Another broker proved that he insured the same vessel for 4000l. A custom-house officer who took an inventory of the property on board when the ship was weighed up, proved that she did not contain half the goods entered in the bills of parcels. A number of other witnesses were examined, whose testimony was similar to that already given. The last evidence produced was a paper which contained a notice from Easterby and M'Farlane to the underwriters, of their abandonment of the ship and cargo. The defence for the prisoners was, that they had no intention of committing a fraud: the fact of sinking the ship not being sufficient to prove such an intention; as no claim had been made for the sum insured. In behalf of the prisoner Reed, it was contended that he, being only a supercargo, had nothing to do with the management of the vessel, a supercargo not coming under the description of a person belonging to the ship. M'Farlane in his defence, said he had served his Majesty 28 years, 16 of which he had been abroad. Mr. Erskine, on the part of Easterby, made an eloquent speech to

prove

prove that the Admiralty Court was not authorised to take cognizance of any crime committed by a person who never went out to sea. Several witnesses were called, who spoke in high terms of the prisoners. Lord Ellenborough then summoned up the evidence; after which the jury found all the prisoners guilty, except Reed. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon Codlin, and the others were ordered from the bar, to wait the opinion of the judges on Mr. Erskine's objection.

At night, as Captain Scott, of a merchant vessel, was going with his wife on board a ship off the Tower, in attempting to step from a vessel alongside across the intervening space, Mrs. Scott missed her step, and fell into the river. The mate (a brother of Captain S.) precipitated himself into the flood, in hopes of saving her; the captain also plunged in, but, owing to the darkness of the night, and the tide setting strong, the exertions of both proved abortive. The lady and her husband were drowned; and the mate, almost exhausted, was rescued by the crew of an adjoining vessel.

The important project of making a canal from the Murray Firth, on the northern coast of Scotland, to the Sound of Mull, on the west coast has, it appears, for some time past, occupied the attention of some of his Majesty's ministers. Mr. Telford, the projector of the one-arch bridge over the Thames, has been employed for the last two summer-seasons, in making surveys, in taking the elevations, and sounding Lochness and other lochs, from which it would appear that the scheme is perfectly practicable, and may be accomplished at an expence not exceeding the sum of 300,000l. The distance from the east to the west sea is only sixty miles, nearly thirty-seven of which are already navigable for ships of the largest dimensions. The immense advantages that will obviously result from this grand national canal, which, it is proposed, shall be twenty-two feet deep and fifty broad, are incalculable; as the largest merchant vessels and frigates will be able to pass through it, at all seasons of the year, the waters in and issuing from the lochs Ness and Lochy, being never known to freeze.

DIED.—At Paris, of a complaint in his lungs, after an illness of 12 days, aged 56, Charles-Alexander de Calonne. He was a native of Douai, where his father was first president of the parliament, as he himself was, afterwards, attorney general. His subsequent appointment to be *Maitre des Requêtes* occasioned his removal from Douai to Paris, where he finally became *Comptroleur des Finances*. His subsequent history, his retiring with a large fortune to this country, his devoting that fortune to the cause of the emigrant princes of the house of Bourbon, are circumstances well known. Few men have more deeply interested the fortunes and fate of a nation than this man. It was he who suggested the idea of the assembly of the notables, which gave rise to the convocation of the states general. M. de C. was particularly amiable and pleasant as a companion. He openly ridiculed and condemned that official reserve and taciturnity with which less able 30th.

ſtateſmen are apt to protect their reputation from approach and enquiry. He made no ſecret of his opinions, and his friends had the benefit of his obſervations upon the moſt intereſting ſubjects. His writings are claſſical and eloquent. They are full of fire, and his language poſſeſſes a force unknown to it in any other mouth. He is ſincerely regretted by the moſt enlightened men of this country, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy, and to whoſe information and amuſement few could contribute in an equal degree.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. During the performance of Perouſe at the Preſton theatre, when the hero fired at the Indian, the wadding entered the thigh of the latter, and cauſed a mortification, which on the Thurſday following terminated his life. The deceaſed was, Mr. James Bannerman, of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh.

2d. At the Old Bailey, Franciſco (a Tyroleſe) was indicted for ſhooting at Mr. Maryan in Lombard-ſtreet. Mr. M. depoſed, that on the 16th ult. the priſoner came into his ſhop, and preſenting a piſtol, demanded his money; the proſecutor not immediately complying with his requeſt, and another perſon coming in, the priſoner fired, when the ball paſſed through the wainſcoat and penetrated the wall to the depth of half an inch. Mr. Minet, a merchant, depoſed, that as he entered the ſhop, he heard the priſoner ſay "money," and conceiving him to be a robber, he attempted to ſeize him, when he preſented a piſtol, but the witneſs ſtooping down, he fired at the proſecutor, and ran out of the ſhop. The priſoner, in his defence, preſented a paper, in which he did not deny the outline of the evidence: he declared, that he had not the ſmalleſt intention of killing the proſecutor: he ſaid, the piſtol went off by accident; that his ſufferings drove him to madneſs, having for ſome time had neither food nor a dwelling; he had provided the piſtols for putting an end to his own exiſtence, and had proceeded to St. James's Park for that purpoſe, but was prevented by there being a lady and child walking in the remote part which he had fixed upon. He concluded with aſſerting, that this was, his firſt crime, and that he would bear his fate with reſignation. The jury, after half an hour's conſultation, found the priſoner guilty, *Death*.

5th. This evening, during the rejoicings at *Nailſworth*, in Glouceſterſhire, in commemoration of the gunpowder plot, a perſon imprudently fired a piſtol cloſe to the horſes of Mr. Niblett's waggon, which was paſſing through at the time; when they took fright, and ſet off with the waggon at full ſpeed. The people aſſembled in the ſtreet being very numerous, 11 of the bye-ſtanders were thrown down and wounded; one of whom died whilſt they were conveying him to the infirmary; and ſeveral others are dangerouſly hurt.

6th. About three this morning, at the ſcribbling-mill belonging to Chriſtopher Green, clothier, at *Holmfirth*, near Huddersfield, Yorkſhire, the wall next the

the dam gave way; and, together with about two-fifths of the roof, fell in with a dreadful crash. Three fine lads, in one bed, were buried in the ruins, and all taken out dead about noon the same day. The erection was quite new, and scarcely yet finished.

The French minister plenipotentiary, Andreossi, arrived in London on Saturday, the 6th inst. at one o'clock in the morning.

9th. Lord Whitworth and his suite arrived at Dover on Tuesday the 9th instant, between three and four o'clock, and embarked, on the 10th for Calais.

A person whose name it appears is Richard Nield, gained admittance at Buckingham-house, between nine and ten o'clock. He had penetrated beyond the lodge before he was recognized, and, was proceeding to the interior of the palace. An alarm was given, and he was immediately apprehended. He exhibited every symptom of a man deranged in his intellects; he said he was the son of the prophet, sent on a divine mission from the Lord, and uttered various other extravagancies, equally indicating a distempered brain: he was secured and it appeared he was from Birmingham, and by trade a chair maker, and that he had last year been apprehended for lurking about the palace. The result of his examination was, his committal to Tothill-fields Bridewell, from whence, no doubt, he will be removed to Bethlem-hospital

10th. Mr. Steele, proprietor of the lavender-water-warehouse in Catherine-street, Strand, was found murdered on Hounslow-heath. It appears that the deceased went to Belfont on the Friday preceding, where he had a plantation of lavender, intending to return on the following day, as it had been previously agreed that his wife's birth-day should be celebrated by their respective relations on the succeeding Sunday. Not having returned at the appointed time, the family concluded that he had been unexpectedly detained by some particular business; and this consideration prevented any alarm for his safety, till Monday morning, when they sent a messenger to Belfont, to enquire the reason of the delay. The information there received was, that he had set out at seven o'clock on Saturday evening, and, being unable to procure any kind of carriage, had resolved to proceed to town on foot. This circumstance naturally induced a suspicion, that some fatal accident had befallen him, and his brother-in-law determined, with some other friends, to set out in search. For several hours they continued in vain exploring different parts of the heath. At length they discovered, at a short distance from the road, a piece of blue cloth; on laying hold of this, they found it to be a skirt of a great coat buried in the turf, and which, on examination, proved to be the same that Mr. Steele had taken with him from home. Proceeding a little further, they saw, near a bush, a soldier's hat, and, examining the bush with care, they perceived a quantity of blood. This appearance led them reasonably to conclude that murder had been committed near the spot; and, on examining the bushes minutely, they found their suspicions unhappily realised. They beheld beneath, the shocking spectacle of

their murdered relative, nearly covered with the turf. Upon inspection, they discovered that the deceased had received several wounds in the top and on the back part of the head, and that a part of his forehead had been entirely cut away. Round his neck they found tied a strong piece of belt, by which it is supposed that he had been strangled. The wounds on the head appeared to them as if inflicted with a bayonet. Mr. Bullock, surgeon at the barracks, and Mrs. Bullock, his wife, had observed in the afternoon, a man and woman sitting down on the heath, between the barracks and Hounslow:—they walked towards them, and observed the man had on an old shabby soldier's red jacket, and the woman, who was tall and lusty; a red cloak, without stockings; the man was sewing the lining of his hat with a needle and black thread. Hence arises the suspicion that the persons who committed the murder were the persons remarked by Mr. and Mrs. Bullock. Sir R. Ford has sent circular letters to the mayors and presiding officers of the different towns and boroughs in the kingdom, describing the above two persons, which, with other active exertions making by every department of the Police, will, it is fervently hoped, bring the perpetrators to speedy and condign punishment.

The sports of Hallo-e'en have been described by the fascinating Burns; but whether in a way to deter from indulgence in them admits of a doubt. They have sometimes terminated fatally, and did so in the present instance. Isabel Car, servant to Mr. Mathewson, type-founder in Edinburgh, would keep her Hallow-e'en on the 8th, in defiance of the remonstrances of her master. About ten o'clock, she accordingly went into the foundery alone, with a light in her hand, which she placed on one of the tables while she performed her incancations. She walked through the shop several times pronouncing aloud the words used on such occasions; and so anxious was she to see something as she termed it, that (having seen nothing) she gathered up the seed to sow it a second time. In the course of this second sowing, according to her own account, a tall meagre figure presented itself to her imagination! She shrieked aloud, and ran immediately into the house, all the doors being open. After relating what she had seen, she went to bed, placing the bible under her head! She rose on the 9th, and went through the labours of the day in apparent good health, but in the evening seemed somewhat timid; she, however, had her supper as usual, and went to bed without any symptoms of fear. Next morning she was called, but did not answer; again she was called, but still no answer. A daughter of Mr. Mathewson's then rose, went to her, and found that she was very sick, and that she had been so during part of the night. Tea was ordered for her; but before it could be prepared, she was seized with a stupor; the pulse became sunk, the breathing difficult, and the hands swollen and blackish. A medical gentleman was instantly called; he said it was an attack of an apoplexy, which she could not survive more than ten minutes; and in rather less than that time she expired, the

the blood burſting from her noſe, mouth, &c. The ſurgeon, o- being informed of the tranſacn tions of the night of the 8th, was clearly of opinion, that the impreſſion made on her imagination by the fancied apparition was the cauſe of this fatal cataſtrophe.

On the 9th, a gentleman named Camp, arrived at the New Inn Brighthelmſtone, from Northampton, where he had left his wife and children. He arrived in a poſt-chaiſe, at about eight o'clock in the evening; appeared very unwell, and retired to bed ſoon after his arrival. In the morning, on leaving his room, he ſeemed much worſe, and betrayed evident ſymptoms of mental derangement. Mrs. Henwood, the miſtreſs of the houſe, on beholding his unhappy ſtate, humanely ventured to interrogate him reſpecting the cauſe of his illneſs, and to recommend immediate medical advice. To which he replied, gazing wildly about him, that it was a nervous affection under which he laboured, and which had afflicted him ſeven days. To many other queſtions that were put to him, his anſwers were ſo incoherent that they confirmed the ſuſpicions entertained of his faculties being deranged. On being aſked if there was any friend of his in Brighton that he would wiſh to ſee, he mentioned the name of Mighel, a grocer, in North-ſtreet, who was inſtantly ſent for. In the interim he appeared in a moſt agonizing paroxiſm of mental diſtreſs, beating his forehead with his hands, and frequently exclaiming, "Oh, my poor children, I ſhall never behold them any more:" On the arrival of Mr. Mighel, he immediately recognized him, became more compoſed, and at length told him, that he came to Brighton for the purpoſe of embarking in one of the packets for France. He ſoon after, with Mr. Mighel, left the New Inn, and in the courſe of the day had his luggage taken to the Cuſtom-houſe that it might be inſpected and ſhipped in the regular way. In the evening, the weather proving tempeſtuous, the packet which was expected to ſail deemed it rather imprudent to venture out to ſea in an increaſing gale of wind, put into Shoreham harbour, and Mr. Mighel accompanied his diſordered friend to the Gun-tavern, in conſequence of its being nearer to the water's edge than the inn he left in the morning, that he might not have ſo far to walk, to embark, in caſe the weather admitted of the packet ſailing in the courſe of the night. On reaching the Gun, the landlord told them that all their beds were lett, conceiving from the genteel appearance of Mr. C. that he would not be ſatisfied with the accommodation of one of his back rooms. Mr. C. however, requeſted to ſee them, which the landlord complying with, a double bedded room was ſoon after engaged; Mr. C. obſerving, that though he ſhould ſleep but in one bed, as he liked the room, he ſhould pay for both, rather than any other perſon ſhould ſleep there. They then deſcended the ſtairs and entered one of the parlours, where Mr. C. took ſome toaſted cheeſe and bread, and drank ſome brandy and water; and on Mr. Mighel's leaving him, he called the chambermaid, and retired to his bed-room. In the morning, about nine o'clock, Mr. Mighel called at

the Gun, and enquired after his friend, and was informed by the landlord, that he had not risen from his bed. Mr. Mighel left the house, and about an hour after called again, received nearly the same answer, and again left the house; not deeming it prudent to disturb his friend. About eleven o'clock, the landlord, who had noticed the disordered state of his guest the night before, began to be alarmed at his non-appearance, and ordered the chambermaid to rap at his bed-room door. The chambermaid soon after returned, and told him that she had done as he desired, but could obtain no answer from the gentleman within. The landlord now hurried up stairs himself, and on reaching the door, would have opened it, had it not been secured on the opposite side. He however hoping to awaken his guest, struck the door with some violence, accompanying the noise he made with a loud enquiry, "if he would rise, or take his breakfast in bed?" but to which, no answer was returned. The landlord, extremely alarmed, at length descended to the kitchen, and declared his suspicions, that something very unpleasant had taken place in the the stranger's room. After some deliberation, it was thought advisable not immediately to break open the door, but to obtain a ladder, and, as there were no curtains to the windows, to reconnoitre from without the appearance of the room. A ladder was instantly procured, and on a person's ascending to the window, the unhappy man was discovered hanging by his neckcloth from the lath over the foot of the bed. An attempt was now made to enter at the window, but that being firmly screwed on the other side, it resisted their efforts, and they gained admission by demolishing the door, and beheld Mr. C. as above described, his knees resting against the foot of the bed, and his feet on the floor, but quite dead; and, from the stiffness of his joints had probably been so for many hours. It appeared, from the lath of the other bedstead being broken, that he had first made the attempt to destroy himself there, but finding it too weak for his purpose, had recourse to the other, where he but too fatally succeeded. Coroner's verdict, *Lunacy*.

St. James's. This day General Andréossi, embassador from the French Republic, had his first private audience of his majesty to deliver his credentials: —To which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, and conducted by Sir Stephen Cottrell, knight, master of the ceremonies. 17th.

This day General Andréossi, embassador from the French Republic, had his first private audience of her majesty: —To which he was introduced by Edward Desbrow, esq. Vice Chamberlain to her majesty, and conducted by Robert Chester, esq. assistant master of the ceremonies. 18th.

A private letter from Barcelona, speaks in terms of admiration of the entry of their Catholic majesties into that city. This journey excited the attention of all the kingdom, and attracted a vast concourse of people from every part; it was splendid in the extreme, and perfectly characteristic of Spanish *Grandezza*. The king's suite

ſuite comprized about 4000 perſons, and was preceded by 500 light waggons, drawn by mules, carrying their clothes, &c. The triumphal car, in which the royal pair entered the town, was covered with ſheets of gold, ſuſtaining at top a crown of diamonds of immenſe value. The car was drawn by knights richly dreſſed, and followed by the guards ſplendidly attired. The proceſſion laſted upwards of two hours, and the enthuſiaſm of the people on the occaſion was exceſſive. On the day following, their majeſties went to hear maſs, when the crowd was ſo great, that ſeveral perſons were cruſhed to death. Eight thouſand perſons dine daily at the king's tables, and the expences are diſcharged in ſpecie, a frigate having been ſent round with ſeveral millions of piaſtres for the purpoſe.

19th. A melancholy inſtance of the effects of charcoal, burnt in a room where there is no chimney, occurred at Wolverly in Worceſterſhire, where a man, his wife and a daughter, about eleven years of age, all fell victims to the ſuffocation iſſuing from it.

20th. Sir Richard Ford iſſued a warrant, and Revitt, at the head of a ſtrong party of the London, Surry, and Kent Patroles, proceeded to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley-ſtreet, Lambeth, where they found Colonel Deſpard, and thirty-two labouring men and ſoldiers, Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch, the whole of whom they took into cuſtody on ſuſpicion of a treaſonable conſpiracy. On the following morning they were all taken before the ſitting magiſtrates at Union Hall. The examination laſted nearly eight hours; the reſult of which was, that the colonel was committed to the county jail; twelve of his aſſociates, ſix of whom are ſoldiers, were ſent to Tothill Fields, and twenty to the New Priſon, Clerkenwell.—Thurſday afternoon, Colonel Deſpard, heavily ironed, accompanied by his wife, and one of the ſoldiers, was brought to Lord Pelham's Office, where ſeveral of the Cabinet Miniſters were aſſembled. He underwent an examination, and was committed to Newgate. On Friday morning the Privy Council again met, and Colonel Deſpard underwent a ſhort examination. He was fully committed to Newgate, for ſeducing ſome of the guards from their duty; the number, however, of thoſe who have been ſeduced, does not amount to more than ten. No proof has yet appeared that this aſſembly entertained any deſign againſt the life of the king, as was at firſt reported; but their meetings have been held with great ſecrecy, and their numbers are very conſiderable. In the Borough there were ſeven diviſions, and eight ſubdiviſions; the time and place of their meeting were kept ſecret till within a few hours of their aſſembling. The allurement held out to the ſoldiers was, that great ſums of money were expected from France, and that, on their accompliſhing their object, they would be allowed 3s. 6d. per day for life. Among the papers found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoners were ſeditious toaſts and ſongs, one declaratory of certain rights, with a copy of the oath taken on becoming a member. It begins with —" *Conſtitution, Independence of Ireland and Great Britain, Equali-*

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zation of all Civic Rights."—Then follows an assurance that the members will unite to maintain the families of all those heroes who may fall in contending for their rights. The words of the oath run nearly thus:—"I A. B. do hereby swear to endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects above stated, and that neither fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall compel me to resign those rights and privileges which the supreme Being, in his bountiful goodness, has given to all men; and that no force whatever shall induce me to give information in the business—So help me God!"

The following are the names of those who have been committed to the different Prisons: *Newgate*, Edward Marcus Despard. *New Prison, Clerkenwell*, J. Francis, T. Jackson, alias Phillips, D. M'Queae, T. Broughton, E. Russell, J. Price, and W. Lander.—*Tothill-Fields Bridewell*, J. Wood, J. Ganer, T. Newman, J. Connolly, J. S. Wratten, D. Tendall, C. Dry, J. Blake, J. Vincent, P. Pollard, O. Byrne, alias J. Lambert, J. Doyle, A. Baily, S. Chaffon, L. Sheridan, C. Whichelo, M. O'Neil, G. Wade, S. Smith, J. Emblin, C. M'Cooty, J. Wheeler, and C. Pendle.

22d. *The King*, v. *Philip Hamlin*. The attorney general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant, who had suffered judgment to pass by default, to an information filed against him, stating, that one Andrew Hill, late of the town and burgh of Plymouth, on the 30th of October, held a certain office of trust and confidence under the king, that of landing surveyor of the customs of the port of Plymouth, and that the said Andrew Hill, died, whereby the said office became vacant, and was in the disposal of the lords commissioners of the treasury; that the Right Hon. H. Addington, was the first in the letters patent in such commission, and in a place of high trust and confidence, and likewise a privy counsellor of the king. That the defendant, with intent to seduce the said H. Addington from the duties attached to such high station, and, to cause himself to be appointed to the office, so vacant, did write, and cause to be sent to the said H. Addington, a letter offering a pecuniary reward to be paid to the said H. Addington, as follows:

"Sir—This day a place became "vacant by the death of Mr. A. "Hill, landing surveyor of the "customs here: if you can pro- "cure that place for me, for my "own use and benefit, I will give "you 2000l. and also give a "bond to keep the business a "secret.—Your answer will ob- "lige, yours, &c.

Philip Hill.

"20th. Oct. 1801."

The affidavit of the defendant stated, that he sincerely repented of having sent this letter, and threw himself on the mercy of the court: that he is 40 years of age, and carries on the trade of a tinman, by which alone he supports himself and family, and then expressing an apprehension that a severe judgment may be the ruin of himself and family; that had he been appointed to the office, it was his intention to have performed the duties of it faithfully, and then the affidavit refers to his general good

good character with his neighbours. The two reverend Miniſters of the two pariſhes in Plymouth, made affidavits, that, excepting this inſtance, they knew of no blot in the character of the defendant, but that, on the contrary, it was a very reſpectable and good one. The attorney general, in preſſing for judgment, made ſo moderate and lenient a ſpeech, that Mr. Erſkine, who was of Counſel for the Defendant, ſubſcribed to every word that was uttered, and ſaid it claimed the gratitude of his client. He apologized for the delinquent on account of his ignorance, which, he ſaid appeared from the letter he had written, and further from this circumſtance, that when the information came down, and the proceſs was ſhewn him, commanding him to appear and anſwer, he thought on ſeeing the red ſeal upon it, that he had obtained the place. He was ordered to be brought up again on the laſt day of the term.

23d. During a moſt violent gale of wind and rain, a Dutch ſhip, called the Vreide, Capt. Scherman, from Amſterdam for the Cape and Batavia, laden with ſtores, and having troops on board, drove from her anchor in Hythe-bay, where ſhe had brought to, and was driven with ſuch uncommon velocity towards Dymchurch-wall, as to reſiſt all the efforts of the crew to avoid their impending fate. The ſhore of Dymchurch, it is well known, is protected from the encroachments of the ſea by overlaths and immenſe piles, extending from Brockman's barn to the extreme end of the wall, a diſtance of more than two miles, and further defended by large wooden jetties, which ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance into the ſea. As the unfortunate veſſel approached the ſhore, ſhe ſtruck on the firſt jetty, near Brockman's barn, with ſuch violence as immediately to break her back, when ſhe inſtantly ſunk, and lamentable to relate, out of 472 ſouls on board, only 18 were ſaved. The following is given as a ſtatement of the number of perſons on board:—ſoldiers 320—officers 42—ſeamen 61—women 22—children 7—paſſengers 20.—total 472. The veſſel ſoon went to pieces, the cargo was nearly all deſtroyed, and the coaſt has been ſince ſtrewed with dead bodies: theſe were afterwards laid in rows in Hythe-church-yard, previous to interment; and other bodies were ſent to Cheſter and the adjoining pariſhes to be buried.

About nine in the morning, Captain William Codlin, late of the brig Adventure, condemned to death for the crime of attempting to defraud the underwriters, by ſcuttling and endeavouring to ſink that veſſel, was conducted out of the gaol of Newgate, to proceed to undergo the laſt extremity of his ſentence at the Docks at Wapping.—The cart was covered with black; he aſcended it with much firmneſs and fortitude, and all the way to the place of execution was devoutly engaged in prayer.—He was accompanied by the clerk to the ordinary of Newgate.—The convict appeared about 40 years of age, of middle ſtature, and of a florid and prepoſſeſſing countenance.—After hanging the uſual time, the body was put in a ſhell, and landed at Wapping New Stairs, 27th.

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in order to be delivered to his friends. The banks of the river were thronged, and every ſhroud and yard of the ſhips within view of the execution was crowded with ſpectators.

29th. *The King*, v. *Hamlin*. The attorney general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant. Mr. Juſtice Groſe, ſaid, ſuch practices if permitted, would lead to miſchiefs incalculable, for they might extend to every office in the appointment of the great miniſters of the ſtate, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical, and would ſuperſede men of ability and integrity, and place in their ſtead the ignorant and corrupt. "The court for this your offence doth order and adjudge, that you pay to the king a fine of 100l.; that you be impriſoned in the cuſtody of the marſhal of the Marſhalſea of this court, for three calendar months, and that you be further impriſoned till ſuch fine be paid."

The body of a maſon named Croſs, was this day found in the river near Toue bridge. He was returning home on Saturday night in a ſtate of inebriety, and is ſuppoſed to have fallen over the bridge. A ſmall dog which he had with him, went home on Sunday; and Monday, his wife, alarmed at his ſtay, proceeded to Taunton for the purpoſe of inquiring the cauſe. She took the dog with her; and on her reaching the bridge, the animal began howling and leaped on the parapet, and could not be removed from the ſpot. This induced a ſearch, and the body was found at ſome diſtance below, whither the current had carried it, and in the actual direction of the ſpot from whence the dog had ſo diſtinctly manifeſted that he had fallen.

A merchantman, of about 160 tons burthen, was wrecked between Rye, and Haſtings. She had ſailed from Malaga, and was bound to Rotterdam, laden with a cargo of wines, lemons, oranges, raiſins, and black lead. The Captain and five of the crew are ſaved; three men and a boy loſt. The beach near Rye for the ſpace of half a mile, appeared a perfect yellow, from the number of lemons and oranges driven on ſhore. Many of the poor inhabitants of Rye have picked up great quantities of the fruit undamaged, and the firſt of lemons may be bought there at three pence per dozen. One man and a boy were driven on ſhore on Wedneſday night. Two pipes of the wine have been found, with a number of other articles. They are under the care of the cuſtom-houſe officer, and will be reſtored to the owner.

It may be recollected, that about four years ago, *Johnſon*, the notorious ſmuggler, and another were apprehended for obſtructing and ill uſing ſome revenue officers on the Suſſex coaſt, and were committed to the New Gaol in the Borough to take their trial, but effected their eſcape in the moſt daring way, and remained at large, notwithſtanding 500l. reward was offered for their apprehenſion. The firſt time Johnſon was heard of, after his eſcape, was at the time the expedition to the Helder was meditated by government, when he made an offer of his ſervices to accompany the expedition, as, from his ſmuggling connexions, he had gained a complete knowledge of

the Dutch coaſt: government accepted of his ſervices, and granted him a full pardon, on his promiſe never to be again concerned in the ſmuggling trade. Johnſon acquitted himſelf in this undertaking ſo much to the ſatisfaction of his employers, that he became a great favourite with ſeveral of the exminiſters, and with the late Sir Ralph Abercromby in particular. He afterwards contracted debts to the amount of 11,000l. was arreſted, and lodged in the Fleet priſon, nearly ſix months ago, where he remained. It appears, before he became an inhabitant of the Fleet, that, in his pecuniary difficulties, he again had recourſe to ſmuggling, and he was capitally indicted, on very ſtrong grounds. Johnſon, aware of theſe circumſtances, turned his thoughts once more to making his eſcape, which he effected this morning, notwithſtanding he was confined in a ſtrong room, with two doors, or rather a double door, ſuch as are generally fixed to the chambers in Inns of court. At the top of each door was a pannel inſtead of glaſs. It was by forcing out theſe two pannels, and creeping through the holes of them, that Johnſon was enabled to reach the gallery, and from thence the high wall which ſurrounds the priſon; which it was impoſſible for him to have done, without accomplices, as the pannel of the outer door, it appears, had been forced from without. On his coming to that part of the wall next to Fleet market, he found a rope ladder, which his friends on the outſide had provided for him, and placed there agreeable to their plan. In the evening he arrived in a chaiſe and four on the coaſt near Brighton, where a lugger was in waiting for him, in which he embarked, and arrived at Calais, on his way to Fluſhing, after landing at Dieppe. He had a ſevere wound in the thigh, which he related to have received in the following manner: He had got on the top of the laſt wall that ſeparated him from the ſtreet, 70 feet from the ground: a lamp was placed in the wall, at ſome diſtance beneath the place where he was. He let himſelf down the wall exactly over the iron bar, and when he was forced to give up his hold, he ſtretched his legs ſo as to fall aſtride. He had taken every precaution, and fell acroſs the bar without overturning or hurting himſelf; but, as he could not guard againſt an additional piece of iron, it caught his thigh above the knee, and ripped it up almoſt to the top. At this moment he heard the watchman crying the hour; and had ſo much fortitude, as to remain aſtride in that ſituation, bleeding moſt abundantly, till the watchman had gone his round, without perceiving him; having, in all probability, been prevented from ſeeing him by the dazzling light of the lamp on the iron work. Immediately after, he had the reſolution to let himſelf down, at all hazards, and crawled to ſome diſtance, where a poſt chaiſe and four had been ſtationed for ſeveral evenings before, in expectation of his eſcape.

The cotton twiſt manufactory of Meſſrs. Oates, Stevens, and Co. near Pennyfort-ſtreet, Nottingham, was diſcovered to be on fire, between one and two o'clock. An alarm was inſtantly ſpread, but before the engines could reach the ſpot,

ſpot, with the neceſſary aſſiſtance, the fire had gained ſuch a head, as totally to preclude the moſt diſtant poſſibility of arreſting its progreſs. Every exertion was, however, made to this effect, but to no purpoſe. At half paſt four o'clock, the fire had aſſumed the appearance of a burning furnace, when the glaring reflections of the blaze on the houſes and ſurrounding hills ſuggeſted the moſt ſublime and awful ideas to the imagination, and ſuch as beggar all deſcription. About five o'clock, the front of the edifice fell in with a moſt tremendous craſh; on which there aroſe a ſtupendous volume of ſmoak and burning embers, which was carried to an immenſe diſtance. The place then exhibited nothing but a ſmoaking ruin, with pieces of blazing timber, beams, &c. in the walls, that remained ſtanding till each fell to the bottom in ſucceſſion, where it continued burning ſeveral days afterwards.—It is a conſolation, however, to add, that we have not to record the loſs of any life, in the progreſs of this alarming conflagration. It appears, that about 2000l. worth of raw cotton was ſaved. The premiſes were inſured for about 10,000l. in the Sun and Royal Exchange Fire-offices; a ſum equivalent to about two-thirds of the loſs actually ſuſtained.

30th. The Lapland travellers, Meſſrs. Cripps and Clarke, of Jeſus College, Cambridge, are at length ſafely returned to this country. The collection formed by theſe gentlemen is contained in 183 caſes, and perhaps the largeſt ever ſent to England; illuſtrating the natural and moral hiſtory of the various people they viſited, in a journey from the 69th degree of North latitude to the territories of Circaſſia, and the ſhores of the Nile. The Botanic part contains the herbary of the celebrated Pallas, enriched by the contributions of Linnæus, and his numerous literary friends. With the minerals, are ſeveral new ſubſtances, and the rareſt productions of the Siberian mines. Among the antiquities, are various inſcriptions and baſ-reliefs, relative to obſervations made in the plain of Troy, and which were announced by Monſieur Chevalier in France, in the laſt edition of his work. The Medallic ſeries contains ſeveral coins of Greece, and of the kings of Parthia, hitherto unknown. The manuſcripts are in Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic, Abyſſinian, Perſian, Turkiſh, and the language of Thibet Tartary; and in the Greek and Latin languages are ſeveral manuſcripts of the Claſſics, of the Goſpels, and the writings of the earlieſt Fathers of the Church. In addition to theſe, the collection contains Greek vaſes, gems, ſculpture, and many remarkable Egyptian monuments from the ruins of the city of Sais, diſcovered by theſe travellers in the Delta, after the evacuation of Egypt by the French. Alſo numerous original drawings, maps, charts, plans, models, and the ſeeds of many rare and uſeful plants; the habits, utenſils, and idols, of the inhabitants of the Alentan Iſles, brought by Billings to Ruſſia, after his expedition to the countries lying between Kamtſchatka and the N. W. coaſt of America.

As Mary Wills, a little girl of eleven years of age, was working a ſpinning jenny at a woollen manufactory,

nufactory, Plymouth, a ſpike of the devil accidentally caught a finger of her right hand; and, before it could be ſtopped, the velocity of its motion had, by the other ſpikes tore off all the fingers, the ſinews, and muſcles of her right arm to the elbow, and broke the bones. A ſurgeon immediately amputated her arm; and the poor child is likely to do well.

In the courſe of this month, great curioſity was excited by accounts of a Swindler, who pretended to be the Hon. Col. Hope, but whoſe real name was Hatfield, and who beſides other frauds, rendered himſelf conſpicuous by wheedling into a fictitious marriage the daughter of a publican at the Lakes, whom the fantaſtic authors of "Trips" and "Tours" had "whimſically named Mary of "Buttermere" or "the Beauty "of Buttermere." In an adverti ſement offering a reward of 50l. for the apprehenſion of this adventurer, he was thus deſcribed; he has ſomething of the Iriſh brogue in his ſpeech, fluent and elegant in his language, great command of words, frequently puts his hand to his heart, very fond of compliments, and generally addreſſing himſelf to perſons moſt diſtinguiſhed by rank or ſituation, attentive in the extreme to females, and likely to inſinuate himſelf where there are young ladies. He was in America during the war, is fond of talking of his wounds, and exploits there, and on military ſubjects, as well as of Hatfield hall, and his eſtates in Derbyſhire and Cheſter, of the antiquity of his family, which he pretends to trace to the Plantagenets; all which are ſhameful falſehoods thrown out to deceive. He makes a boaſt of having often been engaged in duels; he has been a great traveller alſo (by his own account), and talks of Egypt, Turkey, Italy, and in ſhort has a general knowledge of ſubjects, which, together with his engaging manners, is well calculated to impoſe on the credulous. He was ſeven years confined in Scarborough goal, from whence he married, and removed into Devonſhire, where he has baſely deſerted an amiable wife and young family. He had art enough to connect himſelf with ſome very reſpectable merchants in Devonſhire as a partner in buſineſs; but, having ſwindled them out of large ſums of money, he was made a ſeparate bankrupt in June laſt, and has never ſurrendered to his commiſſion, by which means he is guilty of felony. He cloaks his deceptions under the maſk of religion, appears fond of religious converſation, and makes a point of attending divine ſervice and popular preachers.

Of his further progreſs, the following account was afterward given. He is the perſon againſt whom a commiſſion of bankruptcy iſſued ſome months ago, to which he never ſurrendered; in conſequence of which, in addition to other circumſtances known of him, he is guilty of a *capital* offence; it being a felony, without benefit of clergy, not to ſurrender within the appointed time to a commiſſion of bankrupt. About a year ago, this man had the addreſs to introduce himſelf as a partner in a reſpectable houſe at Tiverton, in Devonſhire. In this character he viſited London ſeveral times in the courſe of the laſt winter; and, from his ſpecious manners and gentelman-

tlemanlike demeanour, he was well received by several merchants in the city, some of whom gave him credit to a very considerable amount. His drafts afterwards meeting with dishonour, an alarm was spread. Hatfield ran away from Tiverton; and a commission against him issued, on which he was declared a bankrupt in June last. The effects which he left behind him were very inconsiderable; it being supposed, that he was not backward in taking with him all the property he could collect. From the accounts which appeared in the papers of the impostor at Keswick, an idea was entertained that the elegant Colonel Hope, of Keswick, might possibly be the same man with the specious Mr. Hatfield, the manufacturer; and the assignees accordingly set on foot an enquiry: the result of which is, that, on opening some boxes which were left behind at Keswick, several letters were found directed to him by his proper name of Hatfield. He has a wife and family now living at Tiverton; so that, in marrying the unfortunate Mary of Buttermere, he has added bigamy to his list of offences. The post-office have taken up also the matter of his forging the name of M. P. to his letters; and the solicitor of the commission has, on being appriſed of the identity of the bankrupt, instituted every possible degree of search to find him out: so that reasonable hopes may be entertained, that this singular character will not long escape the reach of justice. In his rapid flight from Keswick, he left behind him a costly dressing-box, which was opened by a warrant from a magistrate. It was completely furnished with elegant silver toilet trinkets; and there were two letters found in it, one from Ballynahinch in Ireland, and directed to Col. Hope, from which it appeared, that he was concerned in some gang or other in that unhappy country. There was likewise a cash-book, in which a memorandum was made of 1200l. and odd, having been invested by him in the bank of Dimsdale and Co. in the month of March last. The wretch had endeavoured to persuade the girl and her mother, and nominal father, to sell their estate, and go altogether with him into Scotland; which they refused to do, chiefly from the prudent fears of the old man.

Died. 11th. In Glasgow, after only two or three days illness, in his 103d year, George Gibbs, a pauper. He was born May 1, 1700, at Nether Liberton, near Edinburgh, being the son of William Gibbs, gardener to Sir John Baird, near Dalkeith. He served his majesty for many years as a private of dragoons; afterwards, for 22 years, as serjeant in the 48th regiment of foot; and subsequently in other corps of infantry during the American war. He was, in 1783, a private in the 83d foot, or Royal Glasgow Regiment, when it mutinied at Portsmouth after being shipped for the East Indies, and, of course, lost his right to Chelsea hospital, from which he had long enjoyed a pension. Often has he recounted to his neighbours 21 or 22 principal actions, in which he bore an active part against the enemy, at home and abroad, including all the engagements with the rebels in Scotland, in the year 1745. He was

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at the right hand of the late Col. Gardiner, when he fell in the battle near Preſton Pans, and was himſelf wounded in the battle at Falkirk. His vigour, ſtature, and mental faculties were conſiderable, and ſcarcely ſuffered diminution by years, as before his death he meaſured ſix feet two inches high, his body being as erect as in early years. In his 83d year he married his ſecond wife, then 22 years of age; by her he had ſeveral children, of whom one daughter (his own image in features) only ſurvives, now in her 14th year. Accuſtomed to a wandering life, this veteran pauper preferred, in his latter years, the ſcanty dependence on precarious bounty, to the more comfortable aſylum of a poor's houſe, which his years and reſidence would have ſecured for him in the town-hoſpital.

Lately at Briſtol in Pennſylvania, a female ſlave named Alice, aged 116 years. She was born in Philadelphia, of parents who came from Barbadoes, and lived in that city until ſhe was ten years old, when her maſter removed her to Dunk's Ferry, in which neighbourhood ſhe continued to the end of her days. She remembered the ground on which Philadelphia ſtands, when it was a wilderneſs, and when the Indians (its chief inhabitants) hunted wild game in the woods, while the panther, the wolf, and the beaſts of the foreſt, were prowling about the wigwams and cabins in which they lived. Being a ſenſible, intelligent woman, and having a good memory, which ſhe retained to the laſt, ſhe would often make judicious remarks on the population and improvements of the city and country; hence her converſation became peculiarly intereſting, eſpecially to the immediate deſcendants of the firſt ſettlers, of whoſe anceſtors ſhe often related acceptable anecdotes. She remembered William Penn, the proprietor of Pennſylvania, Thomas Story, James Logan, and ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed characters of that day. During a ſhort viſit which ſhe paid to Philadelphia, laſt fall, many reſpectable perſons called to ſee her, who were all pleaſed with her innocent cheerfulneſs, and that dignified deportment, for which (though a ſlave and uninſtructed) ſhe was ever remarkable. In obſerving the increaſe of the city, ſhe pointed out the houſe next to the Epiſcopal church, to the ſouthward in ſecond-ſtreet, as the firſt brick-building that was erected in it, and it is more than probable ſhe was right, for it bears evident marks of antiquity. The firſt church, ſhe ſaid, was a ſmall frame that ſtood where the preſent building ſtands, the ceiling of which ſhe could reach with her hands from the floor. She was a worthy member of the Epiſcopal ſociety, and attended their public worſhip as long as ſhe lived. Indeed, ſhe was ſo zealous to perform this duty, in proper ſeaſon, that ſhe has often been met on horſeback, in a full gallop, to church, at the age of 95 years. The veneration ſhe had for the Bible, induced her to lament that ſhe was not able to read it; but the deficiency was in part ſupplied by the kindneſs of many of her friends, who, at her requeſt, would read it to her, when ſhe would liſten with great attention, and often make pertinent remarks. She was temperate in her living, and

ſo careful to keep to the truth, that her veracity was never queſtioned; her honeſty alſo was unimpeached, for ſuch was her maſter's confidence in it, that ſhe was truſted at all times, to receive the ferriage money for upwards of forty years. This extraordinary woman retained her hearing to the end of her life, but her ſight began to fail gradually, in her ninety-ſixth year, without any other viſible cauſe than from old age. At one hundred ſhe became blind, ſo that ſhe could not ſee the ſun at noon day. Being habituated from her childhood to conſtant employment, her laſt maſter kindly excuſed her from her uſual labour; but ſhe could not be idle, for ſhe afterwards devoted her time to fiſhing, at which ſhe was very expert, and even at this late period, when her ſight had ſo entirely left her, ſhe would frequently row herſelf out into the middle of the ſtream, from which ſhe ſeldom returned without a handſome ſupply of fiſh for her maſter's table. About the one hundred and ſecond year of her age, her ſight gradually returned, and improved ſo far, that ſhe could perceive objects, moving before her, though ſhe could not diſtinguiſh perſons. Before ſhe died, her hair became perfectly white, and the laſt of her teeth dropt ſound from her head at the age of 116 years.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. A melancholy accident happened in a poor man's family at *Breage*, Dorſet. The father, in the morning, had emptied his pockets, and placed ſome gunpowder on the ſhelves in the kitchen. He and his wife went away, leaving two of his own children, and two of his neighbour's (the eldeſt not exceeding ſeven years), in his houſe. In the forenoon the children found the powder, and unfortunately threw it (about half a pound) into the fire. The exploſion was very great. One of the children in the inner corner of the large fire, eſcaped unhurt; one received a ſhock in his forehead; another is dreadfully burnt, and very little hopes entertained of his recovery. The other, which was the eldeſt, and who threw the powder into the fire, had his clothes ſet on fire (they were a jacket and trowſers made of pluſh velvet). Theſe cloaths, no doubt, retained the fire a great while; for it appeared he ran out of the houſe in a blaze, went to the diſtance of two fields, over two hedges, having attempted to extinguiſh the fire by wallowing, but to no effect; for when he was found, all his clothes were burnt off his body, except the wriſt of his ſhirt and his garter, which were then burning, and the miſerable infant was not only in exiſtence, but ſenſible, and able to relate the above facts. He was carried home, lived for an hour afterwards, and then died.

Hatfield, the impoſtor, has been taken at a houſe called the Lamb and Flag, about ſeventeen miles from Swanſea. He went to Builth, in Brecknockſhire, on the 11th Nov. and at the Inn met a gentleman of the town, to whom he had a year and a half ſince made himſelf known as a Captain in the Navy. They ſpent the evening in great conviviality at the inn, and Hatfield prevailed on his gueſt to give him

him cash for a bill on his banker, in London: in the morning, he saw himself advertised in the papers, and decamped without the ceremony of a reckoning.

2d. This night, between 12 and 1, the whole town of *Hamburgh* was alarmed by a violent conflagration breaking out at a sugar-baker's, in the Herren Graben, which, in the course of two hours, destroyed that and part of two adjoining houses, and from the magnitude of the damage became an object of public comment during the whole of the succeeding day; when, (strange to relate!) on the very night after, of the Friday, at the same hour, the drums and alarm-bells again awoke the whole city, and called the Senators together to the Town-house, another sad fire having broke out in the identical street, within ten doors of the preceding night's conflagration. The lower part of the house being first in flames, the family, who slept above, not being able to penetrate through the smoke below stairs, presented a most melancholy spectacle from the windows of the second story, from whence the proprietor and his wife at length precipitated themselves in despair into the street; the former breaking both his legs, and is since dead of the bruises. The maid servant was unfortunately burnt to death in the premises. A young Frenchman, 18 years of age, who was on a visit to the house, and intended in a few days proceeding to England, is likewise missing. Still more melancholy is the fate of another countryman of his, named Le Sueur, by profession a painter: this artist lodged in the house, and escaped safe on the first alarm into the street half naked; when looking around him, and not perceiving his wife, he immediately darted back again through the flaming house to seek her up stairs, not aware that she had already found her way out of the premises. Distracted at not meeting with her in the apartment, he rushed down again amidst the scorching fire, and had strength to gain the street a second time, when he fell down a miserable and mangled victim to the impulse of conjugal affection. A fireman, while boldly directing his engine-pipe from the top of some rafters, likewise unfortunately perished, by the wood burning from under him, and precipitating him into the dreadful volcano, in full view of the shuddering multitude.

Dublin.—The tempestuous weather experienced from Wednesday night until late on Thursday, together with the heavy and unremitting rain during that period, have produced various disastrous occurrences near this city, which, we fear, will be multiplied to a sad aggregate, when intelligence shall be received from the interior of the country. The backs, weirs, &c. at Old Bawn paper-mills, are entirely swept away; the works, which were very extensive, it is feared will be stopped, and the people ruined. Nearly an acre and an half of Mr. Wildridge's meadow adjacent to the mills, have been severed from the rest by the violence of the flood, and carried completely off! At Ringsend, the bridge, a fabrick apparently of very solid and judicious construction, has yielded to the impetuous force and accumulated weight of the waters, the centre arch and

4th.

that next the city being deſtroyed, excepting ſo much on the ſide towards the docks, as to admit of foot paſſengers. Laſt night, a little after ten, the bridge at the coal-quay gave way; providentially no perſon was paſſing at the moment. Two of the arches were torn from the centre before eleven o'clock, and by morning the remainder was nearly deſtroyed. The bridges of Lucan and Celbridge have been alſo deſtroyed. This day various articles of houſehold furniture, implements of huſbandry, &c. were ſeen floating down the river. The parts of the town ſituated within the influence of the Poddle-ſtream were yeſterday inundated at an early hour, to a conſiderable depth, Patrick ſtreet and its vicinity in particular. Several boats were employed in the ſtreets, and though the inhabitants had anticipated the event which took place, they nevertheleſs have ſuſtained ſerious injury, from the impracticability of removing the entire contents of their ſtores and cellars. The flood extended to New-ſtreet, the Coombe, Black Pitts, Cork-ſtreet, &c. and frightful torrents diverged from Patrick-ſtreet into Bride's-alley, Bull-alley, and the lanes lying on that level.—Similar inconvenience was experienced in ſome degree in every quarter of the city, but to-day the inundation has ſubſided. The damage ſuffered at ſea, we fear, will ſwell the catalogue of calamity to a moſt affecting degree. From the daily marine liſt we learn that ſeveral veſſels have been ſunk, and others are in ſight in great diſtreſs. Signal guns have been heard all night. Some veſſel appearing from the ſound to be againſt the North wall, nine men from Bullock, ſuppoſed to be either pilot and crew, or fiſhermen, went out to give aſſiſtance, but in the dangerous and humane attempt every ſoul periſhed.

6th. This evening, John Hatfield was brought to town from Brecknock, in Wales, by Pearks, one of the Bow-ſtreet officers, under authority of a warrant, ſigned by Sir Richard Ford, before whom, and other magiſtrates, he was examined this day at Bow-ſtreet. The Solicitor for the priſoner's bankruptcy attended, and identified his perſon. Mr. Parkin, the Solicitor to the Poſt-office, produced a warrant from Sir Frederick Vane, Bart. a magiſtrate for the county of Cumberland, againſt the priſoner, by the name of the Hon. Auguſtus Hope, charging him with felony. There are other charges againſt him for forgery and bigamy, which were explained to him, but not entered into; and he was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell for further examination.

7th. *Paris.* Lord Whitworth attended the levee of the Firſt Conſul on Sunday laſt, to whom his Lordſhip was introduced, and delivered his credentials as ambaſſador from his Britannic Majeſty. His Excellency afterwards preſented 36 Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen. Mr. Merry likewiſe delivered his letters of recall, and had his audience of leave.

The exciſeman of Hurſt, and a perſon whom he hired to aſſiſt him in the execution of his duty, of the name of Bignall, were on horſeback, for the purpoſe of detecting illicit traders, near the above place; when three men on horſe-

horſeback likewiſe, whom the exciſeman conceived were ſmugglers, appearing on the road, he inſtantly croſſed and deſired them to halt. The foremoſt of the three, probably miſtaking him for a highwayman, inquired if it was his intention to rob him, and immediately raiſed a ſtick to ſtrike him, when Bignall diſcharged his piſtol. The ball entered the ſtranger's body a little above the hip, on the left ſide, went directly through him, and lodged in the ſkirt of his coat on the right. He dropped, and the exciſeman and Bignall, leaving him to the care of his aſtoniſhed friends, made off, and the next morning early gave an account of their proceedings to the ſupervifor, at Lewes, who moſt ſeverely reprimanded them for their ſanguinary conduct. The exciſeman and Bignall were directly taken into cuſtody, as the wounded perſon (who had no connexion with ſmuggling) is not likely to live.

8th. As ſome perſons were taking down the pine end of the dwelling-houſe belonging to Mr. Croſs, at *Machen*, in Monmouthſhire, they diſcovered about 250 live ſnakes with a large baſket full of their eggs, all which they immediately burnt. In the courſe of two months before, about 50 were caught and killed; and in general they were found in the children's clothes, whilſt in bed in the night.

10th. Miſs Tebbutt, of Kegworth, in Leiceſterſhire, an amiable young lady, about 28 years of age, houſekeeper to her brother in Kegworth, had been to ſee her mother, who lives only at the other end of a cloſe adjoining the town, called the Home-cloſe (through which is a public path from the neighbouring villages); and on her return home, about 10 in the evening, was brutally murdered by ſome perſon or perſons unknown. As ſhe was in the habit of frequently ſleeping at her mother's, her abſence created no alarm, particularly as it was ſo very near and a very moon-light night; but, about ſix in the morning, ſhe was diſcovered by two young men, in a puddle on the ground againſt the ſtile leading into the town, with her cloathes turned over her face, her ſhoes, bonnet, and neck-handkerchief, torn off, and her pockets rifled of what valuables ſhe had. They went to a blackſmith, who was at work, and got her into his houſe, where ſhe was firſt recognized through the dirt with which ſhe was covered; her brother was immediately alarmed, and a ſurgeon ſent for, but ſhe expired whilſt they were undreſſing her. From the bruiſes ſhe received, ſhe muſt have made great reſiſtance; and, in attempting to ſtifle her cries (which muſt have been heard, from houſes being ſo very near), the villain ſtrangled her. What renders the circumſtance more unfortunate and calamitous, three or four perſons of reſpectability in the town were out in the neighbourhood viſiting, and did not return till 11 o'clock, but, though heretofore accuſtomed to go over the cloſe, all very ſingularly went a different way; had they fortunately gone as uſual, ſhe muſt have been found, perhaps time enough to have ſaved her life, and led to a diſcovery of the inhuman monſter.

King's Bench.—Moore v. *Durnford.—Crim. Con.*— 10th.

This was an action against the defendant for crim. con. with the plaintiff's wife. The damages were laid at £10,000. Mr. Erskine for the plaintiff, stated that Mr. Moore was a gentleman of large fortune and high character. Some years ago he had paid addresses to his present wife, who was niece to the earl of Meath. Her beauty and accomplishments were equal to her birth, and a virtuous education had adorned her with innocence and modesty. Mr. M. succeeded in his addresses, and his fondest hopes of domestic happiness were realized. She was the mother of three children, the eldest 14, the second 11, and the youngest four or five years of age. During the long course of the plaintiff and his wife living together, to the date of this criminal connexion, the plaintiff had no reason to doubt her chastity or honour; on the contrary it was impossible to establish the fact of any adultery having been committed under his roof. For some months before her elopement her husband observed a difference in her behaviour, an unusual degree of coolness, but without being able to discover the cause. Previous to this time the defendant frequently visited at the plaintiff's house, but there appeared no particular intimacy between him and plaintiff's wife, that could justify the least suspicion. Mrs. M. had first become acquainted with the defendant at a public breakfast given by the latter. The defendant was considered as a man of character, and therefore the plaintiff had not the slightest idea of his attempting any thing dishonourable, but the incense he offered at the shrine of his wife's beauty and accomplishments, won her to his love, and she became too affectionately attached to him for her future happiness. Her fatal passion was the cause of her deserting her house, and abandoning her husband, her friends, family, and children. The plaintiff was for some time unable to discover the place of her retreat; but at last he found her living with the defendant, and was enabled to procure that proof which would now be laid before the jury. The marriage being proved, three gentlemen were called, who fully confirmed the learned counsel in what he said of Mrs. M. before she was married, and of the happy state in which she and her husband afterwards lived. The next witness was a maid servant, who had seen Mrs. M. with the defendant after her elopement; she said that she had made up one bed for them in the defendant's house at Brockhill, and that she had no doubt they slept there together.

Mr. Garrow, leading counsel for the defendant, confined himself to saying a few words in mitigation of damages. Captain Durnford, though called captain was only a subaltern in the guards, and depended entirely upon his pay. Heavy damages would ruin him for life. He was a very young man, and had been betrayed into this indiscretion only by his youth. Lord Ellenborough—It has been properly suggested that cases of criminal conversation are of various complexions, and capable of various degrees of aggravation. In the present there does not appear to me to have been any plan of seduction laid by the plaintiff. The lady, from some reason or other,

other, went away from her husband, and lived in lodgings at Acton, before any act of adultery was alleged. There was no evidence to prove, that he had seduced her to leave her husband's house, although he had visited her there three times. At Brockhill they certainly lived under circumstances which rendered it fair to conclude, that a criminal intercourse had taken place. In the absence of all evidence I do not see that you ought to fix her seduction upon the defendant. As he met her after she had quitted her husband, it is possible that compassion for her situation, on hearing that for his sake she had fled from her family, might in some degree influence his conduct. That he is liable for damages there can be no doubt, as he has set his seal on the husband's dishonour, and for ever rendered it impossible for him to receive his wife again. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages £1000l.

Five women were lately tried at Patna, in Hindostan, on charges of sorcery, and, being found guilty, were put to death. The governor-general on being informed of the circumstance, ordered all the principal persons who composed the tribunals to be apprehended, and arraigned before the circuit court of Patna, on charges of the murder of these women, and the court adjudged them to suffer death. It appeared, however, that this custom had prevailed time immemorial; several of the witnesses remembered numerous instances of persons having been put to death by the Brahmans for sorcery, and one of them in particular proved, that his own mother had been tried and executed as a witch; the government, therefore, pardoned the offenders; but, to prevent the recurrence of circumstances so disgraceful to humanity, a proclamation has been issued, declaring, that any one forming a tribunal for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft, or aiding or encouraging in any act to deprive such persons of life, shall be deemed guilty of murder, and suffer the penalty attached to that offence.

At Bow-street, Hatfield was brought up for examination: at his request his irons were taken off. Mr. Taunton, solicitor for the bankruptcy, produced the gazette where it was recorded on the 15th of June last; and the chancellor's order for extending the time of appearance to the 18th of September; but stated that he did not appear: he also produced a bill of exchange for 30l. drawn in the name of Hope, supposed to have been written and negociated by the prisoner. A copy of the register of the prisoner's marriage under the name of A. A. Hope, with Mary Robinson, the beauty of Buttermere, was likewise produced. The prisoner was very reserved in his replies; and on his complaining of the inconvenience of his situation, Mr. Taunton said he would undertake to allow him a guinea and a half per week, for the present. He was remanded to bridewell. 14th.

In the court of common pleas, a cause of some interest was tried, on account of its being one of the transactions in which Hatfield was concerned. The plaintiff, Mr. Nucella, is a merchant in the city, and the defendant, a Mr. Denys, a merchant, at Tiverton. Hatfield 16th.

having become acquainted with the defendant, prevailed on him to enter into partnerſhip with him, and ſhortly after H. having come to London, formed an acquaintance with the plaintiff, and induced him to transfer 5000l. three per cents. to the credit of Meſſrs. Denys, of Tiverton. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 3661l. 17s. 6d. being the value of the principal at the time of the transfer, and the intereſt thereon.

The admiralty board having diſcovered, during the late viſitation of the dock-yards, that perſons had contrived to get appointed as warrant officers on board ſome of his majeſty's ſhips, who had not been brought up in the navy, their lordſhips have therefore eſtabliſhed the following regulations, to be obſerved as part of the ſtanding orders of the navy:—No perſon to be appointed a purſer, who has not ſerved two years as ſecretary or clerk to a flag officer, or captain's clerk of his majeſty's ſhips.—No perſon to be appointed gunner, who has not been rated a petty officer of ſome deſcription, for the ſpace of two years out of the four years neceſſary to be ſerved, before he can be examined.—No perſon to be appointed boatſwain, who has not ſerved four years, two of which muſt be in the capacity of boatſwain's mate, or yeoman of the ſheets.—No perſon to be appointed carpenter, who has not ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to a ſhipwright, and for the ſpace of two years after the apprenticeſhip as carpenter's mate, or carpenter's crew, on board his majeſty's ſhips, or in his dock-yards, and produce a certificate from the maſter ſhipwright, of his being properly qualified, &c. and each of theſe perſons muſt produce certificates of their good conduct, before they can be conſidered eligible to receive an appointment.

Gill v. *Hogg*.—This action was brought againſt the defendant for enticing away the plaintiff's wife and children from their home, againſt the will and without the knowledge of the plaintiff. Serjeant Cockell ſaid, the plaintiff was clerk to Meſſrs. Willis and Co. and the defendant to Meſſrs. Maitland and Co. both bankers in this city. They were alſo related. Mr. and Mrs. Gill were married in 1795, and lived together in harmony for a conſiderable time. A ſhort period before Mrs. G.'s elopement, the ſame cordiality did not exiſt; but what muſt have been the ſenſations of the huſband on returning home to find his wife and children fled? Three months elapſed before he learnt any tidings of them, and in that period he was almoſt driven to madneſs. After conſiderable enquiries without effect, two of the plaintiff's friends paſſing accidentally through Hoxton, ſaw the name of Hogg on a door, and concluded, that Mrs. Gill might have taken refuge there; when they knocked at the door their ſuſpicions were confirmed by ſeeing the ſervant who had formerly lived with the plaintiff; but ſhe denied Mrs. G. being there. The friends went to the next houſe, and there ſaw Mrs. G. from a window. On this information the plaintiff commenced an action for *crim. con.* and at the time of ſerving the writ, demanded his wife and children. The defendant was reproached with his treachery; but, being conſcious of 22d.

his

his innocence in this reſpect, inſiſted on calling down his ſiſter, who had been the conſtant companion of Mrs. G.'s bed. The plaintiff felt ſome degree of ſatiſfaction at this, having at firſt ſuſpected his wife's fidelity, and the action aſſumed its preſent form. Mrs. G. was intreated to return to her home, but refuſed; the children, however, were delivered up, and conveyed to the houſe of a friend. A ſhort time after, a reconciliation was effected, and they now lived on terms of amity and concord. The learned ſerjeant ſaid, that a man who harboured the wife of another, without the knowledge or conſent of her huſband, whatever might be his motives, could not be juſtified. Mrs. Wardell, mother-in-law of the plaintiff, alleged, that ſome difference had exiſted between them about two years ago; that Mrs. G. ſignified an intention of leaving her huſband in conſequence of his ill-treatment, which the mother endeavoured to prevent, by ſtating what might enſue. This converſation took place in the preſence of the defendant, who ſaid, if Mrs. G. could help herſelf, ſhe was to blame if ſhe ſtopped; that he was going to houſe-keeping, and ſhe ſhould live with him. On the 6th of March laſt, Mrs. G. called on her mother, and ſaid ſhe was going to her friends in the country, but did not then diſcloſe the place of her retreat. Mr. Stevenſon, a friend of the plaintiff's, depoſed, that five or ſix weeks previous to the elopement, Mrs. G. applied to him, to requeſt he would intercede with her huſband to procure a ſeparate maintenance, to which the witneſs objected. Serjeant Shepherd ſaid, it was important that it ſhould be underſtood, that men have no right to alienate the wives and children of others; it ſhould alſo be underſtood, how far relations or friends, when they perceive that matrimonial intercourſe is nothing but miſery and diſcord, are juſtified in opening their doors to the unfortunate; or whether they were to be deaf to pity and diſtreſs, and thruſt a wretched woman with her helpleſs children into the ſtreet. The foundation of this action was, that the defendant had ſeduced the plaintiff's wife from her home; but by ſome means it was poſſible to judge from the record, what was the intention of the parties. This caſe reſted on the teſtimony of Mrs. Wardell; and if her ſtory was believed, it muſt be inferred that G. and his wife lived in harmony, till the latter was ſeduced by the defendant: but could it be ſuppoſed that a man ſhould ſeduce a woman for no other purpoſe than the ſatisfaction of ſupporting her? For, from the firſt hour of her elopement to the preſent time, his conduct had borne the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny; and could be attributed to no other motive than a benevolent wiſh to afford ſhelter to an unfortunate woman, whom he knew to have juſt cauſe to be diſſatisfied with the treatment of her huſband. The defendant certainly had placed himſelf in a ſituation of great danger; a ſituation in which the ſlander of the world would ſay, his charity and benevolence had been extended to the enjoyment of her perſon. There were other circumſtances in this caſe, which proved, that the defendant's conduct was purely charitable. He had

had declared his intention to support his couſin as long as he poſſeſſed the means; an aſſertion that did honour to his heart; and it was to be hoped the determination of the jury would not tell him that he ſhould have barred his door againſt her; that unleſs ſhe returned to her huſband, ſhe muſt ſtarve, or get her bread in a way which ſhocked the feelings of humanity.

Lord Alvanley ſaid he was extremely deſirous, from the nature of this cauſe, that the jury ſhould determine ſome line by which a man might regulate his conduct in receiving the wife of another. In his opinion, the defendant certainly did not merit the aſperſions which had been caſt upon him, though it would have been more prudent, if he had acted with greater caution. The jury were to conſider, whether the defendant had ſeduced the plaintiff's wife, with any ſiniſter motives, in which caſe the damages could not be too heavy; but if, on the other hand, they conceived that ſhe had juſt cauſe to leave her huſband, and the defendant merely afforded her protection, the damages could not be too ſmall, if any.—Verdict for the defendant.

24th. *Lingham* v. *Hunt.*—*Crim. Con.*—Mr. Garrow ſaid, the plaintiff complained of the defendant, that he had debauched his wife. The preſent caſe was the moſt aggravated that ever came into a court of juſtice, and would call on the juſtice of the jury to go the full length they were warranted to go, which was £5000. This defendant was the friend, and confidential companion of the plaintiff, and while he was thus profeſſing that friendſhip debauched the plaintiff's wife. When he had ſucceeded in debauching, or perhaps when he had not completed his object, but had reaſon to hope he ſoon ſhould, he looked about him how he was to fence againſt juſtice, and perſuaded the victim of his luſt to be inſtrumental in ſhewing ſomething againſt the character of the plaintiff; ſomething known only to herſelf and ſome domeſtics, and this was to be made up into negligence in the huſband, ſo that he was not to be entitled to damages in a court of juſtice. The plaintiff's wife was now under what the defendant called his protection, but the truth was, that ſhe lived with him in the moſt degraded ſtate that a woman can be in, having loſt her virtue, and with it, of courſe, her character; and, therefore, ſhe was driven by dire neceſſity to embark in the iniquity of the defendant, and enter on one common cauſe with him. The plaintiff was a very young man, and in partnerſhip with a gentleman of the name of Hopley, in the trade of a wine merchant. He was married on the 16th of Auguſt 1800; the lady being only 18 years of age, but extremely handſome and accompliſhed. They lived near to the defendant, who is engaged in the ſame line of trade, who was alſo at that time married to a very amiable and moſt deſerving lady. The families were intimate, and viſited each other frequently. Soon afterward Mrs. H. died in child-bed, the infant ſurviving. On this occaſion Mr. H. conducted himſelf as a man ſhould, with great tenderneſs to the infant, and apparent ſorrow for the loſs of its mother. Left thus, without the protection of the mother, it became

came neceſſary to find out ſomebody to take care that ſervants, and thoſe who had the charge of nurſing the infant, ſhould not neglect their duty, and Mrs. L. took upon herſelf this kind office. It was in this ſtate that the defendant meditated the diabolical plan of ſeducing the plaintiff's wife, of which the plaintiff had not the leaſt reaſon to be jealous, for the two families had been in the conſtant habit of viſiting each other, nor was there the leaſt diminution in the affection of Mrs. L. to her huſband; but, to his aſtoniſhment, on the 8th of July laſt, when Mr. L. who had been attending the concerns of the day, in his buſineſs, came home, he found his wife was not there. The evening having advanced, he hoped ſhe might be at her father's. He ſent; ſhe was not there. He ſent to ſome other of her relations, but no tidings could be had of her; at laſt he concluded that ſhe had gone to the houſe of ſome friend. As the night advanced, he thought a thouſand things that might have befallen his wife, but had no idea that his own confidential friend had induced her to elope with him, to the diſhonour of all the family, and ruin of herſelf. The jury ſhould gueſs his aſtoniſhment when he received a letter from the defendant, by which guilt would appear in its true light. The letter was as follows: "Sir,—With "ſorrow, great, how can I an- "nounce to you, you have moſt "miſerably miſplaced in me your "confidence; your wife cannot re- "turn but with your forgiveneſs, "which is impoſſible. I think, "I ſee, however, the ſituation "of my poor brother, who, as "well as Eliza, yourſelf, and "myſelf, muſt go diſtracted.

"Still yours, Jos. Hunt."

Mr. Garrow proceeded to detail the reſt of the caſe. That about ten o'clock at night on the 8th of July laſt, the defendant prevailed on the plaintiff's wife to go with him in a hackney-coach to Windmill-ſtreet, where he took a poſt-chaiſe, and having delivered two letters to the proprietor of the chaiſe, directing him to ſend them immediately to the city, went off to Barnet, arrived at the Green Man Inn that night, and there he and Mrs. L. ſlept in one bed, and had lived in adultery ever ſince. Theſe facts being proved, Mr. Erſkine made a long and eloquent ſpeech. Admitted that his client could not be juſtified in what he did; yet he maintained that there were ſhades innumerable in this offence. Where a man had violated all the rules of hoſpitality, and had been a deliberate ſeducer, he deſerved every ſcourge that could be inflicted on him in a court of juſtice; but where he had been expoſed to a blaze of beauty, without that ſort of caution from the huſband, who was the natural guardian of the honour of the wife, and where the huſband had been remiſs and negligent as to the ſafety of the wife, and had permitted her, young, beautiful, gay, and lively, to be too often unheeded and alone in the company of the defendant; and where, a man, under ſuch circumſtances, had not been proof againſt ſo much temptation, he was the object of the compaſſion of men of feeling, nor ſhould he be rigorouſly treated in a court of juſtice. The parties were all objects of great compaſſion.

He

He did not juſtify the defendant, for moſt aſſuredly his conduct was criminal; but he ſubmitted that it was not the conduct of an hardened offender, but of one whoſe ſorrow and repentance accompanied his tranſgreſſion. This was to be inferred from the letter he wrote to the plaintiff: but it would appear that the plaintiff had repeatedly been admoniſhed of the impropriety of allowing his wife and the defendant to be ſo much together; but that he had been careleſs notwithſtanding; had ſuffered them to go out riding together, and inſtead of accompanying them, had gone a fiſhing, &c. and had, under pretence of taking care of his wife, ſent an infant with her and the plaintiff on their excurſions. When they came home, he had only complained that they were late, and ſaid, his wife ſhould not ſtay out ſo late. That he lived oppoſite to the houſe of the defendant; and that after the defendant and the plaintiff's wife had come into the defendant's houſe, after they had been out all day together, he had ſent for the keys to get what he wanted for himſelf, and left his wife with the defendant at ſupper, where they were together until 11 at night. That on the night of the illumination for the peace, a large party went out together from Tower-ſtreet. The plaintiff, inſtead of taking care of his wife, allowed that charge to be taken by the defendant, he taking another lady under his arm. That when they came to the houſe of M. Otto, they ſeparated, when the plaintiff ſhewed no anxiety about his wife, while ſome of the company went to ſeek for them. That the defendant and the plaintiff's wife ſupped together, and that at a tavern. That, above all, the plaintiff's wife told him that ſhe had ſupped at a tavern with the defendant, who treated the matter with raillery, or badinage, as one of the witneſſes deſcribed it. He concluded with obſerving, that where the plaintiff had been ſo negligent, and claimed damages in a civil action, for the loſs of that, to preſerve which it was his duty to be careful, he ſhould not take advantage of his own negligence, and obtain large damages againſt the man who, next to himſelf, had been moſt unfortunate.

The defendant's brother having been called to prove ſome of theſe palliating circumſtances, Mr. Garrow replied with great indignation at the conduct of the defendant in this moſt infamous tranſaction. He felt not the leaſt ſcruple in ſaying, that the defendant's brother had endeavoured to ſupport his cauſe by direct and abſolute perjury. He proteſted that he never ſaw ſo iniquitous a caſe as that attempted to be ſet up by the defendant in the whole courſe of his life.

Lord Ellenborough obſerved, that this caſe deſerved moſt ſerious attention. The plaintiff by this action complained that the defendant, by the ſeduction of the plaintiff's wife, had deprived him of all the happineſs and all the honour which marriage brought to him in ſocial life. It appeared, that the defendant had the implicit confidence of the plaintiff; he had betrayed it; nor could any one uſe ſtronger language againſt the defendant than he had uſed himſelf; for he ſaid, "you have moſt miſerably repoſed in me your confidence." Had the defendant felt

that contrition he expected the court to believe, he might either have suffered judgment to have past against him by default, or come into court by counsel, with humble instructions to watch the proof on the part of the plaintiff, and trusted to the discreet observations which his counsel would have made, and in which he would not have been disappointed. His lordship then reprobated the idea of supposing that a man gives up the virtue of his wife, so as to lose his right to claim damages for adultery, merely because he had suffered his wife to lay hold of the arm of another in a crowd at an illumination. This was too profligate even for this immoral age, so prone to seek excuses for adultery. His lordship concluded with observing, that upon the evidence nothing appeared against the plaintiff, for his case was satisfactorily made out, and that nothing occurred to his mind that could shield the defendant from making as full and ample a compensation to the plaintiff as the jury in their opinion of justice, should be disposed to make.

The jury, in less than one minute, gave a verdict for the plaintiff. Damages, £5,000.

31st. *Plymouth.* This evening as three boats belonging to some persons of Dock and Stonehouse were out, under Stadder's Height, Barefand Bay, in the Sound, endeavouring to save some of the floating wreck of the Prussian Galliot, which was cast away in the gale of Wednesday night last; a heavy surf dashed them against the breakers, and the whole upset; by which means out of 15 persons on board nine were unfortunately drowned: the six picked up where almost lifeless, but being immediately conveyed to their respective homes, by timely assistance, all recovered.

A sample of a new sort of wheat grown near the city of Washington, in the United States of North America, has been lately presented to the York Agricultural Society. It is particularly recommended for its early ripening, which is stated to be generally a month sooner than any other known wheat. The society, with a view to ascertain correctly its virtue and qualities, have directed it to be distributed amongst several of their members, who have undertaken to cultivate it.

Advices from Gibraltar of the 29th October, state, that a ship from Moca brings intelligence, that the Indian army under the command of General Baird, put in there for refreshments, and had again sailed for India five days before Captain Bullock left Moca. Seven of the transports had been wrecked, on their passage down the Red Sea, though but few lives were lost. Lord Cavan was shortly expected at Gibraltar on his way from Egypt, as he was to leave that country whenever General Stewart arrived.

DIED.—At Parkgate, Christian Modesty, a poor woman at the age of 114.

A lady, named Stratton, lately died at Winwick, Huntingdonshire, in the 107th year of her age; she retained the full possession of all her faculties for some time after her hundredth year.

BIRTHS

BIRTHS for the Year 1802.

Jan. 1. In Rutland Square, Dublin, Viſcounteſs Cory, a ſon.
3. The lady of the Hon. John Villiers, a daughter.
6. The Hon. Mrs. York, a ſon.
12. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Barnton, jun. a ſon.
13. The Hon. Mrs. Douglas, a ſon.
14. The Lady of Sir Edward Knatchbull, a ſon.
19. Lady A. M. Cotton, a ſon.
30. Lady Mary Hay, a daughter.
The Counteſs of Sefton, a daughter.

Feb. 8. The Lady of the Biſhop of Carliſle, a daughter.
12. The Conſort of the Hereditary Prince of Denmark, a princeſs.

March 3. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Col. Cameron, of Lochiel, a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Clinton, a ſon.
16. The Lady of Lord Sheffield, a ſon.
17. At Maſſey Lodge, in Ireland, the Lady of Lord Maſſey, a daughter.
Lady Holland, a ſon.
18. Lady Newborough, a ſon.
19. At Vienna, the Hon. Lady Webb, a daughter.
28. Lady Harriet Frampton, a ſon.
30. Lady Porcheſter, a ſon.
Lately at Caſtlemartyr in Ireland, the Lady of Lord Boyle, a ſon,

April 2. The Hon. Mrs. Cornwall, a daughter.
The Lady of Lord William Beauclerk, a daughter.
5. Lady Grey, a ſon.
18. Lady Georgina Morpeth, a ſon.
27. Viſcounteſs Chetwynd, a daughter.
Lady Frances Vandeleur, a daughter.

May 8. The Counteſs of Weſtmorland, a ſon.
Lady Frances Moreton, a ſon.
14. Lady Louiſa Rodney, a ſon.
20. Lady Kenſington, a ſon.
Lady Ann Culling Smith, a ſon.

June 4. The Counteſs of Caſſilis, a ſon.
5. The Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a daughter.
The Right Hon. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a ſon.
6. Lady Petre, a ſon.
7. In Henry Street Dublin, Lady Emily Henry, a ſon.
9. Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Dorſet, a ſon.
10. The Lady of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, a ſon.
11. The Lady of the Hon. Capt. Blackwood, a ſon.
17. The Marchioneſs of Worceſter, a ſon.
20. Lady Pelham, a ſon.
30. In Mountjoy Square, Dublin, the Counteſs Beg, a daughter.

July

July 1. The Counteſs of Harborough, a daughter.
3. The Hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, a daughter.
11. Counteſs Talbot, a ſon.
Lady C. Lennox, a ſon.
18. The Lady of Lord Francis Godolphin Oſborne, a ſon.
19. Viſcounteſs Belgrave, a daughter.
The Counteſs of Shrewſbury, a ſon.
Lady Harriet Gill, a ſon.
25. Lady N. Baillie, a daughter.
30. Lady Ann Hope, a ſon.
31. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.
At Lord Gwyder's, Whitehall, the Hon. Mrs. Arbuthnot, a daughter.
Aug. 5. Lady Templeton, a ſon.
13. The Marchioneſs of Wincheſter, a ſon.
14. The Lady of the Hon. Hugh Lindſay, a ſon.
At the caſtle of Hanau, the Hereditary Princeſs of Heſſe C. Caſſel, ſiſter to the King of Pruſſia, a prince.
26. The Lady of the Biſhop of Cheſter, a ſon.
29. Lady Amherſt, a ſon.
The Right Hon. Lady Ann Wombell, a ſtill born child.
31. The Counteſs of Aboyne, a ſon.
Sept. 2. The Queen of Sweden, a Prince, and heir to the crown.
7. Lady Catherine Forreſter, a daughter.
13. The Counteſs of Mountnoirrs, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Epinaſſe, a daughter.
15. The Lady of the Hon. Mr. Irby, eldeſt ſon of Lord Boſton, a ſon.
21. The Hon. Mrs. Grenfell, a daughter.
Lately, on her paſſage from Leghorn to Barcelona, the Queen of Etruria, a princeſs.
26. Lady Louvaine, a daughter.
29. The Hon. Mrs. Montgomerie Stewart, a daughter.
Oct. 6. The Lady of Lord Francis Spencer, a ſon.
10. At Paris, Madame Louis Bonaparte, a ſon.
12. Lady Bridges, a ſon.
23. Lady Margaret Maclean, a ſon.
26. At Liſbon, the Princeſs of Brazil, a prince.
30. The Lady of the Rev. Lord Charles Aynſley, a daughter.
Nov. 2. Lady Charlotte Wingfield, a daughter.
8. The Counteſs of Glaſgow, a ſon.
10. In Dublin the Counteſs of Meath, a ſon.
13. Lady Caroline Wood, a daughter.
23. The Counteſs of Banbury, a daughter.
Lady Mary Stopford, a ſon.
28. Lady Annabella Macleod, a ſon.
Lately at Alderley Park, in Cheſhire, the Hon. Mrs. Stanley, eldeſt daughter of Lord Sheffield, two ſons.

Dec.

Dec. 3. Lady Theodoſia Bligh, a daughter.

At Vienna, the Empreſs of Germany, an Archduke.

8. The Lady of the Hon. Colonel Fitzroy, a ſon.

12. At Meuthly Caſtle, Lady Stewart, of Grantilley, a ſon.

16. The Lady of the Right Hon. George Canning, a ſon.

22. The Hon. Mrs. Alcock, a daughter.

At Abergavenny, the Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, a ſon.

23. The Counteſs del' Age, a daughter.

28. The Counteſs of Clanricarde, a ſon.

29. Lady A. Kaye, a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1802.

In November laſt, at Dinapore, in the Eaſt Indies, C. S. Maling, Eſq. brother to Lady Mulgrave, to Miſs Moore, daughter of Sir William Moore, baronet, of Stamford, in Lincolnſhire.

In Dublin Mr. Powell, barriſter, to the counteſs dowager of Aldborough.

Jan. 2. By ſpecial licence, at the houſe of her grandfather, Thomas Myers, eſq. of Park-lane, to lady Mary Catherine Nevil.

5. At Paris, Louis Bonaparte, brother of the firſt conſul, to Mademoiſelle Beauharnois, daughter of Madame Bonaparte.

16. Sir Francis Vincent, baronet, to Miſs Jane Bouverie, fourth daughter of the honourable Edward Bouverie.

20. By ſpecial licence, at her father's houſe, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Samuel Holland, of Great Portland-ſtreet, M. D. to Miſs Frances Erſkine, eldeſt daughter to the honourable Thomas Erſkine.

Feb. 13. In Portland-place, lord Sinclair, to Miſs Chiſholme.

The earl of Charlemont to Miſs Berningham.

26. At Bath, major Thomas Allcock, to the honourable Miſs Caroline St. Leger, ſiſter of lord viſcount Doneraile.

27. At Liſnegar, in Ireland, lieutenant colonel Baird, to the honourable Eſther Charlotte Tonſon, eldeſt daughter of the late lord Riverſdale.

March 4. John George Ferry, eſq. to lady Jane Halliday, widow of Delap Halliday, eſq. and ſiſter to the earl of Dyſart.

April 7. At Meriden, colonel Warwick, the honourable William Booth Grey, ſecond ſon of the earl of Stamford, to Miſs Price.

The honourable Coulſon Wallop,

Wallop, M. P. for Andover, to Miſs Keatinge.

26. At Edinburgh, the honourable George Vere Hobart, ſecond ſon to the earl of Buckinghamſhire, to Miſs Janet Maclean.

May 13. George Goold, eſq. of Old-court, in Ireland, to the lady Charlotte Browne, eldeſt daughter to the earl of Kenmare.

24. The honourable Auguſtus R. Butler Danvers, to Miſs E. Sturt.

26. Lord Viſcount Aſhbrook, to Miſs Deborah Suſannah Friend.

27. Lord Viſcount Sidney, to lady Charlotte Clements.

June 2. Honourable Mr. Welleſley, brother to the Marquis Welleſley, to lady E. Cadogan, daughter of the earl of Cadogan.

14. Honourable and reverend Walter Hutchinſon Aſton, to the eldeſt daughter of the reverend Dr. Hanes.

19. Thomas Heneage, eſq. to the honourable Arabella Pelham, fourth daughter of lord Yarborough.

20. At Hamburgh, ſir Robert Barclay, baronet, to Madame de Cronſtedt, daughter of colonel Durell, and the widow of the late baron de Cronſtedt.

July 1. Lord Henry Stuart, third ſon of the marquis of Bute, to lady Gertrude Villiers.

10. At Dublin, by ſpecial licence, lord Donally, to the only daughter of the late Dominick Trant, eſq. and niece to the late earl of Clare.

12. B. A. Coutts Trotter, eſq. of Berner's-ſtreet, to Miſs Margaret Gordon, youngeſt daughter of the late honourable Alexander Gordon, lord Rockville, brother to the late earl of Aberdeen.

Lately, at Caſſel, the hereditary prince of Saxe Gotha, to the princeſs Charlotte, of Heſſe Caſſel.

31. At Saint Mary-le-bonne, by ſpecial licence, Thomas Foley, eſq. of Albemarles, county of Carmarthen, captain R. N. to lady Lucy Fitzgerald, ſiſter of the duke of Leinſter.

Aug. 9. Peregrine Langton, eſq. ſecond ſon of the counteſs of Rothes, to Miſs Elizabeth Mary Anne Maſſingberd.

12. At Wincheſter houſe, the honourable and reverend Thomas de Grey, ſecond ſon of lord Walſingham, to Miſs Elizabeth North, fourth daughter of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

15. In Great George-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, by the biſhop of Lincoln, the moſt noble Aubrey Beau-

clerc, duke of Saint Albans, to Miſs Manners, daughter of lady Louiſa Manners.

18. Lord Viſcount Kirkwall, to the honourable Miſs Anna Maria Blaquiere, eldeſt daughter of lord de Blaquiere.

25. Lord Viſcount Falkland, to Miſs Anton.

Sept. 1. At Shoreham, Suſſex, colonel Porter, M.P. for Stockbridge, to the counteſs dowager Groſvenor.

At the reſidence of A. Merry, eſq. his majeſty's miniſter at Paris, the reverend James Burgeſs, junior to lady Catharine Elizabeth Beauclerc, ſiſter to the duke of Saint Albans.

11. At Caſtle Townſend, county of Cork, Simon White, eſq. brother of lord Bantry, and nephew of lady Lougueville, to the youngeſt daughter of the late John Newenham, eſq. of Maryborough, in Ireland.

21. The honourable Charles Murray, brother to the earl of Mansfield, to Miſs Law.

23. William Wheble, eſq. of Woodley-lodge, Berks, to Miſs Maria Talbot, ſecond daughter of Francis Talbot, eſq. uncle to the earl of Shrewſbury.

Oct. 20. William Bentinck, eſq. of Terrington, Norfolk, and captain in the royal navy, to the honourable Auguſta Pierrepoint, only daughter of lord viſcount Newark.

26. At Steanraer, in Scotland, the honourable Adam Gordon, to the eldeſt daughter of Hamilton Maxwell, eſq.

29. Honourable Captain Archibald Macdonald, ſon of the late lord Macdonald, to Miſs Jane Campbell, eldeſt daughter of Duncan Campbell, eſq. of Saint Andrew-ſquare, Edinburgh.

Nov. 6. Dudley North, eſq. to the honourable Miſs Pelham, eldeſt daughter of lord Yarborough.

13. Lord Binning, ſon of the earl of Haddington, to lady Maria Parker, daughter of the earl of Macclesfield.

Dec. 2. Lord Southampton, to the ſecond daughter of lord Robert Seymour.

15. The honourable and reverend Henry Ryder, third ſon of lord Harrowby, to Sophia, ſecond daughter of Thomas March Phillips, eſq. of Garendon Park.

21. Honourable Reginald Cocks, youngeſt ſon of lord Somers, to Miſs Anne Cocks, ſecond daughter of James Cocks, eſq.

23. At Ardfry, county of Galway, Ireland, lord Clonbrock, to the honourable Miſs Blake, only child and heireſs of lord Wallſcourt, and granddaughter of the late earl of Louth.

29. Aubone Surtees, esq. to the eldest daughter of sir John Honywood, baronet, grand-daughter of the late, and niece to the present lord viscount Courtenay.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1802.

January. His majesty's letters patent have passed the great seal of Ireland, appointing Arthur Browne, esquire, his majesty's prime serjeant at law in Ireland, in the room of Edward Stanley, esquire, resigned.

Also appointing William Smith, esquire, one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer in Ireland, in the room of Peter Metze, esquire, resigned.

Lieutenant William Gardner, governor of Kinsale and Charles Fort, *vice* general lord Rosmore, deceased.

War-Office. Brevet. Colonel Robert Lawson, of the royal regiment of artillery, to be colonel in the second of that corps.---Brevet-lieutenant-colonel George Glasgow of the same, to be lieutenant-colonel.

War-Office, Jan. 5. Invalids. Ensign Francis White, from the invalids at Plymouth, to be ensign in captain Rogers's independent company of invalids in the Tower of London, *vice* M'Gregor, exchanged. Ensign John M'Gregor, from the invalids in the Tower of London to be ensign in the (late Major Bulkeley's) independent company of invalids at Plymouth, *vice* White, exchanged.—Brevet-captain Alexander Bryce, of the royal engineers, to be major in the army.

Whitehall, Jan. 13. The right honourable William Wickham, the right honourable George Rose, and the right honourable Charles Long, were, by his majesty's command, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

John Wilson, esquire, a commissioner for investigating the accounts of the army in the West Indies, *vice* general Maitland, resigned.

War-Office, Jan. 16. John Flynn, esquire, late captain-lieutenant in the royals, to be barrack-master of Shelbourne, in Nova Scotia, *vice* Ogden, retired.

Whitehall, Feb. 3. His royal highness the duke of Cambridge was introduced into the privy council for the united kingdom, by his grace the duke of Portland, K. G. lord president, and his royal highness took his place at the board on his majesty's left hand.

Nicholas Smith, esquire, master in chancery, is to be the accomptant-general in chancery, in the room of Mr. Walker, deceased.

Alexander Frazer Tytler, esquire, to be a judge of the court of session in the room of the late lord Stonefield.

War-Office, Feb. 6. Staff. Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, of the 36th foot, to be brigadier-general in the army serving in the Mediterranean only. Thomas Aston Coffin, esquire, to be commissary of accompts in British North America.

Hospital-Staff. Assistant-inspector Alexander Robertson to be deputy-inspector of hospitals to the forces.

Barracks. Robert Collier, esquire, late captain in the Scotch

brigade, to be barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Marſhal, retired.

War-Office, Feb. 9. Brevet. captain John Taylor, of the 25th foot to be major in the army.

St. James's, Feb. 13. The king has been pleaſed to grant the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the right honourable ſir John Mitford, knight, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, ſtyle, and title of baron Redeſdale, of Redeſdale in the county of Northumberland.—The king has alſo been pleaſed to order letters patent, containing a grant unto the ſaid right honourable John Baron Redeſdale, of the office and place of chancellor and keeper of the great ſeal of Ireland, in the room of John Earl of Clare, deceaſed.

War-office, Feb. 16. Staff. Burnet Bruce, eſquire, advocate, to be deputy-judge-advocate and clerk of the courts martial in North Britain, *vice* Tytler, appointed to a ſeat in the court of ſeſſion.

Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Lethbridge, of the 60th regiment of foot, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, from the 60th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel of 86th foot.—Major Herbert Taylor, from the 2d dragoon-guards, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Weſt India regiment.

Burnet Bruce, eſquire, advocate, to be deputy judge advocate and clerk of the courts martial in North Britain.

Thomas Henry Brooke, eſquire, to be ſecretary to the government of the iſland of St. Helena.

Whitehall, Feb. 17. The king has been pleaſed to grant the dignity of a viſcount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the right honourable Aſheton Baron Curzon, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, ſtyle, and title of viſcount Curzon, of Penn, in the county of Buckingham.

St. James's, Feb. 24. Henry Bentinck, eſquire, captain-general and governor in chief of the iſlands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and ſuch other of the iſlands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the iſland of Cariacou, in America.

War-Office, March 9. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Kennetp Alexander Howard, of the coldſtream foot-guards, to be deputy-inſpector-general of foreign corps in his majeſty's ſervice, *vice* Couper.

Lieutenant-colonel James Butler of the royal artillery, to be ſuperintendant of the junior department in the royal military college.

Right reverend Dr. George de la Poer Beresford, lord biſhop of the united biſhoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, tranſlated to the biſhopric of Kilmore, in the room of the moſt reverend and honourable Dr. Charles Brodrick, promoted to the archbiſhopric of Caſhel.

Whitehall, March 16. George Lord Rivers, created baron Rivers, of Sudely-caſtle, county of Glouceſter, with remainders to general ſir William Auguſtus Pitt (brother lord of Rivers), and his heirs-male, and to the iſſue-male ſucceſſively of Peter Beckford, of Stapleton, county of Dorſet, eſquire, by Louiſa Beckford, his late wife, deceaſed (daughter of the ſaid lord Rivers).

War-Office, March 20. Brevet. Colonel

Colonel Pierre Frederick Count de Meuron, to be major-general in the army.

Major Duncan Macdonald, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.—Colonel Pierre Frederick Count de Meuron, to be major-general in the army.

Saint James's, March 20. The right honourable Horatio, viſcount, and baron Nelſon of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, knight of the moſt honourable military order of the Bath, and vice admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, (alſo duke of Bronté in Sicily and grand croſs of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit,) the royal licence and permiſſion to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the creſcent, which the grand ſignior has tranſmitted to him.

St. James's, March 24. George Earl of Eſſex, appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Hereford, *vice* viſcount Bateman, deceaſed.

War-Office, March 24. General his royal highneſs Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. appointed governor of Gibraltar, *vice* general O'Hara, deceaſed.

Downing-ſtreet, March 27. Sir James Crauford, baronet, appointed his majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the king of Denmark.

Francis Hill, eſquire, to be his majeſty's ſecretary of legation at the ſame court. Charles Fenwick, eſquire, to be his majeſty's conſul at Elſineur.

Appointment of Andrew Caſpar Gieſe, eſquire, to be his Pruſſian majeſty's vice conſul at London, approved.

War-Office, March 27. Hoſpital Staff. William Moore, M. D. inſpector of hoſpitals, to be principal medical officer of the hoſpitals in the Iſle of Wight, *vice* Jackſon, reſigned.

Major Archibald Stewart, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 1ſt battallion 1ſt regiment of foot.—Major-general Hay M'Dowal, from the 78th regiment of foot, to be colonel commandant of the 2d battallion of the 40th regiment of foot.—Major-general John Hely lord Hutchinſon, K. B. to be colonel of the 74th regiment of foot.—Major Lord Aylmer, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 85th regiment of foot.

Whitehall, April 6. Reverend George Markham, M. A. to be dean of the metropolitical church of York, *vice* Founteyne, deceaſed.

Reverend Joſeph White, D. D. appointed Hebrew profeſſor in the univerſity of Oxford, with the prebend of Chriſt Church annexed, *vice* Blayney, deceaſed.

Rev. Charles Allcock, LL. B. preſented to the archdeaconry of Chicheſter, *vice* Dr. John Buckner, promoted to the ſee of Chicheſter.

War-Office, April 6th. Brevet. Captain William Bray, of the 4th Weſt India regiment, to be major in the army.

St. James's, April 7. His grace George William Frederick Duke of Leeds, appointed lord-lieutenant of the North Riding of the county of York; *vice* the earl of Fauconberg, took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon.

Carlton Houſe, April 11. Honourable Thomas Erſkine, appointed, by the prince of Wales, chancellor and keeper of his royal highneſs's great ſeal.

Major John Campbell to be

lieutenant-colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

Major Alexander Adams to be lieutenant-colonel of the 78th regiment of foot.

Major Samuel Gibbs, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 10th Weſt India regiment.

Whitehall, April 17. Sir Edward Law, knight, chief juſtice of the court of king's bench, created baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, county of Cumberland.

St. James's, April 21. Lord Ellenborough ſworn of the privy council.

Whitehall, April 24. Right honourable Francis lord Napier, his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

Ordnance-Office, April 26. Garriſons. Reverend John Wetherall, chaplain to the garriſon of Halifax, to be chaplain to the garriſon of Gibraltar, *vice* Chalmers, reſigned.

Reverend Joſiah Pike, to be chaplain to the garriſon of Halifax, in Novia Scotia, *vice* Wetherall.

Barracks. Charles Andrews, eſquire, late captain in the 24th regiment of foot, to be barrack-maſter at Newfoundland, *vice* Gledſtanes, appointed barrack-maſter in Great Britain.

James Stuart, eſquire, late lieutenant in the 42d regiment of foot, to be a barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Scott, deceaſed.

Lieutenant-general C. Lyſter, from the 3d regiment of foot guards is appointed to the command of the 45th regiment of foot, *vice* Adeane, deceaſed.

The king, in approbation of the meritorious ſervices of the marine corps, has directed that that uſeful body ſhall in future be called the royal marines.

Lord Amherſt, lord of the bed-chamber.

Admiralty-Office, April 29. James Pigot, eſquire, and William lord Radſtock, vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

Alexander Græme, and George Keppel, eſquires, vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red.

Charles Camberlayne, and Peter Rainier, eſquires, vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir George Home, and ſir Charles Cotton, baronets, rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Willett Payne, eſquire, and ſir Robert Calder, baronet, rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Carlton-Houſe, May 10. Wm. Adam, eſquire, one of his majeſty's counſel, appointed, by the prince of Wales, his royal highneſs's ſolicitor-general, *vice* Thomas Manners Sutton, eſquire, appointed his majeſty's ſolicitor-general.

War-Office, May 11. His majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint

Lieutenant-generals John Leland, James Hamilton, John Stratton, James Rook, Charles Croſbie, John earl of Suffolk, honourable Chapple Norton, George Hotham, David Dundas, ſir Robert Abercrombie, K. B. Gerard Lake, ſir Thomas Muſgrave, baronet, James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, and ſir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be generals in the army.

Major-generals Anthony Farrington, James Stuart, Charles Horneck, John Whyte, Andrew-John Drummond, Henry Bowyer, John William Egerton, Peter Hunter, Joſeph Walton, Ellis Walker, William Johnſtone, William Maxwell,

well, George earl of Pembroke, John earl of Chatham, Alexander Campbell, William Morſhead, Francis Dundas, Alexander Roſs, Abraham D'Aubant, honourable Francis Needham, and Henry Pigot, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels Francis lord Seaforth; Bryd Trewthick Heniker, of the 9th dragoons; David Douglas Wemyſs, of the 18th foot; honourable John Leſlie, of the 1ſt foot-guards; Henry Wynyard, of the 1ſt foot-guards; William Thornton, of the 1ſt foot-guards; John Stuart, of the queen's German regiment; Duncan Campbell, of the 91ſt foot; Thomas Groſvenor, of the 3d foot-guards; John Calcraft, of the coldſtream guards; honourable John Hope, of the North Lowland fencible infantry; honourable Vere Poulet, on half-pay; Charles Barton, of the 2d life-guards; George Cunninghame, late of the Scotch brigade; Frederick Halket, late of ditto; Ilay Ferrier, of the Scotch brigade; Alexander Mackenzie, of the 78th foot; William Congreve, of the royal-artillery; honourable James Forbes, of the Coldſtream guards; Henry lord Paget, of the 7th light dragoons; John Doyle, of the 87th foot; Robert Brownrigg, of the 60th foot; William Caulfield Archer, of the 1ſt foot-guards; William earl of Banbury, of the 3d foot-guards; honourable Arthur Welleſley, of the 33d foot; honourable Edmund Phipps, of the 1ſt foot-guards; and William Cartwright, of the 10th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Francis T. Hammond, of the late 12th foot; Crofton Vandeleure, of the 46th foot; John Hamilton, of the 81ſt foot; Robert Dudley Blake, of the Northumberland fencible infantry; John Barnes, of the royal artillery; Robert Douglas, of the royal artillery; Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot; honourable Robert Meade, of the 31ſt foot; Alexander Malcolm, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Houſton, of the 58th foot; honourable George Saint John of the 73d foot; John Prince, of the 6th dragoons; George Mitchell, on half-pay of the 31ſt light dragoons; Daniel-Henry Saw, of the 7th Weſt India regiment; Thomas Hiſlop, of the 11th Weſt India regiment; John M'Leod, of the royal artillery; George Le Hunt on half-pay of the late independents; Pierre de Meuron Bullot, of Meuron's regiment; Charles M'Murdo, of the 31ſt foot; Walter Cliffe, of the 7th foot; William Wynyard, of the Coldſtream guards; John Walbanke Childers, of the 11th light dragoons; Alexander Wood, of the late 120th foot; Alexander Dirom, of the 52d foot; Anthony-Lewis Layard, of the 7th foot; Thomas, earl of Elgin; David Hunter, of the Anguſhire fencible infantry; John earl of Breadalbane; John Slade, of the 1ſt dragoons; Richard Tayler, of the late 2d battalion of the 82d foot; Frederick A. F. Beckwith, of the 37th foot; William Spencer, of the 23d light dragoons; ſir Richard Baſſet, knight, of the 5th Weſt India regiment; Samuel Graham, of the 27th foot; James Montgomery, of the 45th foot; Frederick Auguſtus Wetherall, of the 82d foot;

William Wright, of the artillery in Ireland; John-Daniel Arabin, ditto; William Buchannan, ditto; William Murray, of the 24th light dragoons; honourable William Lumley, of the 22d light dragoons; Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot; Thomas Gibson, of the 83d foot; John Timms Hervey Elwes, of the late 2d battalion 84th foot; Moore Disney, of the 1st foot-guards; John Montresor, of the 80th foot; John Mackenzie, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Carlyon Hughes, of the 87th foot; Edward Corry, on half-pay of the late 101st foot; Solomon-Peter de L'Hoste, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; Alexander Graham Stirling, on half-pay of the late 122d foot; honourable Archibald Montgomery, on half-pay of the late royal Glasgow regiment; Henry Mordaunt Clavering, of the Argyleshire fencible infantry; William Thomas, of the 41st foot; John Michel, of the 14th light dragoons; and Stephen Trotter, of the late 112th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors William Osborn Hamilton, of the ancient Irish fencible infantry; James Wheeler Unwin, of the 60th foot; Thomas Norton Powlett, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; James Willock, on half pay of the late 95th foot; Francis Slater Rebow, of the 2d life guards; Robert Pigot, on half-pay of the late 130th foot; sir Edward Gerald Butler, knight, of the 87th foot; Gustavus Richard Matthews, on half-pay of the late independents; Samuel Need, of the 27th light dragoons; Edward Webber, of the late 2d battalion 90th foot; Michael-Edward Jacobs, of the 76th foot; Thomas viscount Ranelagh, of the 66th foot; Thomas L'Estrange, of the 7th foot; sir Thomas Pechell, baronet, of the late 2d horse-grenadier-guards; William Latham, of the 7th dragoon guards; John Castleman, of the 51st foot; Charles Gray, of the 75th foot; Lauchlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot: David Dewar, on half-pay of the late independents; Joseph Foveaux, of the New South Wales corps; Michael M'Creagh, of the 11th West India regiment; Richard O'Dogherty, of the 69th foot; George Kinnaird Dana, of the 13th foot; Charles Cerjat, of the 1st dragoons; Walter Elliott, of the 33d foot; William Clark, of the 46th foot; William Jephson, of the 17th light dragoons; William Sinclair Wemys, of the 48th foot; John Grant, on half-pay of the late independents; John Smith, of the 31st foot; James Moore, of the 26th light dragoons; Edward Baynes, of the 76th foot; George Dodsworth, of the 34th foot; Charles Miller, of the 1st West India regiment; Nathanael Levett Peacocke, of the 48th foot; James Stirling, of the 42d foot; Thomas Steele, of a late recruiting corps; Edward Witherington, of the 9th dragoons; Patrick Maxwell, of the 7th dragoon-guards; James Leatham, of the 4th dragoon-guards; Robert Young, of the 8th foot; Charles Browne, on half-pay of the late 96th foot; Edward Stehelin, of the royal artillery; John-Augustus Schalch, of ditto; Burgh Leighton, of the 4th dragoons; Henry Michael Mervin Vavasour, of the late 1st horse-grenadier-guards; David Ross, of the 62d foot;

foot; Henry Rogers, of the royal artillery; Edward Vicars, of the 2d dragoon-guards; James Miller, of the royal artillery; Harry Hutton, of ditto; John Harding, of ditto; William Johnſtone, of the royal engineers; Flower M. Sproule, of the royal artillery; Edmund Lemoine, of ditto; William Dacres of the 26th foot; David Mellifont, of the 10th foot; Thomas Inglis, on half-pay of the late 126th foot; Henry-William Eſpinaſſe, of the 4th foot; Henry Raleigh Knight, of the 2d foot; Robert Douglas, of the 56th foot; Peter Hayes Petit, of the 35th foot; Thomas Powell, of the 14th foot; James Blackwell, of the 29th light dragoons; Samuel Venables Hinde, of the 32d foot; Thomas Norton Wyndham, of the 1ſt dragoons; Berkenhead Gleg, of the 91ſt foot; John Tuffnell, of the late York rangers; James Stuart, on half-pay of the late independents; John Lindhall Borland, of the 38th foot; honourable James Ramſay, of the 2d foot; F. Streicher, of the 60th foot; and L. Morſheim, of the 60th foot; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains John Miller, of the royal marines; John Humphreys, of the royal engineers; John F. S. Smith, of the royal artillery; Benjamin Stehelin, of ditto; Sandiford Lamb, of the 15th light dragoons; Bohun Shore, of the 4th dragoons; James-Richard Coates, of the 69th foot; Alexander Sharpe, of the 49th foot; M. C. Cole, of the royal marines; Hugh Trevor, of the 77th foot; Richard H. Foley, of the royal marines; George Ball, of ditto; William Patten of ditto; William Johnſon, of the 47th foot; John Creſwell, of the royal marines; William Binks, of ditto; Arthur Ball, of ditto; Richard Bidlake, of ditto; James Home, of ditto; James Campbell, of ditto; Robert Moncrief, of ditto; William Douglas, of the 6th foot; Oliver Nayler, of the royal marines; Thomas Colby, of ditto; James Caſſel, of ditto; James Muler, of the 42d foot; Charles Tomkins, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Philip Vaumorel, of the 36th foot; James Douglas, of the Scotch brigade; Cavendiſh Sturt, of the 39th foot; Ralph Hamilton, of the 2d life-guards; John Nugent, of the 38th foot; Henry Shrapnell, of ditto; Richard Hockings, of the royal engineers; Robert D'Arcy, of ditto; Francis Dunne, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Gilbert King, of ditto; Cholmeley Overend, of the 50th foot; James Magrath, of the 87th foot; Robert Hope, of the royal artillery; George Wulffe, of ditto; George W. Dixon, of ditto; George Bridges, of the royal engineers; Mark Watts, of the 67th foot; Maurice Cane, of the 83d foot; Brice Maxwell, of the 8th foot; George Cuyler, of the 86th foot; Samuel Blake Deverell, of the 3d Weſt India regiment; Wiltſhire Wilſon, of the royal artillery; Daniel Graham, of ditto; Richard Hamilton, of ditto; Edward Trevelyan, of the 1ſt foot-guards; Thomas Marlay, of ditto; Thomas Croker, of the 38th foot; Montague Burrows, of the 14th foot; John Lawrenſon, of the 18th light dragoons; John Mackintoſh, of the royal marines; William Macleod, of the 76th foot; John Hope, of the 18th foot; Lawrence H. Newton, of the

the royal artillery; Charles Darrah, of the 21ſt foot; William Hooper, of the 4th dragoons; Alexander-Francis Taylor, of the 21ſt foot; Ralph Smith, of the 30th foot; John Beevor, of the 9th dragoons; Thomas Huxley of the 2d Weſt India regiment; Richard Pigot, of the 14th light dragoons; and Joſeph Thomſon, of the 40th foot; to be majors in the army.

Whitehall, May 12. Right reverend Dr. Richard Beadon, biſhop of Glouceſter, tranſlated to the ſee of Bath and Wells, *vice* Moſs, deceaſed.

St. James's, May 13th. Wm. Rawlins, eſquire, ſheriff of London, knighted.

Downing-ſtreet, May 14. Hon. George Vere Hobart, appointed lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Grenada, and its dependencies, *vice* Houſton, reſigned.

Whitehall, May 15. Rupert George, Ambroſe Serle, and William Albany Otway, eſquires, appointed commiſſioners for conducting the tranſport ſervice, &c.

War-Office, May 15th. Major ſir Robert Wilſon, to be lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of mounted rifle men.—Major James Lyon, to be lieutenant-colonel of the queen's German regiment.

Brevet. Major-general Charles Daniel Count de Meuron, to be lieutenant-general in the army. Colonel Ferdinand Baron Hompeſch, to be major-general in the army. To be lieutenant-colonels in the army: major ſir James Bontien, baronet, on half-pay on the late Kelſo regiment; major William Bray, of the 4th Weſt India regiment; and major Charles Auriol, of the 14th light dragoons. To be major in the army: captain John Roſs, of the Coldſtream guards.—Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Francis William Farquhar, of the 17th foot, to be deputy inſpector-general of the recruiting ſervice. Lieutenant-colonel James Taylor, of the 12th foot, to be deputy inſpector-general of the recruiting ſervice in Ireland.

Downing-ſtreet, May 19th. Charles Arbuthnot, eſquire, appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Sweden.

St. James's, May 19th. Thomas Manners Sutton, eſquire, ſolicitor-general to his majeſty, and John Pinhorn, eſquire, of Ningwood houſe, in the iſle of Wight, knighted.

War-Office, May 29. Major John Cornelius Halkett, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 55th foot. Captain Charles Stone, of the 16th light dragoons, to be paymaſter of the royal military college.—Brevet. Major general George Nugent, to be lieutenant-general in the iſland of Jamaica and its dependencies only. Major Robert Honyman, on half-pay of the late York fuzileers, to be a lientenant-colonel in the army.

War-Office, June 1. Brevet. Captain Duncan, John Cameron, of the late Sheffield regiment, and captain Edward Letherland, of the late 123d foot, to be majors in the army.—Staff. Colonel William Dyott, of the 25th foot, to be aid de camp to his majeſty, *vice* major general Cartwright, promoted.

Whitehall, June 5. Reverend George Iſaac Huntingford, D. D. to be biſhop of Glouceſter, *vice* Beadon.

Reverend William Buſby, M. A. appointed a canon of Canterbury cathedral, *vice* Dering, deceaſed.

Lieutenant-

Lieutenant-general William Spry, to be colonel commandant; and lieutenant-general Robert Morſe, to be colonel commandant of the royal engineers.

Major-general Sir Eyre Coote, knight of the moſt honourable military order of the Bath, the royal licence and permiſſion to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the creſcent, which the grand ſignior has tranſmitted unto him.

Downing-ſtreet, June 5. Lieutenant-general William Grinfield, to be commander of all his majeſty's land forces ſerving in the leeward and windward Charibbee iſlands, and in the iſland of Trinidad.

War-Office, June 12. Garriſons. Lieutenant-colonel George Vigoreux, to be lieutenant-colonel of the royal garriſon battalion.

Honourable William Grey, major, of the 17th foot, to be lieutenant-governor of Cheſter, *vice* Gunn, deceaſed.

The undermentioned officers of the Eaſt India company's forces to take rank by brevet in his majeſty's army in the Eaſt Indies only: to be major-generals, colonels William Gent, and Thomas Nicholls; to be colonel, lieutenant-colonel John Orr; to be lieutenant-colonels, majors Robert Bell, Tredway Clarke, Richard Howley, and Andrew Glaſs; to be majors, captains John Norris, Thomas Hayes, Walter C. Lennon, Collin Mackenzie, George Hernyng, and Arthur Foreſt.

Whitehall, June 15. Mary Marchioneſs of Downſhire, widow of Arthur late Marquis of Downſhire, created a baroneſs of the united kingdom, by the title of lady Sandys, baroneſs of Ombersley, county of Worceſter; with remainder to Arthur Moyſes William Hill (commonly called lord Arthur Moyſes William Hill), ſecond ſon of the ſaid Arthur late marquis of Downſhire, by the ſaid Mary his wife; alſo, to the third, fourth, or fifth ſons; and, in default of their iſſue, to her eldeſt ſon, the preſent marquis of Downſhire.

His grace Hugh duke of Northumberland, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Northumberland.

St. James's, June 16. William lord Lowther, to be lord-lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, *vice* the earl of Lonſdale, deceaſed.

Downing-ſtreet, June 18. Lord Whitworth, to be his majeſty's ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French republic; and James Talbot, eſquire, to be ſecretary to that embaſſy.

Whitehall, June 22. Reverend John Marſhall, M. A. preſented to the rectory of Orſett, county of Eſſex, vacant by the tranſlation of Dr. Beadon, biſhop of Glouceſter, to the ſee of Bath and Wells.

War-Office, June 22. Brevet. Colonel Marcus Beresford, on the half-pay of the late 135th foot, to be brigadier-general in the windward and leeward Charibbee iſlands.

Major Colquhoun Grant, to be lieutenant-colonel of 72d regiment of foot.

To be majors in the army: captain David Douglas, late of the Scotch brigade; captain Colin Dundas Graham, late of ditto; captain Alexander Scott, late of ditto; captain John Cameron, late of ditto; and captain-lieutenant James Urquhart, late of ditto.—Staff. Lieutenant-colonel George Murray, of the 3d foot [illegible] to be adjutant-general to the forces ſerving

ſerving in the leeward iſlands and Trinidad, *vice* Gledſtanes, reſigned.

Whitehall, June 26. Right reverend Samuel Horſley, D. D. biſhop of Rocheſter, tranſlated to the ſee of St. Aſaph, *vice* Dr. Bagot, deceaſed.

Honourable and reverend Gerald Valerian Wellefley, M. A. to be a prebendary of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, *vice* Hoare, deceaſed.

Downing-ſtreet, June 29. The king has been pleaſed to appoint William Fullarton, eſquire, brigadier-general Thomas Picton, and Samuel Wood, eſquire, captain in the royal navy, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of governor and commander in chief in and over his majeſty's iſland of Trinidad.

Whitehall, June 29. William Adam of Blair Adam, eſquire, to be his majeſty's lieutenant and ſheriff principal of the ſhire of Kinroſs.

War-Office, June 29. Royal Military College. Reverend —— Owen, to be chaplain, librarian, and inſtructor of claſſics. Hoſpital-ſtaff. Dr. William Franklin, to be aſſiſtant-inſpector-general of hoſpitals.

Lieutenant Colonel Lyde Browne, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 21ſt regiment of foot; lieutenant-colonel lord Evelyn Stuart, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 22d foot.

Whitehall, July 2. John Smyth, eſquire, appointed maſter and worker of the mint.

Whitehall, July 3. Right honourable Henry Addington, Charles Small Pybus, eſquire, George Thynne, eſquire, (commonly called lord George Thynne), Nathaniel Bond, and John Hiley Addington, eſquires, appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

Downing-ſtreet, July 5. Francis Drake, eſquire, to be envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary at the court of his ſerene highneſs the elector Palatine.

Whitehall, July 6. Honourable William Wellefley Pole, clerk of the ordnance of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* John Sargent, eſquire.

Viſcount Caſtlereagh, preſident of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, *vice* earl of Dartmouth, reſigned.

His grace William Henry Cavendiſh, duke of Portland; the right honourable Robert Banks Jenkinſon (lord Hawkeſbury); the right honourable Robert baron Hobart, and the right honourable Thomas baron Pelham; the right honourable Henry Addington; his grace James duke of Montroſe; the right honourable Sylveſter baron Glenbervie; the right honourable William Dundas; the right honourable Thomas Wallace; the right honourable Charles John baron Arden, and Edward Goſling, eſquire, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of India.

Whitehall, July 10. His grace Hugh duke of Northumberland, K. G. cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Northumberland, and town and county of Newcaſtle upon Tyne.—Evan Nepean, of Loders and Bothenhampton, county of Dorſet, eſquire, created a baronet.

War-Office, July 10. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, of the 1ſt foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to the king's troops ſerving in the Eaſt Indies, *vice* Craufurd, reſigned.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Colonel Miles Nightingale, of the 38th foot, to be quarter-master general to the king's troops serving in the East Indies, *vice* Gordon, resigned.

Major William Myers, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 62d regiment of foot.—Colonel, the honourable John Broderick, to be colonel commandant of a battalion of infantry.

Whitehall, July 13. Lieutenant-colonel Edward Baker Littlehales, and Archibald Dickson, esquire, admiral of the blue, created baronets.

Whitehall, July 15. Lord Viscount Nelson, permitted (by his majesty) to receive and wear the ensigns of knight grand commander of the order of St. Joachim; his lordship's nomination to the same having been signified to him by the reigning county of Leiningen Westerbourgh.

Ordnance-Office, July 19. Lieutenant-general Abraham D'Aubant, to be colonel commandant; colonel John Evelegh to be colonel; lieutenant-colonel William Johnston, to be lieutenant-colonel in the corps of royal engineers.

Whitehall, July 20. Charles-George baron Arden of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, created a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Arden, of Arden, county of Warwick.—John Baron Sheffield of that part of the said united kingdom called Ireland, created Baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, county of York.

Downing-street, July 20. Appointment of John J. Murray, esquire, to be consul from the united states of America at the port of Glasgow, approved by his majesty.

War-Office, July 24. Lieutenant-general Banastre Tarleton, to be colonel of the 21st light dragoons.

31. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Pringle, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th foot.

Whitehall, Aug. 3. Reverend Thomas Dampier, D. D. to be bishop of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Horsley, translated to the see of St. Asaph.—Reverend William Vincent, D. D. one of the prebendaries of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, appointed dean of the said collegiate church, also *vice* Dr. Horsley.

Reverend Edward Dupré, LL. D. presented to the deanry of the island of Jersey, *vice* the reverend Francis le Breton, deceased.

Reverend John Deedes, M. A. presented to the rectory of east Mersey, county of Essex, *vice* reverend John Tickell, deceased.

Downing-street, Aug. 3. Robert Liston, esquire, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the batavian republic.—John Hunter, esquire, appointed consul-general at Madrid.

War-Office, Aug. 7. Major James Robinson to be lieutenant-colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.—Major William Johnstone, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 28th regiment of foot.

Whitehall, Aug. 14. Reverend John Ireland, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Dr. Vincent, resigned.

War-Office, Aug. 14. Staff. Joseph Otway, esquire, late captain in the 48th foot, and barrack-master at Maker-Heights, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.—Barracks. George Barnard, gentleman, from the half-pay of ensign of the 56th foot, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Otway.

War-Office, Aug. 17. General Guy,

Guy, lord Dorchester, K. B. to be colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons.—Major-general William Loftus, to be colonel of the 27th ditto.—Major James Crde, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 4th regiment of foot.—Major James Ferrier, to be lieutenant-colonel of the Scotch brigade.

Staff. Lieutenant-colonel George Burgess Morden, of the 60th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward islands, *vice* Thomas, resigned.

Arthur Baynes, esquire, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces in the Mediterranean.—Major Terence O'Loghlin, to be major and lieutenant-colonel in the 1st regiment of life-guards.

Downing-street, Aug. 21. Sir John Borlase Warren, baronet, K.B. and rear-admiral of the white, appointed his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburg.—James Craufurd, esquire, appointed his majesty's agent at Rotterdam.

Whitehall, Aug. 24. Reverend Samuel Goodenough, LL. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Dampier, promoted to the see of Rochester.

War-Office, Aug. 28. Garrisons. General Ralph Dundas, to be governor of Duncannon fort, county of Wexford, in Ireland, *vice* Sloper, deceased.

Whitehall, Sept. 4. Archibald Dickson, esquire, of Hardingham-hall, county of Norfolk, admiral of the blue, created a baronet, with remainder to his nephew, Archibald Collingwood Dickson, esquire, captain in the navy.

Henry Addington, esquire, (son of the right honourable Henry Addington, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer) appointed clerk of the pells in England, *vice* Barré, deceased.

War-Office, Sept 4. Major lord Charles Bentinck, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th regiment of foot.

Staff. Thomas Stanroyd, esquire, from half-pay of lieutenant of the 17th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.

Hospital-Staff. Garrison-surgeon Charles Williamson, to be surgeon to the forces, *vice* Huddlestone, retired.

Downing-street, Sept. 6. John Hookham Frere, esquire, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.—Right honourable lord Robert-Stephen Fitzgerald, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon.

St. James's, Sept. 8. Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Downing-street, Sept. 11. Francis James Jackson, esquire, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

Downing-street, Sept. 15. Lieutenant-colonel Sir John Douglas, of the royal marines, appointed (by the duke of Suffex) equerry to his royal highness.

Major-general Thomas Grosvenor, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 7th foot.

War-Office, Sept. 18. Brevet. Colonel Charles baron Hompesch, of the prince of Wales's hussars, to be major-general in the army.

St. James's, Sept. 22. Right honourable Sir Charles Morgan, baronet, and right honourable John Smith,

Smith, fworn of his majefty's moft honourable privy-council.

War-Office, Sept. 25. Garrifons. Reverend William Hardwicke, to be chaplain to the garrifon of St. John's, in Newfoundland, *vice* Tickell, deceafed.

Lieutenant Robert Grier, of the 25th foot, to be town-major of prince Edward's ifland, *vice* Robertfon, promoted.

Lieutenant-colonel lord Charles Bentinck, and lieutenant-colonel William Henry Pringle, to be captains of companies in the coldftream regiments of guards.

Downing-ftreet, Sept. 27. Colonel Prevoft, appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the ifland of Dominica.

Colonel Edmund, earl of Cork, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot.—Major Charles Strickland, to be lieuteuant-colonel of ditto.—Lieutenant-colonel Francis John Colman, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th foot.—Major Francis Slater Rebow, major and lieutenant-colonel in the 2d regiment of life-guards.

28. Major Arthur Gore, to be lieutenant colonel of the 5th foot.

Whitehall, Oct. 2. John Martin Leake, and John Erfkine, efquires, appointed comptrollers of army accounts.

War-Office, Oct. 5. Royal Military College. Surgeon, Charles Lewis Parker to be furgeon.

Whitehall, Oct. 9. Honourable Edward Legge, LL. B. appointed prebendary of St. George, Windfor, *vice* Arnald, deceafed.

Reverend John Barton, M. A. appointed prebendary of Canterbury, *vice* Legge, refigned.

War-Office, Oct. 12. Lieutenant-colonel William Cochell to be lieutenant-colonel of the 5th regiment of foot.—Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Barrow, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Weft India regiment. Colonel fir Richard Baffet, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 6th ditto.—Lieutenant Thomas Barrow, to be colonel at Honduras only.

Downing-Street, Oct. 27. Appointment of Don Mignel Larrea, to be his catholic majefty's conful-general in Great Britain and Ireland, approved by his majefty.

War-Office, Nov. 2. Lieutenant-colonel A Gore, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 33d foot.

War-Office, Nov. 9. Staff. Affiftant-commiffary Hugh Kennedy, to be deputy-commiffary-general of ftores, provifions, and forage, to the forces.

Whitehall. Nov. 13. Archibald Marquis of Douglas, appointed lieutenant and fheriff-principal of Lanarkfhire, *vice* Archibald Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, refigned.

War-Office. Nov. 20. Garrifon. Lieutenant-general William Edmifton, to be colonel.—Colonel A. Mair, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Major C. Leigh, to be major. Lieutenant-colonel David Home, to be colonel. Lieutenant G. Vigoreux, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Captain James Rofe, to be major.—Lieutenant James Lumfdaine, to be colonel.—Major J. Weft, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Brevet-major W. Weft, to be major.—Lieutenant-general Grice Blakeney, to be colonel.—Lieutenant-general Charles Horneck, to be colonel.—Major J. Wilben Cook, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Captain Robert M'Rea, to be major.

Whitehall, Nov. 22. Henry Hodgfon,

Hodgſon, eſquire, appointed a commiſſioner for the affairs of taxes.

Whitehall, Nov. 30. John Braithwaite, eſquire, major-general of his majeſty's forces in the Eaſt Indies; Thomas Woollaſton White, of Tuxford and Wallingwells, county of Nottingham and York, eſquire, with remainders to his brother, Taylor White, and Charles-Lawrence White, eſquires, and their reſpective heirs-male; Thomas-Theophilus Metcalfe, of Chilton, county of Berks, eſquire, Culling Smith, of Hadley, county of Middleſex, eſquire, William Curtis, of Culland's-grove, Southgate, county of Middleſex, eſquires, one of the aldermen of the city of London; and Joſeph Peacock, of Barntick, county of Clare, eſquire, created baronets of the united kingdom.

War-Office, Nov. 30. Staff. Captain Peter Carey, of the 27th light dragoons, to be aſſiſtant-inſpector at the recruiting-depôt in the Iſle of Wight.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 4. Bartholomew Frere, eſquire, to be ſecretary of legation at the court of Madrid.

War-Office, Dec. 11. Garriſons. Captain J. Parſonage, of the 1ſt battalion royals, to be town-major of the garriſon of Gibraltar, vice Raleigh, reſigned.

DEATHS.

Dec. 21, 1801. At Wells, Somerſet, Lady Catharine Seymour, relict of Lord Francis S. late dean of Wells, and uncle to the Duke of Somerſet.

23. The Swediſh Charge d'Affairs to the circle of Lower Saxony, received intelligence from Stockholm, of the death of the hereditary Prince of Baden, at Arboga, at ſix o'clock in the morning. His Highneſs with his family was on his return when his carriage was overturned in a narrow road. Though his Highneſs received no contuſion or wound, yet he appeared ſtunned and ſpeechleſs, with other ſymptoms of an apoplexy, and though attended by the firſt phyſicians, his Highneſs expired the next day. His ſpouſe and children returned to Stockholm, whither the body was likewiſe ſent, previous to its being tranſported to Germany. His Highneſs was born the 14th of February, 1755, and married on the 15th of July, 1774, to Princeſs Amelia, Frederica, daughter of Louis IX. Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, born June 20, 1754. He was father of the reigning Empreſs of Ruſſia, of the Queen of Sweden, and the Electreſs of Bavaria.

24. The Right Hon. John Maclellan, Lord Kirkcudbright.

January 1. At Lyons, aged 45, M. Aranco, ex-miniſter of finance of the Ciſalpine republic, and deputy to the Conſulta.

2. Of a decline, at Kenegie, near Penzance, in Cornwall, in his 48th year, George ſecond Lord Rodney, eldeſt ſon of the late Admiral Rodney, ennobled 1782. By his wife, Anne, ſecond daughter and coheir-apparent of Thomas Harley, alderman of London, he has left two daughters and ten ſons.

At his Lordſhip's houſe at Shrub-hill, near Dorking, Surrey, the Hon. Miſs Charlotte-Julia Leſlie, youngeſt daughter of Lord Leſlie.

3. Dowager

3. Dowager Lady Northcote at her ſon's ſeat at Pine.

6. At Wadley-houſe, Berks, the Right Hon. William Flower, Viſcount Aſhbrooke, Baron of Caſtle-Durrow, in Ireland. He was born in 1767, and received his education at Eton college, and afterwards at the univerſity of Oxford; and, at the age of 13, his Lordſhip ſucceeded to the peerage, on the deceaſe of his father, William. Dying unmarried, his titles devolve on his only brother, the Hon. Henry Flower, captain in the 58th regiment of foot.

10. The Hon. Lady Catharine Bligh, eldeſt daughter of John Earl of Darnley.

11. The Hon. Miſs Eliza Jeffries, one of the maids of honour to the Queen.

15. At Bath, in her 32d year, Lady Charlotte Nares, wife of the Rev. Edward Nares, and third daughter to the Duke of Marlborough.

18. At her brother's houſe, in Harley-ſtreet, the Hon. Miſs Primroſe Elphinſtone, daughter of the late Lord Charles Elphinſtone.

19. In Princes-ſtreet, Edinburgh, Mary Clara, Lady Elibank.

24. In her 79th year, in conſequence of a fright occaſioned by her cloaths accidentally taking fire about a fortnight before, Lady Jane Courtenay, aunt to the Marquis of Bute.

25. At Mr. Coutts's, in Piccadilly, of a dropſy in the brain, aged two years, Lord North, the only ſon of the Earl of Guildford.

27. The infant ſon of Lord G. H. Cavendiſh.

At Fulbeck, in the county of Lincoln, Miſs Elizabeth Fane, ſecond daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane.

28. At his houſe in Ely-ſtreet, Dublin, the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Viſcount Fitzgibbon, Baron Fitzgibbon of Lower Connello, in Ireland, Lord Fitzgibbon of Sidbury, in England, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Counſellors, a Lord of Trade and Plantations, Vice Chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, LL.D. His Lordſhip was born 1749, and married 1787, Miſs Whaley, daughter of the late Richard Chapel Whaley, eſq. of Whaley abbey, Knight of the Shire for Wicklow, and has left iſſue two ſons and a daughter, viz. John Lord Fitzgibbon, now Earl of Clare, born 1792, Richard, Lady Iſabella. He was educated at the univerſity of Dublin, and afterwards entered upon the ſtudy of the law, of which profeſſion he became the great ornament in his native country. In 1784, he was appointed Attorney General on the elevation of Mr. Scott to the bench, and, on the deceaſe of Lord Chanſellor Lifford, 1789, his Lordſhip received the ſeals, and was raiſed to the dignity of the peerage by the title of Baron Fitzgibbon of Lower Connello. To theſe dignities were added the Earldom of Clare, 1795, and the Engliſh Barony of Fitzgibbon of Sidbury, in the county of Devon, 1799. In the elevated ſituation of Chancellor, he uniformly acted with a manly deciſion and ability, that extorted applauſe even from his political adverſaries; he baniſhed chicanery and unneceſſary delay from his court, and was, on every emergency, the firm and undaunted ſup-

porter of the conſtitution of the Britiſh realms. His Lordſhip had been for ſome time in a declining ſtate of health. On the 31ſt, his remains were interred in St. Peter's Church, Dublin; the gentlemen of the law, to the number of 600, and 74 of the nobility and gentry, making up the proceſſion. The pall was borne by the Marquis of Ely, the Earl of Shannon, and the Lords Kilwarden and Tyrawley.

29. Thomas, Lord Graves, Baron of Graveſend, Admiral of the White. His Lordſhip was elevated to the peerage, 1794, for the gallant ſervices rendered to his country in the glorious battle of the 1ſt of June, that year, in which he received a wound in his ſhoulder. His Majeſty was pleaſed, at the ſame time, to confer on him a penſion of 1000l. a year, in recompenſe of his long ſervices.

Lately, at Naples, aged 91, Carnäl Capece Zurlo, archbiſhop of that city.

Feb. 2. Armar, Earl of Belmore, Viſcount Corry, Viſcount and Baron Belmore, of Caſtle Coole.

At the houſe of Lord Auckland, in Palace-yard, the infant ſon of Lord Francis Godolphin Oſborne.

3. At his houſe in Brook-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, the Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, LL.D. F.R.S. Baron Mendip, in Somerſetſhire, and a truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum. His lordſhip was a younger ſon of the Right Rev. Dr. Ellis, who was Biſhop of Meath, in Ireland, at the ſame time that his brother, an uncle of the deceaſed lord, who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and followed the fortunes of the Pretender, enjoyed an eccleſiaſtical dignity of ſimilar rank in Italy. Mr. Ellis was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, and at Chriſt Church, Oxford, where he proceeded regularly to his degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts. In a ſhort time after quitting the Univerſity, he came into parliament, and in 1749, he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty under Mr. Pelham's adminiſtration. He continued in this office after Mr. Pelham's death, in 1754, when the Duke of Newcaſtle ſucceeded to the firſt ſtation in the miniſtry, until December 1755, when he reſigned his ſeat at the Admiralty, and became a Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland. He enjoyed this ſituation, notwithſtanding the unſettled ſtate of parties during the intermediate time, until December 1762, and, in 1763, was appointed Secretary at War, on Mr. George Grenville's becoming Firſt Lord of the Treaſury. On the diſſolution of Mr. Grenville's miniſtry, in 1765, when the Marquis of Rockingham ſucceeded to the helm of government, Mr. Ellis reſigned the office of Secretary at War, and reſumed his former appointment as Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, in which he continued until October in the following year, when his reſignation made room for Colonel Barré. In the Auguſt preceding, the Duke of Grafton had ſuperſeded Lord Rockingham in the premierſhip, and, during this adminiſtration, Mr. Ellis held no office; but he continued, nevertheleſs, to give a warm and active ſupport to government, as appears from the Letters of Junius, in which, on ſeveral occaſions, his name is treated with conſiderable diſreſpect. On the acceſſion of Lord North to the firſt ſeat at the Treaſury Board, in 1770, Mr. Ellis was again appointed a Vice-

Treaſurer

Treaſurer of Ireland, which ſituation he filled until 1797, when he was made Treaſurer of the Navy. At the cloſe of Lord North's miniſtry, in February 1782, when a change was univerſally foreſeen, and many of the members of adminiſtration had quitted their ſtations, either from apprehenſion, or the hope of making their court to the triumphant party, Mr. Ellis, at the expreſs deſire of a Great Perſonage, was prevailed on to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. His ſtay in this office was of very ſhort date, Lord Rockingham and the oppoſition ſucceeding Lord North and his friends in the following month. This was the laſt political ſituation which Mr. Ellis filled. On the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox, he was one of the few old friends of his lordſhip that adhered to him; and though he ſucceeded to no place in the miniſtry which followed that arrangement, their meaſures met with his full ſupport and concurrence. When Mr. Pitt came into power, in December, 1783, Mr. Ellis followed the fortune of his friends; and at this period, after an active political life of 44 years, he ſaw himſelf, for the firſt time, in oppoſition. He continued ſteadily to ſupport the meaſures of this party, until the ſchiſm which took place in 1793, on the ſubject of the French Revolution and the late war, when Mr. Ellis, whoſe principles and diſpoſition equally led him to diſapprove of the conduct of the French rulers, joined with the Duke of Portland and Mr. Burke in giving countenance to the ſyſtem of adminiſtration. He was, however, now too far advanced in years to take an active part in the politics of the day; and, on the introduction of the Duke of Portland into the cabinet, he was, with many others of his Grace's friends, created a peer of the realm. From this time this veteran ſtateſman led a life of learned eaſe and dignified retirement. His lordſhip was of an active and diligent turn of mind, a correct and accurate, though not an eloquent ſpeaker in parliament; and a complete claſſical ſcholar. In private life his virtues were not to be exceeded. He was of a domeſtic diſpoſition, a moſt affectionate huſband, and a fatherly friend to every branch of his family. His lordſhip died in the 89th year of his age, leaving no iſſue; he is ſucceeded in the barony of Mendip by Henry Viſcount Clifden, in Ireland, M. P. for Heyteſbury, the grandſon of his only ſiſter Anne Ellis, who married 1791 Caroline Spencer, eldeſt daughter of George Duke of Marlborough.

Aged 60, the Rev. George Watſon Hand, M. A. archdeacon of Dorſet, and prebendary of the Cathedrals of St. Paul's and Saliſbury.

4. At Bath, Charlotte Counteſs of Leiceſter, wife of George Earl of Leiceſter, to whom ſhe was married December 24, 1777. Her remains were interred with his Lordſhip's family at Rainham, in Norfolk, with due ſolemnity and reſpect.

9. At his houſe in Mansfield-ſtreet, Portland-place, in his 62d year, his Grace Aubrey Beauclerc, Duke of St. Alban's, Earl of Burford, Baron of Heddington, Baron Vere, of Hanworth, in Middleſex, hereditary grand falconer of England, and regiſtrar of the Court of Chancery.

11. At Wade's mill, Herts, the

wife of John Buller, esq. of Morval, in Cornwall, the youngest daughter of the Bishop of Ely.

13. At her father's house, Stratford-place, lady Harriet Poulett, third daughter of Earl Poulett.

19. At Hamburgh, Prince Frederic of Hesse Darmstadt, brother of the Dowager Queen of Prussia, and of the Dowager Princess of Baden.

23. At Copenhagen, the daughter of the Princess Royal of Denmark; born on the 12th instant.

March 1. At Chatham, aged 65, Rear Admiral James Macnamara.

2. At Hobden-court, in the county of Hereford, John Lord Viscount Bateman, Baron of Culmore, Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. He was the eldest son of William Viscount Bateman, by the Lady Anne Spencer, grand daughter of John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, and daughter of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. He succeeded to the titles in 1744; represented Woodstock in Parliament; and married, 1748, Miss Sambrooke, niece of Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, bart. of Gubbins, in Herefordshire, but leaving no issue, the titles of the family expire with him.

At Strawberry-hill, Devonshire, the Right Hon. Charles Henry Coote, seventh Earl of Mountrath, Viscount Castle Coote, Baron of Castle Cuffe. His Lordship was the only son of Algernon, the sixth Earl, by the Lady Diana Newport, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Newport, Earl of Bradford, succeeded to the titles on his father's decease 1774, and was appointed one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Counsellors in Ireland. Having no heir to his ancient honours, he was created June 30, 1800, Baron of Castle Coote, with special remainder (in default of male issue to himself) to the Right Hon. Charles Henry Coote, one of his Majesty's Privy Counsellors in Ireland, and the lineal descendant of Chidley Coote, brother of the first Earl of Mountrath. The Earldom and the appendant honours being extinct, the barony of Castle Coote devolves as expressed in the patent. A peculiarity of disposition, added to an invariable dread of the small pox, occasioned the late Lord Mountrath to live absolutely the life of a recluse; yet in solitude the goodness of his heart, the politeness and elegance of manners which characteristically distinguished the old school, occasioned all who were necessitated to visit him upon business to admire the friendly reception they met with. He had such a terror of the small pox, that he had relays at five houses between his seat in Norfolk and his house in Devonshire, to prevent the chance of infection; and at these houses small establishments were kept, as he dared not sleep at an inn.

This morning, at 11 o'clock, at his seat at Woburn Abbey, in Bedfordshire, in the 37th year of his age, Francis Russel, Duke of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russel of Cheneys, Thornhaugh, and Howland of Streatham, recorder of Bedford; president of the Toxopholite Society, and vice-president of the Small Pox Hospital and the Veterinary College. His Grace was born August 11, 1765, of Elizabeth, daughter of the late William-Anne Earl of Albemarle, and sister of the late Admiral Viscount Keppel.

pel. His father, the Marquis of Taviſtock, dying in 1767, in conſequence of a fall from his horſe, and leaving three ſons, he, as eldeſt, on the death of his grandfather in 1771, ſucceeded to the princely honours and fortunes of his family. The Duke died of an inflammation in his bowels; and, from the very firſt moment of his being obliged to call in medical aſſiſtance, his recovery was extremely doubtful. His Grace had been afflicted with a rupture from an early part of life, firſt brought on by a blow from a cricket-ball while at Weſtminſter-ſchool. He had been ſlightly indiſpoſed with a cold for a few days, and on Friday afternoon, February 26, about five o'clock, a fit of coughing came on, which forced a ſmall portion of inteſtine down. His Grace was in great pain on the part, and a general uneaſineſs in his bowels. The uſual means were uſed till Dr. Kerr arrived from Northampton, which was at five o'clock on Saturday morning. His attempts to return the inteſtine being unſucceſsful, he was apprehenſive an operation would be neceſſary. It was the Duke's particular deſire that Sir James Earle, who had always been his ſurgeon, ſhould be ſent for. The delay which it would occaſion was attended to; but the Duke decided for himſelf in that particular. The expreſs for Sir James reached town about noon, and he arrived at Woburn at five on Saturday afternoon. The endeavours of Sir James to reduce the rupture were as ineffectual as Dr. Kerr's; and the operation was immediately proceeded upon, and over before ſix o'clock, a period of little more than 24 hours after the accident. His Grace's ſubmiſſion and fortitude could not be exceeded, and ſurgical ſkill was never better executed. The ſtricture was extraordinary; but when removed, and the parts returned to their ſituation, his Grace ſeemed relieved, and had two hours comfortable ſleep. It was not till Sunday noon the alarming ſymptoms firſt made their appearance, and which were combated with every effort of art, though unſucceſsful. The able aſſiſtance of Dr. Hallifax, who was his Grace's phyſician, was united in the firſt conſultations, the doctor being ſent for at the ſame time with Sir James Earle. By deſire of his Grace's friends, Sir James Earle returned to the Abbey on Wedneſday, with Mr. William Wadd, his pupil, to inſpect the body. They found the inteſtines in a very putrid ſtate. His Grace was ſenſible to the laſt, but not aware of the dangerous ſtate in which he was till the morning that he died. He bore his ſufferings, which were moſt acute, with exemplary reſignation. His ſolicitor, Mr. Gotobed, went down on Monday; and the equanimity and fortitude of his Grace left him full poſſeſſion of himſelf, to make what arrangements of his property he deemed proper. A ſhort time before his death he ſaw his brothers, Lord John and Lord William; of whom he took a moſt affectionate leave. The ſcene was very ſolemn and impreſſive. The whole of Sunday, February 28, and Monday and Tueſday, March 1 and 2, the road to Woburn was crowded with carriages. His Grace dying unmarried, and without iſſue, is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his next brother, Lord John Ruſſel, a repreſentative in the preſent

Parliament for the borough of Taviſtock, who was born July 6, 1766, and in 1786 married Georgiana-Elizabeth Byng, ſecond daughter of Lord Viſcount Torrington, formerly Britiſh ambaſſador to the Court of Bruſſels. The funeral took place on the 10th; the proceſſion left the abbey about ten on Wedneſday night; the coffin was covered with the beſt crimſon velvet, and contained 3000 ſilver nails. The hearſe was drawn by ſix horſes. There were three mourning coaches, filled with perſons in his Grace's employ, or ſervice; they were followed by his Grace's carriage, empty, drawn by ſix bay horſes, and three footmen behind it, followed by a footman leading his Grace's favourite hackney. The proceſſion paſſed through Hockliffe, Dunſtable, Market-ſtreet, and Redburn, in the moſt ſolemn manner. The inhabitants in the places through which the proceſſion paſſed, were in the road with lights, and the greateſt order prevailed. On its arrival at Rickmanſworth, about half paſt nine on Tueſday morning, it was joined by the Buckinghamſhire tenantry, and ſoon after by thoſe of Cheneys, who were in waiting for its arrival; and the whole then proceeded to the place of interment in due order: the proceſſion arrived at the church about one o'clock; and at that time at leaſt 5000 perſons were aſſembled in the village. On its arrival at the church-yard-gate, it was met by the rector of Cheneys, the Rev. Mr. Morris (who had accompanied the Duke, as tutor, on his travels), and the Rev. Dr. Randolph. After the coffin was taken out of the hearſe, and placed in the vault, the evening ſervice was read, and a moſt excellent ſermon preached by Mr. Morris from the 2 Cor. v. 1. A funeral anthem was ſung, and was performed by a very reſpectable band of vocal and inſtrumental performers. The funeral ſervice was likewiſe read by Mr. Morris, in the family-vault over the corpſe. Juſt as the coffin was going into the church, the moſt diſgraceful ſcene of confuſion took place; the populace ſtealing the eſchutcheons from the hearſe. A man was knocked down and trampled on by a horſe, and his leg torn and bruiſed in a moſt ſhocking manner. On the mourners endeavouring to follow the corpſe, ſome of them were literally carried into the church, and others could not gain admittance, the crowd being ſo extremely great. The confuſion was occaſioned by a gang of pickpockets from London, who went down in poſt-chaiſes. A number of perſons were robbed of conſiderable ſums of money at the time the corpſe was going into the church. Theſe villains made a crowd of themſelves. Great numbers of the windows of the church were broken by the populace, who endeavoured to force into the church that way. In London the moſt marked teſtimonies of reſpect were paid to his Grace's memory. The theatre of Drury-lane, of which he was the landlord, was ſhut, as were many of the ſhops on his extenſive eſtates. At the pariſh churches of St. George, Bloomſbury, and St. Paul, Covent Garden, minute bells were tolled from eleven in the morning till two in the afternoon. On Sunday the 14th was performed, at the ſeveral pariſh-churches of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and St. George, Bloomſbury, in mem ry of

of his Grace, by Meſſrs. Calcott and Cooke, an appropriate Voluntary and Dirge; after which was introduced the celebrated Dead March in Saul. The pulpit and reading-deſk were hung with black, and decorated with atchievements of his Grace's arms.

7. At Naples, of a putrid fever, after an illneſs of ſix days, the Queen of Sardinia. Her Majeſty was a ſiſter of Louis XVI. born September 23, 1759; and married September 6, 1775, to Charles Emanuel, his preſent Sardinian Majeſty.

Colonel Count Sutton Clanard.

13. Mrs. Margaret Dundas, daughter of the late Right Hon. Robert Dundas, of Armiſton, Lord Preſident of the Court of Seſſion in Scotland.

18. At St. Catherine Bank, near Edinburgh, Lady Anne Erſkine, daughter of Alexander fifth Earl of Kelly.

21. At the Earl of Sefton's, in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, the only ſon of the Hon. Henry Fitzroy.

22. At his houſe in Rutland-ſquare, Dublin, James Alexander, Earl of Caledon. He was born 1730, and married 1774 Ann Crawford, ſecond daughter of James Crawford, eſq. of Crawford-Bevin, Downſhire, by whom he has left iſſue an only ſon, Dupre, Earl of Caledon, born 1777, and two daughters, viz. Lady Arabella, married 1790 to Andrew Thomas Blayney, eleventh Lord Blayney, and Lady Eliza.

23. In his 85th year, Henry Bellaſyſe, fifth Earl of Fauconberg, Lord Bellaſyſe, a lord of the King's bed-chamber, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the North riding of Yorkſhire. His Lordſhip was taking a walk in the New Road, Mary-le-bone, and, it is preſumed, was ſeized with an attack in his head, which compelled him to go into a houſe on the ſpot, where he was taken ill. As ſoon as he was in the houſe, he was juſt able to articulate, "Send for Mr. Heaviſide," whom the family of the houſe accidentally knew. His Lordſhip directly after became ſpeechleſs and ſenſeleſs. Mr. Heaviſide being ſent for, came immediately, and found his Lordſhip in an apoplectic fit. He directly wrote to Lady Fauconberg, to bring inſtantly a phyſician, and in the mean time bled him in the temporal artery, and uſed other means till their arrival; but unfortunately his Lordſhip ſurvived only an hour. By Charlotte, daughter of Sir Matthew Lamb, and ſiſter to Lord Viſcount Melbourne, whom he married 1766, he had four daughters, Lady Charlotte Wynn, Lady Ann Wombwell, Elizabeth Counteſs of Lucan, now living, and Lady Harriot, who died in her infancy. He married, ſecondly, Jane, eldeſt daughter of the late John Cheſhyre, eſq. of Benington, Herts, by whom he has left no iſſue. The earldom, therefore, becomes extinct; but the titles of Viſcount and Baron Fauconberg devolve on Rowland Bellaſyſe, eſq.

At his ſeat in Cheſhire, the Hon. Booth Grey, brother to the Earl of Stamford. He ſerved in three ſucceſſive Parliaments for the borough of Leiceſter, from the repreſentation of which he retired in 1784.

April 2. At Bath, the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon, lord chief juſtice to the Court of King's Bench, cuſtos rotulorum of Flint-

ſhire, a governor of the Charter-houſe, and a lord of trade and plantations. His death was owing to a complete decay of nature; for many weeks paſt he had ſcarcely taken any nouriſhment, or enjoyed any ſleep: ſtill, however, he was ſubject to little or no pain, and died perfectly compoſed and reſigned. He was born at Gredington, in Flintſhire, 1733: and was the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Lloyd Kenyon, eſq. originally of Bryno in the ſame county, and one of the younger ſons of the ancient family of Kenyon of Peele, in Lancaſhire. He received the elementary part of his education at Ruthen in Denbighſhire, whence he was taken, at an early age, and articled to Mr. W. J. Tomlinſon, an eminent attorney at Nantwich, in Cheſhire. On the expiration of his articles, Mr. Kenyon determined to enter into a line which afforded a more ample ſcope to his induſtry and talents, and, accordingly, became a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, in Trinity Term 1754, and, after a ſedulous application to the requiſite ſtudies, was called to the bar in Hilary Term 1761. In the early part of his profeſſional career, his advancement was but ſlow; he was unaſſiſted by thoſe means which powerful connexion and intereſt afford. The branch of his profeſſion, to which he chiefly applied himſelf, that of conveyancing, was not calculated to bring him forward into public notice; but the ſterling merit of genuine abilities and perſevering induſtry were not to be overlooked: he roſe gradually into practice; few opinions at the bar, at the time, carried more weight and authority, and he was frequently recurred to as an advocate. In 1773 he formed a matrimonial connexion with his relative, Mary, the third daughter of George Kenyon, of Peele; and, not long after, contracted an intimacy with Mr. afterwards Lord Thurlow, and chancellor. About this period too, and for ſome years after, his practice in the Court of Chancery was very extenſive and of the moſt lucrative kind, by which, as well as in the other lines of his profeſſion, he acquired a very conſiderable property. In 1780 a circumſtance occurred which not a little contributed to eſtabliſh his reputation as an advocate and a public ſpeaker, his being employed as leading counſel for the defence of the late Lord George Gordon, on a charge of high treaſon; on this intereſting occaſion his ſecond was Mr. Erſkine, who on that day diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner as in a great degree laid the foundation of his future fame. In April 1782, ſoon after the acceſſion of the Rockingham party to miniſterial power, Mr. Kenyon was, without ſerving the intermediate office of ſolicitor, appointed to the important ſituation of attorney-general, and, at the ſame time, chief juſtice of Cheſter; in the former office he ſucceeded the late James Wallace, eſq. In parliament Mr. Kenyon took a decided part in politics, warmly attaching himſelf to the party of Mr. Pitt; and diſtinguiſhing himſelf not a little by his ſpeeches on the noted affair of the Coalition, Mr. Fox's India Bill, &c. In March 1714, he was appointed Maſter of the Rolls, an office of high judicial dignity, and generally leading to ſtill higher legal honours; yet its emoluments fell very ſhort of thoſe which he neceſſarily relinquiſhed by

by discontinuing his professional pursuits as a counsel. About this time he was created a baronet. In this situation Sir Lloyd Kenyon continued till the latter end of May 1788, when, on the resignation of the venerable Earl of Mansfield, he was appointed chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, and at the same time was elevated to the peerage, by the title of Lord Kenyon, Baron of Gredington, in the county of Flint. In this important situation, he was distinguished by laudable, firm, and persevering exertions to keep the channels of the law clear and unpolluted by low and sordid practices, which were particularly exemplified in the vigilant and salutary exercise of his authority over the attorneys of his own court, the utility of which has been experienced in a very considerable degree. Secondly, his unprecedented zeal in the cause of morality and virtue, which most conspicuously appeared in his conduct with respect of cases of adultery and seduction. On these occasions, neither rank, wealth, nor station, could shield delinquency from the well-merited censure and rebuke of offended justice and morality. A third consideration, and which highly redounds to the honour of his lordship's magisterial character, is the strictness, not to say severity, with which he administered the justice of the law against the pernicious tribe of gamblers of every description. On these occasions, the conduct of this truly virtuous Judge was such as incontrovertibly shewed that "the Law is no respecter of persons." In private life, the character of Lord Kenyon was amiable and praiseworthy in the highest degree; no man could excel him in the relations of husband and father; in the former, he may be considered as a pattern of conjugal virtue. In his mode of living he was remarkably temperate and regular; and frequently afforded gratuitous assistance, in his professional capacity. He is said to have died worth 300,000l. all acquired by his own professional exertions, and a rigid spirit of economy. Lord Kenyon had issue by his lady three sons; Lloyd, born in 1775, whom his father appointed filazer of the Court of King's Bench; he stood not long since an electioneering contest for the county of Flint, and died September 15, 1800; the manner in which his Lordship was affected by this melancholy event is supposed, in some degree, to have accelerated his own dissolution. Secondly, George, the present Lord Kenyon, born in 1776; and appointed by his father to the lucrative situation of joint chief clerk of the Court of King's Bench, on the demise of the late Earl of Mansfield, better known as Lord Viscount Stormont, and joined in the patent with John Way, esq. And, thirdly, the Hon. Thomas Kenyon, born in 1780.

6. Suddenly, the deposed heir of the Nabob of Arcot, whose death was followed by those of his Highness's father in law, and of his dearest friend and chief counsellor, the venerable Najub Khan, who survived his sovereign but nineteen days. The Prince, on his death-bed, made a will in favour of his brother, Hussaun Ul Malk, who, of course, succeeds to all his legitimate claims to the sovereignty.

At

13. At Moira-houſe, the Hon. Ferdinand Forbes, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Granard.

In George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, aged 90, after a long illneſs, the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Moſs, biſhop of Bath and Wells, which ſee he had filled 28 years, being promoted to it in 1774 on the death of Dr. Willes 1773, who, like him, had been tranſlated from St. David's. He was of Caius College, Cambridge, A. B. 1731; A. M. 1735; S. T. P. 1747; archdeacon of Colcheſter, 1750; prebendary of Saliſbury; biſhop of St. David's, 1766; and F. R. S. 17... He printed a Spital Sermon 1750; one on the Faſt for the Earthquake 1756; one before the Saliſbury Infirmary 1769; one before the Lords, January 30, 1769; and one before the Society for propagating the Goſpel, 1776. He had amaſſed a private fortune to the amount of 140,000l.; 20,000l. of which he bequeathed to an only daughter, who is married; and the remaining 120,000l. to his ſon, Dr. Moſs. His ſon Robert died in June laſt.

14. At his houſe in Windſor caſtle, Mrs. Douglas, wife of the Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury.

16. At Belfaſt, in Ireland, the Dowager Counteſs of Roden.

17. At his houſe in Hanover-ſquare, the Right Hon. Henry Temple, Viſcount Palmerſton, Baron Temple, in Ireland, LL. D. His lordſhip was born December 4, 1739, and ſucceeded to the titles on the deceaſe of his grandfather; in 1766 he was appointed a commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and repreſented in parliament the borough of Eaſtloe, in Cornwall, Boroughbridge in Yorkſhire, and latterly Wincheſter. He married firſt, 1767, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Poole, bart. of Poole-hall, in Cheſhire, and had iſſue an only daughter; and ſecondly, 1783, Mary Mee, by whom he had iſſue Henry John, now Lord Palmerſton, born 1784. His lordſhip was in the male line the repreſentative of the ancient family of Temple, which has produced ſo many diſtinguiſhed characters in the political and literary world, and from which, in the female line, the Marquis of Buckingham (who has aſſumed the name of Temple) is deſcended. His lordſhip died of what the faculty terms an oſſified throat; in conſequence of which, he muſt inevitably have been ſtarved to death for want of nouriſhment, had he not been relieved from ſo dreadful a calamity by an earlier diſſolution.

21. At Mr. Coutts's, in Stretton-ſtreet, Piccadilly, George Auguſtus North, Earl of Guildford, Baron North and Guildford. His Lordſhip was born September 11, 1757, and married, in 1785, Miſs Hobart, daughter of the preſent Earl of Buckinghamſhire, by whom he had three ſons, who died in their infancy. He married, ſecondly, the eldeſt daughter of Thomas Coutts, eſq. by whom he had a ſon, who died January 25 laſt. He has left three infant daughters; Lady Maria, by his firſt lady; and Lady Suſan and Georgiana North, by his preſent lady. The long and painful ill ſtate of his Lordſhip's health aroſe from a fall from his horſe, a few years ſince, at Cheltenham, owing to the animal taking fright as his lordſhip was preſenting a baſket of fruit to Miſs Coutts, afterwards Counteſs of Guildford. By this accident, it is ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, the ſpine of his back was affected, and from this fatal ſource were derived all the bodily ſufferings under which he languiſhed for ſeveral years, and that baffled all the ſkill of the ableſt phyſicians. His immediate diſſolution was looked for all the laſt week; on the preceding evening, he fell into a ſomnolency for eight hours, out of which he wakened ſuddenly, a little before five o'clock the next morning, when caſting his eyes around, and lifting up both hands, he uttered one groan, and expired. The Earl dying without male iſſue, the Barony of North is ſuppoſed to be ſeparated from the Earldom, and to deſcend in abeyance to his Lordſhip's ſiſters, Lady Glenbervie, Lady Sheffield, and Lady Charlotte Lindſay.

26. At Bath, in his 79th year the venerable and Rev. E. Nelſon, rector of Burnham-Thorpe, Norfolk, and father of the gallant Lord Nelſon.

28. The Hon. Caroline, wife of John Gawler, eſq. of Ramridge-houſe, Hants, and eldeſt daughter of John, third Lord Ballenden.

May. At Berlin, aged 77, Baron de Haugwitz, the Pruſſian Miniſter.

4. At Edinburgh, in her 50th year, Lady Forbes, of Pitſligo.

17. At Flading's hotel, in Oxford-ſtreet, the Hon. Frederick Stuart, M. P. for the county of Bute, in Scotland.

18. At Vienna, Prince Philip of Lichtenſtein, well known by his reſidence at Paris during the firſt years of the French Revolution.

19. At his houſe in Merrion-ſtreet, Dublin, Charles Stanley, Lord Viſcount Monck, Baron Monck, ſo created 1800. He is ſucceeded by his ſon, the Hon. Henry Monck, now at Eton college.

20. In Edward-ſtreet, Portman-ſquare, in her 78th year, Mrs. Mary Noel, ſiſter of the late, and aunt of the preſent, Lord Viſcount Wentworth.

22. At his Lordſhip's houſe in St. James's-place, the Counteſs of Roden.

23. At Lowther-hall, Weſtmoreland, after eight days ſevere illneſs of a bowel-complaint, with which he had been long afflicted, James Lowther, Earl of Lonſdale, and Viſcount Lonſdale, ſo created May 12, 1784; and, on October 10, 1797, Viſcount and Baron Lowther. He was, for many years paſt, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the counties of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, wherein his immenſe property in lands, houſes, mines, &c. &c. was ſituated; alſo, colonel of the Cumberland militia, and a vice-preſident of the Mary-la-bonne General Diſpenſary. For nearly the laſt two years he had been in very precarious and declining health; and was at times ſo exhauſted as to be incapable of retaining any thing but human milk on his ſtomach. He was ſon of Robert Lowther, eſq. of Malmeſmebatne, governor of Barbadoes 1716, by Catharine, only daughter of ſir Joſeph Pennington, bart. by Mary his wife, fourth daughter of John Viſcount Lonſdale. He died 1745, ſhe 1746, leaving iſſue the late Earl, another ſon, Robert, and three daughters: Margaret, married to Henry, preſent Earl of Darlington; Catherine, to the late Duke of Bolton; and Barbara. The late Earl ſucceeded Henry third Viſcount Lonſdale, who died without

without iſſue, in his title of baronet 1750; and was alſo heir to the accumulated wealth of ſir James Lowther, of Whitehaven. September 7, 1771, his lordſhip (then ſir James Lowther) married Lady Mary Stuart, eldeſt daughter of the late Earl of Bute; and, as he afterward obtained a grant from the Crown of part of an eſtate which had been long held by the Duke of Portland's family as an appendage to an eſtate in the county of Cumberland, given to their anceſtor by King William III. it was raſhly and untruly preſumed that Lord Bute's intereſt was uſed in inducing the Lords of the Treaſury to improve his ſon-in-law's property at the expence of the Duke of Portland, who was then in oppoſition. In 1782, ſir James Lowther waited on the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and, after deploring the ſtate of his majeſty's navy, voluntarily offered to build and equip, at his own expence, a ſeventy-four-gun ſhip; but the peace of 1783 made the execution of this offer unneceſſary. His Lordſhip was, ſome years ago, violently ſatiriſed by Peter Pindar, whom he proſecuted for a libel, but, on receiving a conceſſion, was induced to deſiſt; an inſtance of placability which does him honour; and he evinced great perſonal courage in a duel fought, in the year 1792, with Capt. Cuthbert, which, it is ſuppoſed, was not the only tranſaction of the kind in which he had been engaged. In 1784 an antient peerage which belonged to the family, but had been for ſome time extinct, was revived, and ſir James was called up to the Houſe of Lords by the titles already enumerated. He had been more than 30 years a member of the Houſe of Commons, being ſeveral times elected for the counties of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland; and, at the general election, 1767, was returned for both. His parliamentary intereſt was very conſiderable; and he had the honour of firſt introducing Mr. Pitt to the Britiſh Senate, whom he cauſed to be elected, in 1781, upon his intereſt, for Appleby, at the inſtance of their common friend the late Duke of Rutland. He was always anxious for the extenſion of his Borough intereſt; yet although the poſſeſſion of ſuch influence is reckoned favourable to the views of ambition, he never occupied any official ſituation. Dying without iſſue, the earldom becomes extinct; but the viſcounty deſcends to ſir William Lowther, bart. of Swillington, Yorkſhire, M. P. for the county of Rutland.—On the 9th of June, at 8 A. M. the Earl was interred in the family-vault at Lowther, Weſtmoreland. He was attended by his own ſervants, having given directions that his funeral ſhould be private, and that they only ſhould attend; and, although it was not known to any perſon, except the family, when the ceremony was to be performed, yet a very great crowd of people from the neighbourhood was aſſembled, and behaved with the greateſt reſpect, decency, and decorum.

June 1. At Barrogill-caſtle, in his 13th year, John Lord Berriedale, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Caithneſs.

4. At Fulbeck, Lincolnſhire, the Hon. Henry Fane, M. P. for Lyme Regis, Dorſet, brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent, Earl of Weſtmoreland. He was ſurveyor of the King's private roads; and married,

married, in 1778, the daughter of Edward Buckley Batſon, eſq. of London, banker.

At his houſe in Oxford-ſtreet, the Right Rev. Lewis Bagot, D. D. lord biſhop of St. Aſaph. He had been for ten years paſt in a decline, but was confined to his bed only the day before his death. An illneſs of ſuch long continuance had waſted him to a mere ſkeleton. Though but little known in the world, from the weak ſtate of his health, which did not admit of his mixing much in it, he was a man of great learning, an accompliſhed ſcholar, and of the moſt gentle and amiable manners. He was tranſlated from the ſee of Norwich to that in which he died.

7. At his ſeat at Ruſhton-hall, Northamptonſhire, in his 92d year, Charles Cockayne, fifth Viſcount Cullen, of Ireland. He was born September 21, 1710, and attained the above advanced period of life in the enjoyment of an uninterrupted ſtate of good health, of excellent abilities, and of a very cheerful turn of mind, to which he united the ineſtimable virtues of true benevolence and unbounded generoſity. His lordſhip was of ancient lineage, and paternally deſcended from Andreas Cockayne, Lord of Aſhbourne, in Derbyſhire, in the reign of King Henry II.; whoſe deſcendants frequently repreſented that county in parliament. With others of his maternal anceſtors may be named the O'Briens, Earls of Thomond, and the Lords Willoughby of Parham; of the elder branch of the former his lordſhip was the repreſentative; and by the latter he derived his deſcent from the illuſtrious houſes of York, Lancaſter, Arundel, and Rutland. He married firſt, May 4, 1732, his firſt couſin, Anne, daughter of Berlaſe Warren, eſq. of Stapleford-hall, Nottinghamſhire, by whom he had three ſons and ſix daughters; only one daughter living; 2dly, Sophia, daughter of John Baxter, eſq. by whom he had William, married to Barbara, youngeſt daughter of Serjeant Hill, and now Viſcount Cullen. This ſecond lady ſurvived him but five weeks, dying July 12.

8. At Brompton, the Hon. Mrs. Allen.

9. At Edinburgh, David Leſlie, ſixth Earl of Levan and Melville. He ſucceeded to the title on the death of his father, 1754; and had filled the office of his Majeſty's high commiſſioner in 19 conſecutive aſſemblies; and is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon, Alexander, Lord Viſcount Balgonie. He went very early into the army, and ſoon roſe to the rank of captain, but on his father's (Alexander) death, reſigned. He married Wilhelmina, daughter of William Niſbet, eſq. of Dirleton, by whom he had three ſons and three daughters.

13. At Berlin, Baron Krudener, the Ruſſian miniſter at the Court of Berlin.

15. At Fulbeck, Lincolnſhire, (the ſeat of the Hon. Henry Fane), Charles Blair, eſq. of Blandford St. Mary, Dorſet. He married, early in life, Lady Mary Fane, ſiſter to the late, and aunt to the preſent, Earl of Weſtmoreland.

29. At her houſe in Welbeck-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, the Hon. Jane Parker. This lady was of the ancient family of Cæſar, in Hertfordſhire, and had for her firſt huſband Sir Charles Dormer Cottrell, maſter

master of the ceremonies at St. James's, to whom she bore the present Sir Clement Dormer Cottrell, and a daughter who died young. Her second husband was the late Hon. lieutenant-general George Lane Parker, brother to the Earl of Macclesfield, who died without issue. Throughout the present reign, even after diminution of the bloom of youth, this lady was one of the finest women in the British court; and the amiability of her conduct in the characters of private life did as much honour to her heart and principles as her carriage in the great world did to her temper and education.

July. Right Rev. Richard Marlay, D.D. bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in Ireland; so consecrated 1787. His remains were interred in the family-vault in St. Mary's church, Dublin.

At Rome, aged 80, Cardinal Cevizzani.

4. At Ratisbon, in his 63d year, the Electoral conference minister of Mentz and directorial envoy, Baron Steigentesch. The death of this distinguished and patriotic statesman is a loss equally unexpected, and sensibly felt by the Diet of the empire.

5. At the Grove, Yoxford, Suffolk, in her 69th year, the Hon. Frances-Ann Davy, wife of Eleazer Davy, esq. She was the daughter of the late Lord Carbery, and aunt to the present lord.

6. At Malvern-hall, in Solihull parish, Warwickshire, after a lingering illness, the Hon. Charlotte wife of Henry Greswold Lewis, esq. eldest daughter of the late Sir Orlando Bridgeman, created Earl of Bradford in 1794, and sister to the present earl.

12. At the King's Arms inn, Oxford, on her return from Bristol, Lady Cullen, relict of Lord Viscount Cullen, of Rushton-hall, Northamptonshire. Her ladyship had been in a declining state for some time past, and had not survived her husband above five weeks.

Aged 59, the Hon. John Grey, youngest brother to the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. By Susanna, fourth daughter of Ralph Leycester, esq. he has left two sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest was lately married.

14. At Aldborough house, Dublin, Right Hon. the Countess of Aldborough, widow of Edward, the late Earl, and since married to George Powell, esq. barrister at law. Her ladyship bore a long and tedious illness, with exemplary patience and fortitude. She was the daughter of Sir John now Lord Henniker, and was married to the Earl of Aldborough, the 14th of May, 1787; and was, secondly, married to George Powell, esq. in the month of December last.

22. At her house in Upper Grosvenor-street, the Countess Dowager of Somerset.

26. At Lady Mendip's house at Twickenham, in her 71st year, Lucy Dowager-Viscountess Clifden, eldest surviving daughter of John Martin, esq. of the kingdom of Ireland. Her ladyship was first married to the Hon. Henry Boyle Walsingham, son of the Earl of Shannon, by whom she had one son, who died an infant; secondly, to James Agar, the late Viscount Clifden, by whom she has left issue Henry Welbore, the present Viscount Clifden; and (also Baron Mendip, of the United Kingdom), Charles Ellis a barrister at law, and one daughter.

In Calabria, the Bishop of Cattazaro,

tazaro. He was ſhot as he was proceeding to the convent where he lived. This reſpectable prince of the church was the intimate friend of Cardinal Ruffo.

At Naples, of apoplexy, Cardinal Gallo, Biſhop of Viterbo.

At Vienna, Baron Herbert, Imperial privy-counſellor, and upwards of 20 years miniſter plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Germany to the Porte.

At Polignac, on his way to Aix, in Savoy, for the recovery of his health, Baron Stael, formerly the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Court of France.

At Nancy, in France, Lady Anne Saltmarſh, ſiſter to the late, and aunt to the preſent, Earl of Fingal.

Auguſt 3. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, at his country palace at Remſberg, aged nearly 77, Prince Frederic Henry Lewis of Pruſſia, brother to Frederic the Great, great uncle of the preſent King, general of infantry, colonel of a regiment of foot, knight of the order of the Black Eagle, provoſt of Magdebourg, &c. &c. This prince was born in 1726, on the 18th day of January, a day which has been ſolemnized during a century as the anniverſary of the foundation of the Pruſſian monarchy. He made his firſt campaign in his 16th year, accompanying the royal army as a colonel, in 1742, into Moravia, and being ſoon after preſent, at the victory at Chotuſilz. In the ſeven years war, where he commanded the ſecond army, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner which procured him the admiration of all Europe. In the war concerning the Bavarian ſucceſſion, he again commanded the ſecond army, and penetrated from Saxony into Bohemia. In 1776 he travelled to Stockholm, and thence to Peterſburg, whence he returned to Berlin with the Grand Duke (afterwards Emperor) Paul. In 1780 he went to Spa, whence he had a conference with the Emperor Joſeph; and he afterwards viſited France. He was married to her Serene Highneſs the Princeſs Wilhelmina, daughter of Maximillian, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the marriage was conſummated at Charlottenberg, June 25, 1752. As an honour to his memory, the King ordered that all officers wear a crape on their arm for a fortnight. The Court alſo went into mourning for the ſame time. On the 5th, his body, after having been firſt openly expoſed to view, in the ſimple uniform of his regiment, was laid in the ſepulchre, which he had cauſed to be built for himſelf two years ago, and purpoſely in ſuch a manner, that it was in the full view of the windows of his ſitting room.

4. Charles Count Lockhart, ſon of the late General Count Z. of the holy Roman Empire, ſome time in the imperial ſervice.

5. At Earl's Court, Kenſington, after an illneſs of two months, which did not, however, confine him till of late, Richard Earl Groſvenor, Viſcount Belgrave, and Baron Groſvenor, of Eaton, Cheſhire. His death was rather unexpected, he appearing in tolerable health, though weakly. He was born in June, 1731, being the ſon of Sir Robert Groſvenor; and was the firſt peer of his family, having been raiſed to that rank in 1761, and created an Earl in 1784. He married, 1764, Henrietta, daughter of Thomas Vernon, by his wife, daughter of the Earl of Stafford. By his death one of the largeſt properties

perties in the kingdom deſcends, with his titles, to his eldeſt ſon, Lord Viſcount Belgrave, M. P. for Cheſter. His Lordſhip was a great ſportſman; and his death will be much regretted on the turf. On the 12th inſtant his remains were conveyed to the family-vault at Eccleſton, in Cheſhire.

15. At Warwick caſtle, in his 20th year, the Hon. Henry Greville, third ſon of the Earl of Warwick.

18. At her houſe in Sackville-ſtreet, Dublin, in her 81ſt year, Margaret Cecil Hamilton, Viſcounteſs-dowager Southwell, relict of Thomas-George Lord Viſcount Southwell, of Ireland. She was deſcended from the noble and illuſtrious houſes of Cecil, prime miniſter to Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, anceſtor to the preſent Marquiſes of Exeter and Saliſbury, and of Hamilton, anceſtor to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

19. At Worthing, Suſſex, where he went for the recovery of his health, the Hon. Auguſtus-Philip Monckton, third ſon of Viſcount Galway.

20. At Biſhofsheim caſtle, in Suabia, at a very advanced age, Bleichard IV. Count of Helmſtatt, ſovereign lord of Biſhofsheim, Berwangen, &c. in Creichgan, and lord of Morangé in Lorrain, late colonel of a regiment of horſe, bearing his name, in the French King's ſervice, knight of St. Louis, &c. &c. The Count has left no iſſue by Louiſa de Montmorenci Laval, his wife, daughter of Claudius Roland de Montmorenci, marſhal of France.

At Southampton, Lady Jane Terry, wife of David-George Terry, eſq. and ſiſter of the Earl of Dyſart.

September. Found drowned in the Danube, near Vienna, Baron de Vega, lieutenant-colonel of artillery in the Auſtrian ſervice.

4. At Buxton, Derby, in his 56th year, of the gout in his head, Henry Thomas Fox Strangways, Earl of Ilcheſter and Stavordale, Baron Strangways, of Woodford-Strangways, Dorſet, and of Redlynch, Somerſet. He married, 1772, Mary, daughter of Standiſh Grady, eſq. of Coppercullen, in Ireland, by whom he had five daughters and a ſon. He is ſucceeded by his ſon, Henry-Stephen Lord Stavordale.

16. Suddenly, at Anhalt Coethen, aged 24, Prince Louis of Anhalt Coethen. He was interred on the 20th; and, within two hours after, his widow, Princeſs Louiſa, was ſafely delivered of a ſon and heir.

19. At Vienna, the Grand Ducheſs of Tuſcany. She had come from Schonbrunn to lie-in, and had ſo difficult a labour that an operation was found neceſſary, which was performed with apparent ſucceſs, but neither ſhe nor her infant long ſurvived it. She was a daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies; born June 27, 1773; and married to the Grand Duke, September 19, 1790. She died on the anniverſary of her wedding-day: and was buried, with ceremony ſuitable to her high rank, on the 21ſt, in the family-vault of the Houſe of Auſtria.

22. At Troyes, Mark-Antony de Noé, formerly biſhop of Leſcar, from the year 1763 till the period of the Revolution, and lately appointed to the biſhoprick of Troyes. He was born, in the dioceſe of Rochelle, in 1724.

October 6. His Serene Highneſs Craft Erneſt, reigning Prince of Oettingen-Wallerſtein, born in 1748.

9. At Fonterivo, his Royal Highneſs

nefs Don Ferdinand, infant of Spain and Duke of Parma. He was born July 20, 1751, and took poſſeſſion of his dukedom in 1765. His ſiſter is the Queen of Spain; and the eldeſt of his three daughters eſpouſed Prince Maximilian of Saxony. He dined on the 7th at Fonterivo, where he viſited a ſchool, and after dinner aſſiſted at an exerciſe of the ſcholars, when he was ſuddenly ſeized with a colick, which reduced him to ſuch extremity that he expired in 24 hours. Before his deceaſe, however, he provided for the adminiſtration of public affairs, and appointed a Regency of State, at the head of which is the Archduchefs his widow. Since his death, his poſſeſſions have been annexed to the Republic of France.

21. At Berlin, the Pruſſian Miniſter of State, Philip Charles Count Alvenſleben. He was born at Hanover, December 12, 1745, where his father was of the Privy Council of War, and his grandfather had been Miniſter of State.

29. At Saſari, in the iſland of Sardinia, of which he was governor, aged 36, Prince Joſeph Benedictus Maria Placidus, of Savoy, brother to his Sardinian Majeſty.

November 1. At St. Domingo, of the fever of the country, after an attack of ten days, Victor Emmanuel Le Clerc, captain general of the French troops on that iſland; brother-in-law of Bonaparte. The body, bowels, and heart, were conveyed on board the Swiftſure ſhip of war, and the ſabre and hat of the Captain-general conſigned to the captain, to remain depoſited, during the whole of the voyage, on the coffin; the whole to be given, on the arrival of the veſſel in France, to the officer charged to accompany the remains. The Conſular Court, on this occaſion, go into mourning for *twelve days*.

5. At Grenada, the Honourable George-Vere Hobart, late governor of that iſland, and ſecond ſon of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire. He had only been married a ſhort time previous to his appointment; and, on his arrival, fell a victim to the diſaſtrous malady that ſo fatally prevails in that country, leaving his diſconſolate widow to mourn, in conjunction with his numerous friends, the irreparable loſs of a young man whoſe kind heart, integrity of mind, and unaffected manners, would not only have been an ornament to his country, but reflected honour on himſelf and his family.

25. At his houſe in Dover-ſtreet, Edward-Huſſey Montague, Earl of Beaulieu. His lordſhip was in ill health for ſeveral years previous to his deceaſe; and his death was owing to the decay of nature, being in his 82d year. He was the eldeſt ſon of James Huſſey, eſq. of Weſtown, co. Dublin, by Catharine, daughter of Richard Parſons, Viſcount Roſs; and marrying Iſabella, eldeſt daughter and co-heir of John Montague, Duke of Montague, and relict of William Montague, Duke of Manchefter, on the death of his father-in-law, took the name and arms of Montague; in 1753 was inſtalled K. B.; in 1762 was advanced to the peerage of Great Britain by the title of Lord Beaulieu, of Beaulieu, co. Hants, to him and his heirs male by his ſaid wife Iſabella; and in 1784, Earl Beaulieu, of Beaulieu. He repreſented the borough of Tiverton. He had iſſue, John Montague, born 1747,

and Iſabella, born 1750, died 1772. His ſeats are Ditton park, Bucks, and Beaulieu, Hants. It is remarkable, that his lordſhip died poſſeſſed of the lands granted to his own and his lady's anceſtors by the Conqueror. Between eight and nine o'clock of the morning of December 2, his remains were removed in great funeral pomp to the family vault at Beaulieu, Bucks.

Lately, at Heſſe Caſſel, Baron Julius, Gurgen de Wittorf, a ſingular inſtance of merit exalted by patronage and exertion. From the 10th year of his age, being born at Zell in 1714, to the period of his death, he had been in the ſervice of five ſucceſſive Landgraves; firſt as a page, and afterwards as an officer of dragoons ſerving in the campaign upon the Rhine in 1734. After leaving the army, he became maſter of the horſe; then chief maſter of the court, filling this office under three Landgraves. He afterwards became chief maſter of the horſe; and, before the concluſion of his public career, miniſter of ſtate, upper chamberlain, commandant of Marburgh, knight of both the Pruſſian Eagles, &c.

December 1. At Bath, the Counteſs of Selkirk.

9. At Altona, greatly regretted by the poor and her numerous friends, Anne Dowager Lady Clifford, mother of the preſent Lord Clifford, and laſt ſurviving ſiſter of the late George Henry Earl of Lichfield.

10. At his palace at Hereford, in the 85th year of his age, Dr. John Butler, biſhop of that ſee.

11. At Elderſlie-houſe, near Glaſgow, the ſeat of A. Speirs, eſq. Lady Dundas, relict of the late Sir Lawrence Dundas, bart. and mother of Lord Dundas.

12. At Paris, M. de Bourdeilles, formerly biſhop of Soiſſons. He was buried the next day in his pontifical habits.

19. At Mount-Panther, Downſhire, Ireland, Francis-Charles Anneſley, Earl Anneſley, Viſcount Glerawly, and Baron Anneſley. He was born 1740; ſucceeded his father, the firſt Viſcount, 1770; and married, 1766, Mary daughter of Richard Grave, of Ballyhimmoc, co. Cork, eſq. Dying without iſſue, he is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his brother, the Right Hon. Richard Anneſley, now Earl Anneſley, one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and a chief commiſſioner of the revenue in Ireland.

20. In Argyle-ſtreet, in her 77th year, Viſcounteſs Bateman.

Mrs. Mary Hughes, wife of John Hughes, gentleman, and daughter of the Hon. G. Sempill, eſq. by Mary only daughter of W. Mawheed, ſen. of Finchley, Middleſex, and the laſt ſurvivor of that family.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1802.

Bedfordſhire. John Higgins, the younger, of Turvey, eſquire.

Berkſhire. The Hon. Thomas Windſor, of Braywick.

Buckingham. James Oldham Oldham, of Miſſenden-Abbey, eſquire.

Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire. Thomas Aveling, of Whittleſea, eſquire.

Cheſhire. Lawrence Wright, of Mottram St. Andrew, eſquire.

Cumberland

Cumberland. Edward Haſſell, of Dalmain, eſquire.

Derbyſhire. Thomas Princep, of Croxall, eſquire.

Devonſhire. Sir John Davey, of Creedy, baronet.

Dorſetſhire. Edmund Morton Pleydell, of Whatcombe, eſquire.

Eſſex. Robert Raikes, of Great Ilford, eſquire.

Glouceſterſhire. James Muſgrave, of Barnſley-Park, eſquire.

Herefordſhire. Thomas Debits, of the Apoſtles, eſquire.

Hertfordſhire. Jacob Boſanquet, of Broxborn Park, eſquire.

Kent. Thomas Godfrey, of Aſh, eſquire.

Leiceſterſhire. John Paris, of Newarke, eſquire.

Lincolnſhire. Henry Dalton, of Naith, eſquire.

Monmouthſhire. Thomas Morgan, of the Hill, eſquire.

Norfolk. Robert Wilſon, of Didlington, eſquire.

Northamptonſhire. Robert Carey Elwes, of Great Billing, eſquire.

Northumberland. Charles W. Bigge, of Benton-Houſe, eſquire.

Nottinghamſhire. Robert Lowe, of Oxton, eſquire.

Oxfordſhire. Thomas Toovey, of Nettlebed, eſquire.

Rutlandſhire. William Gilſon, of Burleigh, eſquire.

Shropſhire. William Ferriday, of Dawla Parva, eſquire.

Somerſetſhire. Benjamin Greenhill, of Stone Eaſton, eſquire.

Staffordſhire. Robert Parker, of Park-Hall, eſquire;

County of Southampton. Sir Edward Hulſe, of Breamore, baronet.

Suffolk. Thomas Cockſedge, of Bury St. Edmund's, eſquire.

Surrey. Edward-Peppin, of Walton-Lodge, eſquire.

Suſſex. Sir William Aſhburnham, of Broomham, baronet.

Warwickſhire. Heneage Legg, of Aſton, eſquire.

Wiltſhire. Sir Andrew Bayntun, of Spye-Park, baronet.

Worceſterſhire. Thomas Newnham, of Broadwas, eſquire.

Yorkſhire. Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby Manor, baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. Thomas Owen, of Glaſſoult, eſquire.

Pembrokeſhire. David Lewis, of Hen Llan, eſquire.

Cardiganſhire. David Davis, of Glan yr Occas, eſquire.

Glamorganſhire. Richard Manſell Phillips, of Sketty-Hall, eſquire.

Brecon. Joſeph Sparkes, of Penyworlod, eſquire.

Radnor. John Sherburne, of Llandrindod, eſquire.

NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon. Robert Wynne, of Llannerch, eſquire.

Angleſey. William Bulkeley Hughes, of Bryndda, eſquire.

Merioneth. John Meredith Moſtyn, of Clegir, eſquire.

Montgomery. David Edward Lewis Lloyd, of Fann, eſquire.

Denbigh. Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penyllan, eſquire.

Flint. Sir Stephen Glynne, of Broad-Lane, baronet.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales, *in Council, for the Year* 1801.

County of Cornwall. Thomas Carlyon, of Tregrehan, eſquire;

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, *Dec.* 22, 1800.

Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, K. B. Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, the 14th of September, 1801.

"SIR,

"IT is with great concern that I acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, of the capture of his Majesty's ship the Swifture, by Gantheaume's squadron, on his return to France, after his unsuccessful attempt to debark troops on the coast of Egypt; I inclose a copy of Captain Hallowell's communication of that unfortunate event; and have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c."

On board l'Indivisible, in Toulon Road, 24*th July,* 1801.

"MY LORD,

"It is with infinite concern I have to inform your Lordship of the capture of his Majesty's late ship Swiftsure, by a squadron of French ships under the command of Rear-Admiral Gantheaume.

Having separated from my convoy, consisting of cartels and light transports, on the 22d ultimo, I was making the best of my way to Malta, when on the morning of the 24th, at half past three, the wind at N. W. Cape Derne bearing S. W. distant about seven leagues, we discovered five sail to leeward of us, nearly hull-down.

As Lieutenant Sheppard, of the Pigmy cutter, had informed me on the 19th that an enemy's squadron had quitted Durasso on the 7th, where they had attempted to land their troops, I concluded the ships in sight were those of which he had given me intelligence, and made all the sail possible to get from them: at sun-rise my suspicions were realized: we clearly distinguished four of them to be of the line, the other a large frigate, and their signal-flag soon pointed them out to be enemies. At half past five, two of the line of battle ships tacked, by signal, and stood on till they fetched into our wake, while the other two and the frigate stood upon the same tack with us. At eight o'clock, the two ships and frigate, having fore-reached considerably on us, tacked and stood towards us until they got on our lee-quarter, when they tacked again. From their great superiority of sailing, they closed with us so fast as to be nearly within gun-shot by two P. M.; and as the ships a-stern were coming up very fast, I determined on bearing down and engaging the two ships and frigate to leeward, hoping

hoping to disable one of them before the whole squadron could be brought into action, and thereby effect our escape by getting to leeward of them: at three o'clock, I bore up and steered to pass a-stern of the sternmost ship, all our steering-sails set on the starboard-side, when the enemy tacked and stood towards us: at half past three the Indivisible, of 80 guns, bearing Rear-Admiral Gantheaume's flag, and the Dix Août, of 74 guns, being in close order, and within half gun-shot of us, opened their fire, which was instantly answered, and a warm action ensued. Their great superiority in point of sailing gave them every advantage of position, and baffled all our attempts to get to leeward of them. At thirty-seven minute past four, the Jean Bart and Constitution, of 74 guns, being within gun-shot, and closing upon our starboard quarter very fast, the Indivisible almost on board of us on our larboard bow, and the Dix Août on our larboard-quarter, our fore-yard and fore-topsail-yard shot away, all our running and part of our standing rigging cut to pieces, the fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-yard badly wounded, our deck lumbered with the wreck and sails, all hopes of making our escape or falling in with any succour being cut off, and only one of the enemy's ships apparently much damaged, I thought farther resistance, in our crippled state, would be exposing the lives of valuable men without any advantage to their country resulting from it, with pain, therefore, I ordered his majesty's colours to be struck, after an action of one hour and seven minutes.

Most sincerely, my Lord, do I lament our having been opposed to so very superior a force, as from the steady and gallant conduct of the officers and men I had the honour to command on this occasion, and with whom I had been acting nearly four years on various services, I have not a doubt of what would have been the issue of a contest on more equal terms. Our loss has been principally in masts, yards, sails, and rigging, having only two men killed, Lieut. Davis, and seven men wounded (two of whom are since dead of their wounds), the enemy's intention being to disable us in our rigging, in which they succeeded too well. At the commencement of this unequal contest, we were eighty-six men short of complement, and had fifty-nine sick, those who returned from the army before Alexandria having introduced a bad fever into the ship.

Four hundred men were put on board the Swifture on the evening of her capture, many of the prisoners removed, and the ship in so crippled a state as to render it necessary to take her in tow; the next day, carpenters and seamen from all the ships were sent on board to repair her damages, and soldiers to complete her number to seven hundred; and with all their exertions, and the advantage of smooth water, it was six days before they were able to make sail.

On the 4th of July, between Lampidosa and Pantalaria, they fell in with and captured the Mohawk letter of marque, from Bristol to Malta, laden with various articles of merchandize; on the 22d, they anchored in this road, in general, very sickly, without ha-

ving landed any part of their troops on the coaſt of Egypt or Barbary, although they attempted a debarkation at Derne, on the 23d ult. but from the hoſtile appearance and reception of the natives, they did not perſevere, and returned to their ſhips without landing a ſingle perſon.

I feel it a duty I owe to Admiral Gantheaume to mention to your Lordſhip the handſome manner in which we have all been treated by the officers of his ſquadron, and by him in particular; the ſtricteſt orders have been iſſued to preſerve the property of every individual, and he has done every thing in his power to render the ſituation of the officers and men as comfortable as poſſible.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, &c.
(Signed) BEN. HALLOWELL."

Right Hon. Lord Keith. K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 2, 1802.

A diſpatch from the Reſident of the Hon. Eaſt India Company at Amboyna, dated 6th July, 1801, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, and communicated to the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.

"I do myſelf the honour to congratulate your Lordſhip, in Council, on the important event of the ſurrender of Ternate to the Britiſh arms, which was delivered over, by capitulation, to Col. Burr, on the 21ſt ultimo.

The Dutch Governor made a moſt reſolute reſiſtance, having defended the place with uncommon firmneſs for 52 days, though, I am ſorry to add, at the expence of the poor inhabitants, who periſhed by famine, from ten to twenty a day, from our ſtrong blockade by ſea and land.

During this excellent diſpoſition of our military and marine forces, the latter under the command of that gallant officer, Captain Hages, the annual ſupplies for the enemy were intercepted through his vigilance, which certainly contributed, in a high degree, to the ultimate ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. The value of the captured property taken by the ſquadron amounts to a lack and fifty thouſand dollars.

The difficulties the Hon. Company's forces by ſea and land had to encounter on this arduous ſervice, and the ſpirit and intrepidity which they manifeſted during a ſiege of nearly two months, do them infinite credit, and have ſeldom or ever been exceeded in this part of the globe. The accounts we have received of the ſtrength of Fort Orange, and its numerous detached batteries, proved exceedingly erroneous, inſomuch that Col. Burr declares the place to be extremely ſtrong by nature, and moſt excellently improved by art, with a powerful garriſon, and ſo well provided with arms and ammunition, as to throw difficulties in the way of our force, which were as diſtreſſing as unexpected; they, however, perſevered and kept their ground with ſo much bravery and reſolution as to compel the enemy to ſurrender their different ſtrong holds, one after the other, until the principal fort and town were ſo completely blockaded both by ſea and land, and ſo reduced by famine, as to make them

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sue for conditions, which, I understand, are very satisfactory.

I am happy to inform your lordship, in Council, that, arduous as this service was, and much as our forces were exposed to the repeated attacks of the enemy, the loss of killed and wounded of the troops does not amount to above nine or ten; that of the marine does not exceed 12 seamen."

London Gazette, *Feb.* 6.

Letter from H. W. Boynton, Esq. Captain of His Majesty's Ship Cumberland, and senior Officer for the Time being, of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to E. Nepean, Esq. dated at Port Royal, Oct. 11.

"A brilliant little exploit was performed the other day by two boats of the Lark: a copy of Lieut. Johnstone's (the acting Captain) letter on that occasion, I think right to transmit; at the same time to remark, that Lieut. Pasley has, in many instances, performed the like."

Lark, Port Antonio, Sept. 17.

"My Lord,

"I arrived in this port yesterday evening, having quitted my station on Tuesday last for the purpose of landing some prisoners of war which we took in a Spanish privateer schooner on the night of the 13th last: we had chased her the whole of the afternoon, close in with the Cuba shore, till dark, when she took shelter within the Portillo Recess. I immediately sent Lieut. Pasley with the yawl and cutter, Mr. M'Cloud, Midshipman, and 16 men in each. About half past ten Mr. Pasley found her at anchor in the place he expected; she was waiting the attack in readiness, which she commenced by a discharge from one nine and two four pounders, which severely wounded several in each boat. Notwithstanding, they boarded, and after a short but severe contest they carried her. She proved the Esperance, from St. Jago, which port she left on the 18th of August, and since that time had taken the Eliza sloop and Betsey brig, belonging to Kingston. She was commanded by Joseph Callie; and from the best accounts I have been able to collect since, she had on board, when the action commenced, 45 men, 21 of whom were killed, and six wounded. The Captain and all the Officers were amongst the former. On our part we have to lament the loss of John Jones, coxswain of the cutter, who was killed early in the action, Mr. M'Cloud and twelve seamen wounded.

I have been able to land the prisoners under the security of the garrison, having promised to take them again on board on my way to Port Royal. And I am much indebted to the Commanding Officer, Major Cod, of the 60th, who has had the goodness to receive, under the care of their surgeon, Mr. M'Cloud and four others, who are thought to be the most dangerously wounded: I shall sail immediately, and lose not a moment to regain my station.

I am, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) J. JOHNSTONE."

London Gazette, *Feb.* 20.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Rainier, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the East Indies, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Madras Road, the 29th of September, 1801.

"Sir,

"I have at present nothing very particular to communicate to you, for their Lordship's information, beyond what may be collected from the Disposition-list of his Majesty's squadron under my command, herewith enclosed, except the capture of the French national frigate Chiffonne, in Mahé Road, at the Seychelles, on the 19th ult. force as per margin, by his Majesty's ship La Sybille, Captain Charles Adam, after a short but gallant action, in which a well-constructed battery of the frigate's forecastle guns, furnished with a furnace for heating red-hot shot, co-operated in her defence. This circumstance, added to the advantage the French frigate derived from her position, being at anchor, while his Majesty's ship had to steer for her opponent, at the greatest hazard, through a winding and intricate channel, formed by various dangerous shoals, with no other guide than as the water was seen to discolour on them by a man at the mast head, placed there for that purpose, may be fairly estimated to over-balance the trifling difference in the calibre of the metal of the enemy's ship, and justly entitle Captain Adam, his Officers, and crew, to the distinguished honour of having taken a ship of equal force.

The Chiffonne was commanded by a Monsieur Guieysse, sailed from Nantes 14th of April last, is a fine new ship, had never been at sea before, completely armed and equipped; her errand to the Seychelles was to land thirty-two persons who had been suspected of being concerned in an attempt on the life of the First Consul of the French Republic. As his Majesty's ship Suffolk will proceed shortly with convoy to Spithead, I shall defer to that opportunity the forwarding a copy of Captain Adam's letter on the occasion, with other particulars; but it may be proper to acquaint you that, on the 15th of May, near the coast of Brazil, the Chiffonne took a Portuguese schooner; and three days after a frigate of that nation, named L'Hirondelle, armed *en flute*, with 24 carronades, 24 pounders, after a short action, but after throwing her guns overboard, and taking out her stores, suffered her to go about her business, the Captain and officers giving their parole for themselves and crew. On the 16th of June, off the Cape, she captured the English ship Bellona, laden with a very valuable cargo, from Calcutta bound to England, who got safe into the Mauritius.

I have only to add that I have given orders for the purchase of the Chiffonne for his Majesty's service, and shall place her on the establishment of a thirty-six gun frigate, agreeably to her dimensions, and that of her masts and yards,

I have the honour to be, &c.

PETER RAINIER."

Killed

Killed and wounded on board La Sybille.

Two seamen killed; one Midshipman wounded.

Killed and wounded on board La Chiffonne.

23 seamen killed, and 30 wounded.

London Gazette, *Feb.* 23.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. William White, Commander of the Chance private Ship of War, fitted out at the Cape of Good Hope, to Vice Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, bart.

"At four P. M. on the 19th of Auguſt, the iſland St. Laurence bearing N. E. two leagues, ſaw a large ſhip bearing down towards us; at nine brought her to cloſe action, and engaged her within half piſtol-ſhot for an hour and an half, but finding her metal much heavier than ours, and full of men, boarded her on the ſtarboard quarter, laſhing the Chance's bowſprit to her mizen-maſt, and after a deſperate reſiſtance of three quarters of an hour beat them off the upper deck, but they ſtill defended from the cabin and lower deck with long pikes in a moſt gallant manner, till they had 25 men killed, and 28 wounded, of whom the Captain was one; getting final poſſeſſion, ſhe was ſo cloſe to the iſland that with much difficulty we got her off ſhore, all her braces and rigging being cut to pieces by our grape ſhot. She proved to be the new Spaniſh ſhip Amiable Maria, of about 600 tons, mounting 14 guns, eighteen, twelve, and nine-pounders, braſs, and carrying 120 men, from Conception bound to Lima, laden with corn, wine, bale goods, &c. On this occaſion, I am much concerned to ſtate, Mr. Bennett, a very valuable and brave officer, was ſo dangerouſly wounded, that he died three days after the action; the ſecond and fourth Mates, Marine Officer, and two ſeamen, badly wounded by pikes, but ſince recovered. On the 20th, both ſhips being much diſabled, and having more priſoners than crew, I ſtood cloſe in and ſent 86 on ſhore in the large ſhip's launch to Lima; we afterwards learned that 17 of the wounded had died. At four A. M. on the 24th of September, ſtanding in to cut out from the Roads of Puna, in Guiaquill Bay, a ſhip that I had information of, mounting 22 guns, fell in with a large Spaniſh brig with a broad pendant at main top maſt-head; at five ſhe commenced her fire on us, but ſhe being at a diſtance to windward, and deſirous to bring her cloſe to action, we received three broadſides before a ſhot was returned; at half paſt five, being yard-arm and yard-arm, commenced our fire with great effect, and after a very ſevere action of two hours and three quarters, during the latter part ſhe made every effort to get away, I had the hodour to ſee the Spaniſh flag ſtruck to the Chance; ſhe proved to be the Spaniſh man of war brig Limeno, mounting 18 long ſix-pound guns, commanded by Commodore Don Philip de Martinez, the ſenior officer of the Spaniſh Marine on that coaſt, and manned with 140 men, ſent from Guiaquill, for the expreſs purpoſe of taking the Chance, and then to proceed to the northward to take three Engliſh whalers laying in one of their

their ports; she had 14 men killed and six wounded; the captain mortally wounded, who died two days after the action; the Chance had two men killed and one wounded, and had only 50 men at the commencement of the action, mounting 16 guns, twelve and six pounders."

London Gazette, *July* 20.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir Home Popham, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated at Calcutta, the 18th of November 1801.

"Sir,

"I have much pleasure in transmitting you a copy of Captain Collier's letter of the 10th September, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, giving a very detailed account of his sinking the French national ship La Fleche, of 22 guns, and 170 men. The result of Captain Collier's unremitting perseverance under every trying circumstance, and his determined conduct in warping the Victor into Mahé Harbour, is likely to be of very material service to the commerce of India, as La Fleche was unquestionably intended to cruise in the Bay of Bengal.

His Majesty's Sloop Victor, Mahé Roads, Sept. 19, 1801.

"Sir,

"The state of the crew of his Majesty's sloop under my command, after leaving the Red Sea, induced me to put into the island Diego Garcia; after procuring a large supply of turtle and good water, I left that harbour on the 27th of August, and proceeded on the execution of the particular service pointed out in your orders of the 22d July; and on the 2d inst. in sight of these islands, his Majesty's sloop fell in with a French national corvette, and after a few ineffectual manœuvres on her part, from the superior sailing of the Victor, when going large, I had the pleasure of bringing her to a close action at three quarters past five P. M. The disguised state of the Victor did not long deceive the enemy, the second broadside proved sufficient, the corvette hauling her wind and endeavouring to escape, which, in about twenty minutes, I was sorry to observe, by having almost solely directed her fire at our masts and sails, she had a fair prospect of effecting; for, on her tacking under our lee, I endeavoured to wear, with the hope of boarding on her bow, when I had the mortification to find both lower and topsail braces shot away on the starboard side, as well as preventer ones and bow lines, and before others could be rove the corvette was half a mile to windward; night fast approaching added to the chagrin I felt on observing the corvette sail better than the Victor on a wind; the chace continued all night, frequently within gun-shot, and at sun-set the following day, from the wind having favoured the enemy, she was four or five miles to the windward; in the night of the 4th lost sight of the chace, when, probably by tacking, she escaped. In this affair I had one man wounded with two musket balls, and Mr. Middleton, master's mate, slightly; the damage sustained in the hull trifling, the foremast shot through; and I have to regret our sails and rigging much

cut. Judging from the course the corvette was steering, when first seen, she must be bound to these islands, I pushed for them, and towards sunset of the 5th she was again seen running in for this anchorage; I kept under easy sail till dark, when the Victor was anchored; at day-light I had the satisfaction of seeing the corvette moored with springs in the basin or inner harbour, with a red flag at the fore (which, as I since learn, was in defiance); being unacquainted with the channel, and having no pilot, Mr. Crawford, the Master (though ill of a fever), and Mr. Middleton, being volunteers, were sent to sound, which service they completely performed; nor did the latter gentleman desist till repeatedly fired at by a boat from the corvette. The extreme narrowness of the channel, added to the wind not being very favourable, compelled me to use warps and the stay-sails only, which exposed the ship to a raking fire for some minutes, till, shoaling our water, I was obliged to bring up. Having two springs on the cable, our broadside was soon brought to bear; and at three quarters past eleven A. M. a well-directed fire was opened, which was kept up incessantly from both vessels till twenty minutes past two, when I plainly perceived the enemy was going down; in a few minutes her cable was cut, she cast round, and her bow grounded on a coral reef. Mr. M'Lean, the First Lieutenant, with a party of officers and men, were sent on board; though scarce had they put off, ere we discovered the enemy to be on fire; Lieut. Smith, and other officers were then sent with proper assistance, but just as they had succeeded in extinguishing the fire she fell on her larboard bilge into deeper water and sunk. She proves to have been the French national corvette La Fleche, mounting twenty long French eight-pounders, answering to English nines, with two stern chasers, though it appears all her guns were not mounted in the first action; was larger than the Victor in dimensions, perfectly new, a remarkable fast sailer, and not four months from France, commanded by Captain Bonamy, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, with four Lieutenants, and a complement of one hundred and forty-five men, some of whom had been left sick at Bourbon. From a number of dead and dying men reported to be found on her forecastle, as well as two alongside, I am induced to believe the carnage was great, though only four are acknowledged by the French Captain. She had twenty men to assist at her guns, forming a part of the crew of the French frigate La Chiffonne, captured here a few days since by his Majesty's ship La Sybille, Capt. Adam. The obstinate defence made by La Fleche was on the supposition of the Victor being a privateer. From the length of time elapsed ere this business was brought to a close, I have felt it necessary to be thus particular in my detail, and I trust for your excuse should I dwell longer, as I feel I should do an injustice to every officer and man on board, did I neglect paying a just tribute to the cool and determined bravery they evinced; even men labouring under a lingering fever (of which I had unfortunately thirty), felt a proportionate zeal. I beg leave to recommend to your notice

notice Lieut. M'Lean, as well as ſolicit your intereſt for the confirmation of my Second, Mr. Smith, as alſo Mr. Hyde, Gunner, obſerving, that whenever Mr. Middleton or Mr. Graves (both having paſſed for Lieutenants), ſhall obtain the rank, they will do equal credit to your patronage. In this action I moſt fortunately had not a man either killed or wounded; our hull, rigging, and boats have ſuffered much, beſides having ſome ſhot between wind and water.

GEORGE R. COLLIER."

7th Auguſt.

The following Official Letter from Major General Campbell, commanding the Forces in the ceded Diſtricts, to the Government of Madras, has been received via Bombay.

To John Chaunier, Eſq. Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort St. George.

"SIR,

"I have great ſatisfaction in reporting, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, the following particulars relative to the operation againſt Timakull, which have happily terminated in the fall of that fort, and chaſtiſement of its rebel defenders. Immediately after the affair of the 20th inſt. I detached Major Strachan, Captain Noble, and Mr. Deputy Commiſſary Beſt, to Gooty, to prepare ſuch heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inſpection only one iron twelve, one iron and one braſs nine-pounder, were found fit for our purpoſe. By the ſtrenuous exertions of the garriſon, theſe guns were brought down from the rock; and 250 rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles neceſſary to keep them in order, were got ready; and with this ſupply the Major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Faſcines and gabions had been made here; and in the night of the 29th, a battery for ſix guns, againſt the north-weſt curtain of the lower fort, was conſtructed by Captain Croſdill, of Artillery; and another for three guns againſt the eaſt face of the fort and citadel, by Lieut. Fitchet, of his Majeſty's 73d regiment: the guns were alſo got into them, and at a quarter paſt ſix o'clock yeſterday morning, both opened with the beſt poſſible effect. In the courſe of the day, the fire of Lieut. Fitchet's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the ſame time opened the face of the citadel; while that from Capt. Croſdill's made a breach in the curtain ſufficiently wide for a company to enter abreaſt. Theſe deſirable objects being attained, the line turned out at half paſt three in the afternoon, and the ſtorming parties were formed in the following order; that for the north-weſt breach under Lieutenant Colonel Davis, ſeconded by Major Strachan, conſiſting of the flank and two battalion companies of his Majeſty's 73d regiment; one company of the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment; and four companies of the 1ſt battalion of the 12th regiment, native, flanked by forty volunteer diſmounted dragoons of his Majeſty's 25th regiment: that for the eaſtern breach, under Captain Robert Munro, conſiſted of three battalion companies of his Majeſty's

jesty's 73d regiment; the flank companies of the 2d battallion of the 4th regiment, and two companies of the 2d battalion of the 15th regiment, native infantry. At a quarter before four o'clock the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves: most of them were, however, killed, and of those who fled, but very few, if any, escaped the cavalry, who surrounded the fort. To the honour of the troops, I must beg leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only two of the former, and none of the latter, having fallen, even from accidental shot. The wound formerly received by Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny, deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion; but his place was most ably filled by Lieutenant-Colonel Davis; and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honourable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny, Lieutenant Colonel Davis, Major Strachan, Capt. Robert Munro, Capt. Crosdill, Capt. Noble, and Lieut. Fitchet, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

Much praise is due to my Aid-de-Camp, Captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our various operations against the place, were unremitted. Nor can I pass over in silence the meritorious conduct of Lieut. Maclean, of his Majesty's 25th light dragoons, who on the several attacks of the 14, 20th, and 30th instant, stept voluntarily forward to accompany Major Strachan. The conduct of Mr. Deputy Commissary Best has also been much to my satisfaction. It gives me the most heart-felt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return (not received), of wounded, will be found to contain but very few. The officers and most of the men formerly wounded, are doing well. A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack made by Major Strachan, on the 14th inst. was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must long ere that have been the fixed intention of the rebels, as it is now ascertained that the several gates were previously built up. The Potail, or Killedar, of Timakul, has been hanged, but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart. It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni Province.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) DUGALD CAMPBELL,
Major General."

Camp at Timakull, Jan. 1, 1802.

Trial

Trial and Execution of ſeveral Seamen for Mutiny at Bantry Bay.

Naval Court-Martial for the Trial of the Mutineers, late of his Majeſty's Ship Temeraire, held on board his Majeſty's Ship the Gladiator, in Portſmouth Harbour.

Wedneſday, Jan. 6. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning the following officers were appointed members of the court:

Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, Preſident.

Vice-Admiral Pole, Rear-Admiral Holloway, Rear-Admiral Collingwood, Rear-Admiral Campbell, Captain Bertie, Captain Jones, Captain Grindall, Captain Oſborne, Captain Sir E. Neagle, Captain Gould, Captain Wells, and Captain Louis.

M. Greetham, Eſq. Judge-Advocate.

The following ſeamen were then brought in, and put on their trials:—John Mayfield, late Captain of the forecaſtle; James Ward, belonging to ditto; James Cheſterman, ditto; John Fitzgerald, Captain of the foretop; Thomas Croſs, belonging to ditto; James Lockier, belonging to the maintop; John Cummins, ditto; Chriſtopher White, ditto; William Hillier, belonging to the foretop; James Collins, the ſhip's butcher; John Daly; Joſeph Rowland, a carpenter; Thomas Jones, and William Cooke.

The priſoners were charged with mutiny, with holding mutinous and ſeditious language, with taking an active part in certain mutinous and ſeditious aſſemblies, and with having heard mutinous and treaſonable words, and not revealing the ſame to their commanding officer.

Captain Eyles, of the Temeraire, was the proſecutor; and his narrative of the mutiny given in, and read as evidence.

John Aufrey, a ſeaman belonging to the Temeraire, was the firſt witneſs. He gave the following account of the mutiny:—"On the 1ſt of December, in the larboard bay, in the morning, I ſaw 19 or 20 people; they were drinking either grog or wine; they ſwore to be true to each other. When they were going to begin, they ſaid, 'Drink to us like Britiſh heroes; there is no fear, we will go through the buſineſs. Shake hands like brothers, ſtick to each other; there is no fear, if there are no informers!' On the morning of the 5th, Fitzgerald, Collins, Cheſterman, and Cooke, aſked the ſhip's company, 'if they were willing to tell their officers, now the war was over, that they did not wiſh to go out of the land.' They told Lieut. Douglas, and afterwards the Admiral, 'that they were not willing to go out of the land.' The Admiral ordered them to be peaceable, ſaying, 'he ſhould be ſorry to report a mutiny in the ſhip.' The word was paſſed fore and aft the ſame evening, that the firſt man who was caught lying on the yard to bend the ſails would be puniſhed by themſelves. Fitzgerald ſaid to me, 'their intention was not to kill or hurt any officer in the ſhip, in caſe they did not draw their arms againſt them; but if they (the officers) did fire, or draw their arms, they would ſhew no mercy. They (the officers) could not kill any more than 50 or 60 of the foremoſt men; and the firſt mutineer who turned treacherous, and would not obey the ſame as the others, ſhould be knocked down dead directly.'—

A great

A great many more beſides myſelf heard this converſation. On the 6th of December, as the men were at dinner, I ſaw Mr. Lawrence, the maſter's mate, going round the deck. After he came, Fitzgerald, Cheſterman, Allen, Lockier, and Taylor, ſaid, 'Now is your time, lower the ports down, douſe the ports;' they were all down but one, which Allen lowered down himſelf, and cheered. At this time Lieut. Douglas had his foot on the fore ladder, aſking 'what noiſe this was?' when Hillier and another tried to unſhip the ladder; and Simmons (not one of the priſoners) went and ſaid he had like to break the Lieutenant's neck down; Jones and Cook ſaid, 'Break his neck, and kill him.' A few minutes after, the officers came down, and tried to keep the people quiet. Cooper, Lockier, Fitzgerald, Collins, Cheſterfield, Cummins, Jones, Hillier, and Allen, cried out, 'ſhoot, ſhoot!' They then went up to the quarter deck, when the Admiral aſked the ſhip's company what they wanted, and why they made ſo much noiſe and confuſion? Jones ſaid, they wanted to know where they were going. The Admiral aſked if they had ever before been made to know where they were going? Jones ſaid, 'No.' The Admiral then ſaid, they had better be quiet, not to be obſtreperous, as they would gain nothing by it: he ſaid, he did not know himſelf where he was going; he was ordered to ſea on a cruiſe, and he muſt obey his orders; that it was enough when he called all hands, and then he hoped they would go with goodwill. Many cried, 'no, no, we will not go from the land; we will go to England.' Fitzgerald and Jones joined in this cry. On Sunday morning, at 10, I eſpied a few cannon cartridges of powder in the locker-nippers, and a match lighted on the larboard ſide, in a ſmall waſhing tub, covered with two ſhirts. John Daly, when I was looking over the locker, aſked me what I wanted; deſired me to be gone, and if I did not, he would make me: a ſentinel was put at the door by the party. I heard Daly ſay to Bill Hilliard, 'We have plenty of powder forward in the nipper-lockers, to cool the officers' tempers.' Hilliard ſaid, 'That will do very well.'—Fitzgerald told them 'he would ſoon get two guns pointed aft, for the guns were loaded ready.'—On Monday the 17th, James Ward ordered 'that they ſhould do their work better, if poſſible; that no man ſhould be treacherous to their King or country; that the war was over, and that they would not go out of the land; that the firſt man who was found drunk ſhould be puniſhed among themſelves.' On Tueſday the 8th, ſilence was kept fore and aft, and perſons came round to know if the other ſhips were in the ſame mind with the Temeraire. Fitzgerald and Cheſterman ſaid, 'The Formidable, Majeſtic, and Vengeance, were in the ſame mind; that there was no fear, the fleet would not fire at the ſhip, they would find ſupplies and reinforcements in the three other ſhips:' this they talked of in their own births, before their meſſmates, about ſix in number. On Wedneſday night Taylor wrote a letter under the bowſprit. They had different paſs-words while the latter was writing; the firſt of all they ſaid—'Catch the rat—take hold of the rat;' it was a notice

of

of an officer's coming. The other watch words were, 'Give me a chew of tobacco,'—'I want a drink of water.' Many perſons uſed to tell Taylor what to put in the letter; when it was wrote, Ward went fore and aft, and bid the men not to mind the officers, and be careful to bring up and down their hammocks as uſual. On the next morning I heard Fitzgerald and Cheſterman ſay, 'in caſe the Temeraire ſhould be in alarm, they would fire a ſky rocket, and make a ſignal to the other ſhips that were going out, to get their aſſiſtance.' Fitzgerald ſaid, 'in caſe the officers ſhould draw their arms againſt us, we ſhall ſhew no mercy; they could not find 60 men to take poſſeſſion of the magazines of powder.' John Allen ſaid that night to Stephenſon, 'By G—d there will be bloodſhed before the week is at an end.' Stephenſon replied, 'it would be a bad job, ſomebody might pay for it.' They were drinking at the time. Allen ſaid, 'God give me heart and ſtrength, there is no fear; we will go through with it, ſo that there are no informers.' About five in the evening the boatſwain's mate, having been drunk, was cobbed; and a great noiſe was made in going to cob Patrick Cannan. Lieut. Bogden came down, and aſked what noiſe it was? and told them 'they ſhould puniſh nobody with their own hands, but ſend them aft to be puniſhed.' Collins ſaid, 'it was only a cobbing match.' Immediately after Lieut. Bogden was ſhoved in the crowd; I ſaw a man ſtrike him, I cannot tell who it was. An alarm came directly afterwards, and George Dixon came down the fore-ladder from the main-deck, and ſung out, 'Bear a hand, here's a man in irons;' the people went up, and made a ruſh to go aft to take poſſeſſion of the arms and diſarm the ſentries, and go upon the forecaſtle, and kill all the officers;' they ſaid, 'they would ſoon clear theſe gentlemen quality off the forecaſtle, and ſend them away;' and began cheering all the way they went. They ſtopped, and did not go aft; when they found the marines were under arms, they went to the forecaſtle, and gained the others; Fitzgerald wanted them to go aft, and take the arms. The Captain immediately after that came on the forecaſtle, and aſked what they all wanted; they ſaid, 'they wanted the priſoner to be delivered up, he ſhould not be puniſhed.' The Captain ſaid, 'he ſhould; he had been drunk on duty, and inſolent to his ſuperior officers.'—On the 8th, Tueſday, I forgot to ſtate that John Allen aſked M'Evoy, 'If he thought they ſhould find plenty of marines to join them; it was their own good as well as theirs?' M'Evoy ſaid, 'he could anſwer for 20 or 24, that would join them;' he ſaid, 'Captain Vallock might order the marines to fire; there might be a few gulpins who would, but the reſt would fire over their heads, and then throw their arms down, and come and join them; perhaps with their arms, if it was poſſible to get them; if not, the bayonet would do.' On Thurſday, in the forenoon, the Admiral called all hands on the quarter-deck concerning the letter that was ſent to him reſpecting the ſhip's company; 'that they were willing to fight for their King and Country, but not to go out of the land; that the moſt part of them had been

five

five, seven, or eight years in the service, and now the war was over they wished to go home.' Admiral Campbell desired to know if the marines were in the same mind.—John Allen, as soon as the people came down from the quarter-deck, desired M'Evoy to go aft and tell the serjeants of marines to appoint two men to tell the Captain and the Admiral. A man of the name of M'Eash went, but I don't know what he said. Mayfield was the first man picked out by the officers, on Thursday, between five and six; Fitzgerald was the next. Admiral Campbell came to the marines, to try to make them quiet. A few sung out, 'stand your ground.' Jones said this, and said, 'if every man was of my mind, no prisoner should go out of the ship, except they punished all.' On that day all the prisoners were picked out, except Daly and Hillier. I heard Dixon and Comayne say, and many more with them, near 150, 'they would take knives and stab the marines when they were asleep in their hammocks. If every man was of their minds them poor fellows should not go out of the ship.' On the 11th, George Dixon and George Comayne sung out as loud as they could, 'that in case they could not destroy the marines, they would kill the officers out of revenge; that their comrades were gone out of the ship, and if that would not do, they would blow the ship up.' Thomas Simmonds, a fore-top-man, was there at the same time, and said to me, 'he was sorry he had not killed the officers on Sunday; he had it in his power at the time, as he had a crow-bar in his hand.' George Dixon said, 'I was not fit to be one of the true Britons, he thought I should report them; he gave me a kick, and I went away, and never went there again.

Thursday 7th.—James Richardson being sworn, gave a narrative of the commencement and progress of the mutiny, confirming the principal allegations of the former witness, and giving a variety of other facts, all tending to strengthen the general charge. He never heard any of the prisoners propose to break open the magazine, or to kill the officers.

Friday 8th.—John Blake, boatswain's mate, deposed, that during Sunday two or three hundred men came to Fitzgerald's and Chesterman's birth, at different times, from whence it appeared to him that they were very active in the disturbance: when the men came to his birth, they stooped down, and from all making that motion, he concluded they were taking an oath, or passing a watch-word. He did not hear any of the prisoners say they would not quit the land: they kept every thing close from him.

Michael Fielding, Tim. Whitfield, John Snowden, —— Douglas, William Dare, George Parrot, and Henry Smith, severally gave evidence; which, however, in no respect tended to alter the general complexion of the case.

After the deposition of each witness, the prisoners were allowed to cross-examine them, and put what question they pleased: they however, in most instances, tended further to criminate themselves.

Saturday 9th.—This morning the prisoners were called on for their defence.—Several of them delivered written papers, pleading their long and faithful services, disavowing the intention of any acts of cru-

elty to their officers, acknowledging their fault, and supplicating for mercy.

Monday 11th.—Several witneſſes ſpoke to their characters and general conduct, in the moſt favourable terms.

Tueſday 12th.—The Court met at nine o'clock, and deliberated till two; when, the priſoners being called in, the Judge Advocate pronounced ſentence, that the charges were proved againſt all the priſoners, except Chriſtopher White, and adjudged them to ſuffer Death, by being hanged by the neck, on board ſuch ſhip as the Lord High Admiral of England ſhall direct.

Chriſtopher White, who was not included in the general ſentence, was ordered to be puniſhed with 200 laſhes.

Collins then ſaid, "Permit me to return my ſincere thanks to the Court for the patience and indulgence ſhewn me. I acknowledge the juſtice of my ſentence: I have violated the laws of my country, and the diſcipline of the navy; but I declare to Almighty God, that the intention of murder never entered my head. I ſolemnly call God to witneſs this declaration, and truſt to the truth of it all my hopes of pardon in the other world.—May God protect the Britiſh iſles, and the Government! and may God receive my ſoul!"

At theſe words all the other priſoners exclaimed "Amen."

Cheſterman then ſaid, "I hope they will allow a friend of mine to bury my body;" and concluded by praying the Court to allow him a little time to prepare himſelf for eternity. The Preſident replied, "That does not reſt with us, but with other authority."

Fitzgerald ſaid, 'he had offended againſt the laws; but he ſolemnly declared, that he never entertained any intention of committing murder.'

On Friday, January 15, at 11 o'clock, ſix of the mutineers were executed; four on board the Temeraire, one on board the Formidable, and one on board the Majeſtic.—The example, it is ſuppoſed, was made on board theſe two laſt ſhips, in conſequence of ſome part of their crews having manifeſted a refractory ſpirit. At the moment this awful ſentence was fulfilling, a part of the ſquadron deſtined for the Weſt Indies was ordered to ſail; and in the evening, the Temeraire and Formidable, of 98 guns each; the Theſeus, Majeſtic, Orion, Vengeance, and Reſolution, of 74; Deſiré, of 44; and Morgiana, of 16 guns; dropped down from Spithead to St. Helen's. The priſoners, in contemplation of the awful moment, had moſt warmly and reſpectfully ſolicited the pious aid of the Rev. Mr. Jones, the Chaplain; and they met their fate with fortitude and reſignation.

Trial of JOSEPH WALL, *formerly Governor of Gorée, in Africa, for the wilful Murder of* BENJAMIN ARMSTRONG.

The Court was aſſembled at the Old Bailey, the 20th of January, 1802, by virtue of a ſpecial commiſſion directed to the Lord Chief Baron Sir Archibald Macdonald, Mr. Juſtice Lawrence, and Mr. Juſtice Rooke. The Judges having taken their ſeats, the priſoner was put to the bar, and arraigned upon an indictment, which charged him with

with the wilful murder of Benjamin Armſtrong, a ſerjeant under his command, at Goree, in Africa, by cauſing him to be flogged with a rope, in a cruel manner, on the 10th of July, 1782, in conſequence of which ſevere chaſtiſement, the ſaid Armſtrong had died on the 15th of the ſame month.

The proſecution was conducted by the Attorney-General, aſſiſted by the Solicitor-General, and Meſſrs. Wood, Fielding, and Abbott. After the pleadings had been opened by Mr. Abbott, the Attorney-General entered at great length upon the charges againſt the priſoner. He firſt alluded to the length of time which had elapſed ſince the offence was committed: the blame of which reſted with the priſoner alone, inaſmuch as he had, when the buſineſs was in a courſe of trial, and he in cuſtody, withdrawn himſelf from juſtice. He next defined the nature of the charge, ſhewing that the priſoner muſt either be acquitted, or found guilty of murder. After detailing the circumſtances of the caſe, as contained in the indictment, and explaining the rank and ſituation which the governor, at that time, held upon the iſland, he ſtated, that the day after the puniſhment alluded to was inflicted upon the priſoner, he (the governor) quitted his ſtation, and ſailed for England, where he arrived in the month of Auguſt following. In March, 1784, he was apprehended under a warrant iſſued by order of the Privy Council, at which time moſt of the witneſſes, who were material to prove his innocence, were living, and might have been produced. Some time previous to the governor's departure from Goree, the garriſon had been ſubjected to ſhort allowance; and when this reſtriction, in point of proviſions, was found neceſſary, it was uſual to allow a pecuniary compenſation equivalent to the deduction of food. The paymaſter of the forces, a perſon of the name of Dearing, was about to quit the iſland with the governor, and the men, being anxious to have a ſettlement of their account, before he went, repaired to the houſe of the former, and requeſted the payment of what was due to them. As the whole affair in diſpute reſted entirely between the paymaſter and the ſoldiers, the Attorney-General contended that the governor had no reaſon for interpoſing. When the men were paſſing the houſe of the latter, in their way to that of the paymaſter, he reprimanded them, and ordered them to return, under pain of military puniſhment. The men obeyed; but in an hour or two afterwards, ſeveral perſons, among whom was Armſtrong, again aſſembled; when the governor, whoſe whole conduct during the tranſaction, the Attorney-General deſcribed to be "furious and full of malice," met them, and queſtioned Armſtrong as to the cauſe of the tumult. Here the Attorney-General entered into a digreſſion as to the ſuppoſition of a mutiny, on which, he underſtood, the governor intended to reſt his defence. He ſaid, "if there really did exiſt a mutiny, *or any appearance of a mutiny* in the garriſon, which required the ſtrong arm of power to ſuppreſs it, a crime ſo enormous, and ſo dangerous in its conſequences, *might ſuperſede the ordinary mode of trials;*" and, "God forbid," added he, "that a man ſhould be conſidered

ſidered as a criminal for acting with the beſt intention, although ſome exceſs may have attended his conduct; for the power that is given to commanding officers, in ſuch caſes of emergency, is given to them not for their own ſafety only, *but for the ſafety of us all, which cannot be preſerved, unleſs prompt and vigorous meaſures be taken for the ſuppreſſion of mutiny.*" He then continued to ſtate, that in the evening of the abovementioned day the governor ordered a long roll to be beaten, and a circle being formed by the men, in the midſt of which were the governor and officers, as alſo a gun-carriage, for the purpoſe of flogging, Armſtrong was called out and ordered to ſtrip, when, being tied to the gun-carriage, he was chaſtiſed by blacks, brought there for the purpoſe. Theſe executioners were changed at every twenty-five laſhes, till the deceaſed ſufferer had received the number of 800. The inſtrument uſed on this occaſion was not a cat-o'-nine-tails, but a piece of thick rope, called inch rope. During the infliction of the puniſhment, the governor urged the blacks to ſhew no mercy to the man in their power, exclaiming, "cut him to the liver, cut him to the heart, &c." and added, that the ſickly ſeaſon was approaching, which, together with the puniſhment, would do for him. After receiving 800 laſhes, Armſtrong was conducted to the hoſpital, and ſoon after died. Previous to his diſſolution he made a declaration, which is conſidered by the law of this realm as tantamount to an oath; that he was puniſhed without any form of trial, or without having an opportunity to ſay any thing in his defence. Here the Attorney-General again ſaid he would admit, "that immediate and urgent neceſſity may ſuperſede the forms of trial, in caſes of mutiny and dangerous inſubordination," but on producing the letters ſent by the priſoner to the Secretary of State, in 1782, as alſo the official returns, which he made of the ſtate of the ſettlement, not a word was mentioned of the exiſtence of a mutiny. He laid much ſtreſs on the circumſtance of the priſoner withdrawing himſelf in the year 1784, when in cuſtody of a King's Meſſenger, and on the proclamation, offering a reward of 200l. for apprehending him. The Jury would have two queſtions to try: Was the man's death occaſioned by the beating? and, Was the priſoner juſtified in inflicting this beating? They would liſten to the evidence with unprejudiced ears, and frame their verdict accordingly.

Evan Lewis was the firſt witneſs called. He ſaid he was a ſoldier in the garriſon of Goree in 1782; he landed in April 1779, and continued till the year 1783; a private at firſt, he was made a corporal and ſerjeant by Governor Wall. In July 1782, he was a corporal doing ſerjeant's duty; he was the orderly ſerjeant on the 10th and 11th of July 1782; the governor left the iſland on the 11th; his intention was known a day or two before. While on duty as orderly ſerjeant in front of the governor's houſe on the morning of the 10th, he ſaw about fifteen or twenty men paſs. He was ſent by the governor to enquire what they were about. He went, and brought back word that they were going to the commiſſary's for their ſhort allowance money.

money. He told them, by the governor's orders, to go back to their barracks, or they would be flogged. They retired ſubmiſſively; they were totally unarmed. In about an hour and a half another party came, rather more in number. Armſtrong was among them; theſe were alſo unarmed. The governor aſked Armſtrong what they wanted; Armſtrong anſwered, "their ſhort allowance money." "You are a fool," ſaid the governor, "get back to your barracks." Armſtrong held his hat in his hand all the time, and retired immediately, without ſaying a word. The men had been for ſome months on ſhort allowance; and it was known that the commiſſary was to come away with the governor; both the applications were in the forenoon. In the evening, the officers that dined with the governor went away earlier than uſual: the governor walked towards the parade, the witneſs attending him. The governor walked up and down on the ramparts oppoſite the main-guard; after ſome time, he ran ſuddenly by the witneſs, and began to beat a man that was in arms in front of the guard-houſe; he beat him firſt with his ſword, and then with a bayonet which he took from the centinel; he then put both him and the centinel into confinement. The governor then ordered the drum to beat; and when the men aſſembled, they were ordered to form in a circle; they obeyed directly; they were without arms. The governor was in the centre, with Captains Lacy, Ford, Fall, and Shanley. The carriage of a ſix-pounder was brought from the ramparts, and there were blacks within the circle. The governor ſpoke with the officers for a little time, and then called Benjamin Armſtrong from the ranks, where he ſtood in his place as ſerjeant. Armſtrong came out. He was ordered by Governor Wall to ſtrip. He was then tied to the gun-carriage, and flogged with rope by black men, changing at every twenty-five laſhes. Governor Wall was in the circle, urging and threatening the blacks to lay on. The witneſs heard him ſay ſeveral times —"Lay on, or I will lay on you. Cut him to the heart. Cut him to the liver!" He believes Armſtrong called for mercy; but does not recollect in what words. After the puniſhment, Armſtrong was taken to the hoſpital, where he died in a few days. There was not the leaſt appearance of mutiny or diſorder. There was no court-marſhal held in any ſhape on Armſtrong, nor was he ever called on for a defence. The rope with which Armſtrong was flogged was about an inch in diameter. This witneſs, it appeared, had been degraded from the degree of ſerjeant to the ranks for miſbehaviour, and was at the time of giving his teſtimony, a Bow-ſtreet officer. He underwent a long croſs-examination, but did not vary in any material point from his original teſtimony.

Roger Moore ſaid he was a private in the garriſon of Goree on the 10th of July, 1782, on which day they were paraded, between four and five in the afternoon. The governor ordered Lieutenant Paul to form a circle; where the officers converſed ſome little time, but he did not hear what was ſaid. Armſtrong was called out of the ranks, when the governor repreſented him as being the ring-leader of a mu-

tiny. Armſtrong made ſome reply, but in ſo low a tone that the witneſs could not collect what he ſaid. After a little time, the timbers of a ſix-pounder were brought into the circle, when the Governor ordered Armſtrong to be tied to it, and commanded the linguiſt to interpret to the blacks how to inflict the puniſhment; which was done with pieces of rope about an inch in circumference. Eight hundred laſhes were given by five or ſix blacks, they changing, after each giving about five and twenty. When it was over, Armſtrong walked away towards the hoſpital, and in four or five days the witneſs ſaw him carried to be buried. There was no appearance of mutiny, but the men were diſſatisfied at not having received their money for the time they had been on ſhort allowance, and they underſtood that if it was not ſettled before the governor and commiſſary Dearing went away, they ſhould never have any. The parade was ordered ſo much ſooner than uſual, that many had not time to put on their uniforms: nevertheleſs it was formed in an orderly and quiet manner. During his puniſhment, he heard Armſtrong aſk to be forgiven, ſaying he would never be guilty of the like again; and the governor replied, that he hoped it would be a warning to him. If what paſſed with the officers in the centre of the circle, previous to Armſtrong's receiving puniſhment, was called a court martial, he never ſaw one like it before nor ſince, for the whole form was, the deceaſed's being charged as a ring-leader of a mutiny, and in a few moments ordered to be puniſhed. There had never been any ſettlement for the ſhort allowance; and he heard that all the officers who attended Governor Wall on that day are now dead. On his croſs-examination, he denied hearing any of the men ſay, that the governor ſhould not leave the iſland until their claims were ſettled; ſome of them had drunk pretty freely. When the circle was formed he was in the front rank, and conſequently could ſee all that paſſed. He recollected the governor being called out of the circle by Lieutenant Ford, he believed during the puniſhment of Armſtrong, to go to the main-guard about ſome diſturbance there, but he could not ſay what the diſturbance was; he had heard that a private of the name of Fawcett was ſentry; he believed the drummers of the corps were in the circle, but could not ſay whether they were or were not drunk; and although he was ſo near while the puniſhment was inflicting on Armſtrong, he did not hear the governor make uſe of any ſuch expreſſion as "cut out his heart, cut his liver out."

Thomas Poplett was a lieutenant at Goree at the time this circumſtance took place, and ſaw the whole tranſaction of forming the circle on the parade, from his own quarters, being at the diſtance of about forty yards, and upon an elevation of eleven feet; from that ſpot he could plainly ſee into the circle, and in its centre were Governor Wall, Captain Lacey, Lieutenant Ford, Enſign Shanley, and he believed Lieutenant Paul was alſo there; beſides theſe, there were ſeveral black men and their interpreter. He knew Armſtrong from that diſtance, ſaw him faſtened to the gun-carriage, and flogged on the bare back by the black men, who were frequently

frequently changed, and, as well as he could judge, at about every twenty-five lashes; when it was over, he perceived them to unloose Armstrong, who was supported by two men in a direction towards the hospital. He could not undertake to say he could exactly distinguish what was made use of by the blacks to flog Armstrong with, but he produced a piece of rope which he said he received the same evening from one of the men, who assured him it was a piece of what had been made use of. It appeared to be somewhat thicker than what is called a two-penny cord. He declared that he never had seen such used in the army for punishment; the usual cat-o'-nine-tails were made of lob line, and when the punishment was intended to be moderate, whip-cord was adopted, with a handle made of wood. He did not know of Armstrong's having been tried, nor did he see the least appearance of any thing like it. Being questioned as to the officers he had mentioned, he said that Captain Lacey was alive in 1784, and that he served under him in that year at Chichester; but he understood he was since dead. Ensign Shanley died in his passage home with the witness, who arrived in England in February, 1784. Lieutenant Paul he had been informed died in the Fleet prison: and Ensign Ford was also dead. The blacks, who inflicted the punishment on Armstrong, were not soldiers, but negro slaves, though it was usual in the army to have that office performed by the drummers of the corps. For his own part he saw no appearance of a mutiny, nor did he believe there was any. Lieutenant Dearing came away from Goree with Governor Wall; him, the witness, saw him between three and four years back at his solicitor's chambers, but knew not what had since become of him. On the 10th of July the witness was himself a prisoner at his own quarters, under the sentence of a court-martial, but was afterwards restored to his rank by command of his Majesty.

Patrick Ferrick, who was garrison surgeon at that time at Goree, stated that the first time of his seeing Governor Wall on the 10th of July, was at the evening parade, to which he was sent for to witness a man's receiving punishment. When he came to the parade, he found the men formed into a circle, and Governor Wall, Captain Lacey, Lieutenant Paul, and Ensigns Shanley and Ford, in the centre. The punishment of flogging was at this time inflicting upon Armstrong, and the governor said he was a d—d mutinous scoundrel. The sentence was executed by negroes, with ropes; he attended to the man, but made no representation of the punishment being too severe for him to undergo without danger; indeed he did not appear to be more affected than men usually were. This was on the 10th, and on the 15th he died. From that time to the present he had always supposed that punishment to be the cause of his death. He did not see any thing on that day that had the appearance of a mutiny. There was a greater chance of a man's dying by being so punished, than if with a common cat-o'-nine-tails, because it did not cut but bruised, from which more fatal consequences might arise, but which he did not then know, nor did he at the time think it to be dangerous; but he had not doubted, from his

attendance on the deceaſed, that the flogging he had received was the cauſe of his death. He did not recollect that he had forbidden him the uſe of ſtrong liquors, though it was probable he had, becauſe of the general order that none ſhould be admitted into the hoſpital. On being preſſed as to his permitting it to go on ſo far, he replied, he durſt not interfere; but his explanation was objected to by the priſoner's counſel.

The Court aſked, what was the deceaſed's ſtate of health at the time? To which the ſurgeon replied, that he was ſo healthy as not to have been under his hands before.

William Roſſer was aſſiſtant ſurgeon in the hoſpital of Goree at the time: he attended Benjamin Armſtrong, who, as ſoon as he came into the hoſpital, ſaid he had been puniſhed by the order of Governor Wall, by his black men, and that he ſhould certainly die. On preparing to dreſs him, he found his back to be as black as a new hat; from his firſt coming into the hoſpital he regularly grew worſe and worſe, and appeared to be in a dying ſtate; inſomuch that the witneſs had at no time any hope of his recovery. On his croſs-examination he ſaid, that Armſtrong, during the time he was in the hoſpital, was regularly ſupplied with the garriſon allowance of half a pint of brandy, or a pint of wine, per day, which he might have drank if he choſe; but the witneſs did not recollect having ſeeing him drink any.

The priſoner's letters and returns to Lord Sydney on his arrival in England were produced by a clerk from the Secretary of State's Office, and read by Mr. Shelton. They ſtated that the garriſon had been for ſeveral months on ſhort allowance, but made no mention of any thing like a mutiny.—The laſt witneſs was Mr. Oldham, Deputy Advocate General, who ſwore, that no return of a court-martial upon Benjamin Armſtrong, in the year 1782, had been made to his office.

[Here the caſe was cloſed on the part of the proſecution.]

The priſoner, being called on for his defence, ſaid, that, having propoſed to return to Europe on the 10th of July, ſome of the men came up to the Government-houſe on the morning of that day, and made a demand on account of ſhort allowance of proviſions; but they were eaſily perſuaded to return to the barracks. About two o'clock of the ſame day, they came again very much intoxicated. He expoſtulated with them for a length of time to no effect, and ordered the deceaſed to march them back. The deceaſed ſaid, he would be d—d if he ſhould, until they were ſettled with, and the demand complied with. He then ordered the whole to face to the left, and march back. To which they anſwered, that they would be d—d if they would not immediately break open the ſtores and ſatisfy themſelves. Finding them bent on proceeding to extremities, he begged an hour or two to conſider an anſwer: to which they conſented, upon condition, that he ſhould not leave the iſland until the buſineſs was ſettled. The deceaſed then marched back the men, ſhouting and making a great noiſe. He then ſent for Captain Lacy, Lieut. Shanley, and Enſign Ford, the only officers then off duty, who came to the Government houſe, and all agreed that immediate puniſhment

ſhould

ſhould be inflicted. Lieut. Shanley was then diſpatched to the drum-major, to deſire him to have every thing ready; and on his return, he reported from the drum-major, that the cats were all deſtroyed, and that the men were all agreed not to ſuffer any puniſhment. Captain Lacy propoſed that nothing ſhould be done until parade, which was adopted; the priſoner aſked the men, when drawn out, what was their complaint? A man came forward, and ſaid, he had a demand upon the Commiſſary upon account of ſhort allowance. He then called out the deceaſed, and aſked him: but at this moment a lieutenant came and told him, that a man in confinement was breaking priſon, and that the ſoldiers would not obey orders to prevent him. He then left the parade, and went to the guard-houſe, and ſaw the perſon who had been in confinement at large. He made an attempt to force him back; but the ſoldier who ſtood ſentry clapped his bayonet to his breaſt, and ſaid he ſhould not enter there. He ſtruck the bayonet down; and, after having reprimanded the guard, he returned to the parade, where he had ordered the artillery to be drawn up with the African corps. On his return to the parade, he ordered the ſaid three officers to form a court-martial, which they did. He then charged the deceaſed, who was on the parade, with mutiny. He then went on the outſide of the troops, who formed a circle round the court-martial. Some time after, Capt. Lacy came out of the circle, and informed him that they had ſentenced the deceaſed to receive 800 laſhes. Some ſmall cords were then produced, and ſhewn to the ſurgeon before the puniſhment, who approved of them, and ſaid they were not ſo bad as a cat-o'-nine-tails. The puniſhment was then inflicted upon the deceaſed, who was tied to a gun, which was the uſual way in the African corps, who never had halberts. The deceaſed, in the courſe of the evening, drank ſpirits ſo as to become intoxicated. The priſoner ſhortly after came home to England, and found, upon his arrival, that ſeveral charges had been preferred againſt him by two officers of the African corps. The charges were heard, and proved to be groundleſs; and Lieut. Robert, one of the officers, was reprimanded for bringing them. Some time after, two meſſengers went down to Bath, and took him into cuſtody: they took a poſt-chaiſe and four, and on their way to town they ſtopped to ſup at Reading. At this time he knew nothing of any charge of murder, and the meſſengers refuſed to tell him the cauſe of his arreſt. An opportunity offered to make his eſcape, and he embraced it. It was not until afterwards that he was charged for murder. But, an impreſſion to his diſadvantage having been made upon the public mind, by paragraphs in newſpapers, ſtating that he had cauſed a man to be blown from a cannon, he was deterred from ſurrendering to take his trial.

The priſoner's counſel called the following witneſſes:

Harriet Lacy, the widow of Captain Lacy, who ſucceeded the priſoner in the government of Goree, confirmed the ſtatement of the men coming up twice in a mutinous manner to the Governor's houſe. They amounted to between

seventy or eighty, and their demand was for short allowance money, not due in the prisoner's time, but in that of his predecessor. She also proved the consultation with the three officers. On her cross-examination, she swore positively that one Carney, and not Evan Lewis, was the orderly serjeant on that day at the Governor's house.

Sarah Faulkener said, she heard the deceased and others desire Serjeant Beson to make out an account; and the latter answered, that they were not aware of the consequences of such proceedings; to which they replied, that if the governor should not comply they would have his life. She also swore positively, that Carney, and not Lewis, was the orderly serjeant at the Government-house on that day.

John Faulkener swore that there was a trial; that Captain Lacy charged Armstrong with mutiny, threatening to stop the governor, and to bring the stores on shore. Armstrong made no defence.—The governor had retired without the the line, while Capt. Lacy and the other officers were deliberating; that is, from a quarter of an hour to half an hour. The sentence was then pronounced, that 800 lashes should be given by the interpreter and his people; the surgeon was present during the whole of the punishment; the rope was not thicker than a man's little finger.

Mary Faulkener swore strongly to the number and violence of the mutineers; they were seventy or eighty: she heard them in Serjeant Beson's room, swearing they would be d—d if the governor should go till they had their short allowance money, and that they would break the stores. Patterson was under arrest, and attempting to escape; and when the governor wanted to prevent him, Fawcet, the sentinel, pointed his bayonet at the governor's breast. The governor then ordered the parade.

The above was the whole of the evidence produced by the prisoner, as applied to the fact. He received a high character for humanity from a number of gentlemen who had known him for many years, among whom were General Forbes, Governor Mackenzie, Majors Phipps and Mall, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and many other very respectable characters.

The Chief Baron summed up the evidence, making such observations as his wisdom and official duty pointed out to him as necessary to make, and which occupied two hours and a half, when the Jury retired from the box, and, after deliberating about three quarters of an hour, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

On this, Governor Wall (who had been leaning forward at the bar, the better to hear the verdict), drew himself upright, and lifted up his hands and eyes in seeming astonishment; at the same time commending himself to God in silent agony.

The Recorder then pronounced sentence in the usual terms, ordering him for execution on Friday the 22d.

The trial lasted from nine in the morning until eleven at night.

A melancholy circumstance happened in the Old Bailey during the above trial. Major Winter, who resided at Woolwich, coming to speak in favour of the Governor, in getting out of the coach, dropped down, and instantly expired.

For the circumstances attending Mr. Wall's execution, see Chronicle, Page 7.

Account

Account of the Ceremony of proclaiming Peace in London, with a Narrative of some attending Circumstances.

On the 29th of April, at half past ten, the Horse Guards arrived at St. James's, and drew up two deep in front of the Palace (their faces towards the Palace), stretching their line from St. James's-street, along Pall-Mall, to the Union Club House; in their front, the beadles, constables, high constable, high bailiff, and the civil officers of Westminster, assembled in an opposite line. At a quarter past eleven, the King's band struck up "God save the King:" "Rule Britannia," &c. were played before St. James's. The heralds, and marshal with his men, in the mean time assembled in the Stable-yard of the Palace, from which they proceeded precisely at twelve o'clock; and when they were coming out of Cleveland-row, the heralds sounded their trumpets, marched forward till they passed St. James's Gate, and came opposite the balcony window east of it, in which were the Queen, several of the Princesses, and other branches of the Royal Family, to see the sight. Here, about ten minutes past twelve, the trumpets having sounded, the Windsor Herald read, for the first time, the Proclamation of Peace*. At the conclusion the trumpets sounded; and the spectators, who were as numerous as it was possible to crowd together, gave one loud and general huzza. The procession then moved forward along Pall-Mall in the following order:—

Horse Guards clearing the way.
Beadles of Westminster, two and two, bareheaded, with staves.
Constables of Westminster, in like manner.
High Constable, with his Staff, on horseback.
Officers of the High Bailiff of Westminster, with white wands, on horseback.

Horse Guards to flank the Procession.

Clerk of the High Bailiff.
High Bailiff and Deputy Steward.
Horse Guards.
Knight Marshal's Men, two and two.
Knight Marshal.
Drums.
Drum Major.
Trumpets.
Serjeant Trumpeter.
Pursuivants.

Horse Guards to flank the Procession.

Serjeants at Arms. { Heralds. Kings of Arms. } Serjeants at Arms.

Horse Guards.

When it arrived at Charing Cross, the trumpets sounded three times,

* The following is a copy of it.

"By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

"GEORGE R.

"Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the 27th day of March last, and the Ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, We have thought fit hereby to command, that the same be published throughout all Our dominions; and We do declare to all Our loving subjects

times, and the reading of the Proclamation was repeated.

The roof of the New Church was crowded with ſpectators, like that of moſt other edifices in the courſe through which the proceſſion was to paſs. The area below, which is encloſed with a parapet wall and iron paliſadoes, and elevated above the level of the ſtreet, was alſo filled with people. A melancholy accident happened juſt as the Heralds came abreaſt of this place. A ſtone railing runs round the roof of the church, adorned with ſtone urns at equal diſtances; and a man on the outſide, in the bow on the eaſtern end, happened to be leaning his hand upon the urn before him. As he ſtretched forward, it fell off. Newcaſtle-ſtreet, the end of Hollywell-ſtreet, and the ſouthern ſide of the Strand, all commanded a view of the ſpot; and all the windows being crowded, and the attention being drawn to that quarter, ſeveral of the ſpectators ſaw the ſtone in the commencement of its fall, and raiſed a loud ſhriek. The church being very high, this notice excited an alarm before the ſtone reached the ground, and ſeveral of the people below ran from their ſituations; but whether into or out of the danger, they did not know. Three young men were cruſhed in its fall. The one was ſtruck upon the head, and killed upon the ſpot; the ſecond ſo much wounded that he died on his way to the hoſpital; and the third died two days after. A young woman was alſo taken away apparently much injured, and ſeveral others were hurt; but whether by flying ſplinters or the preſſure of their companions, they do not know. The urn, which weighs about 200lb. ſtruck in its deſcent the cornice of the church, and carried part of it away; but this was the only obſtruction which it met in its fall. An officer of the church went up to aſcertain the man whoſe hand was upon the urn when it tumbled over. He had fallen back and fainted upon its giving way. He was taken into cuſtody; but we do not find that any blame is imputable to him. The urn ſtood upon a ſocket; but, inſtead of being ſecured by a ſtrong iron ſpike running up the centre, there was nothing but a wooden one, which was entirely decayed, and conſequently broke off with the preſſure of the man's hand, as he was in the act of leaning forward. The ſtone broke a large flag to pieces in the area below, and ſunk nearly a foot into the ground.

Juſt as the proceſſion arrived at Temple Bar, it being one o'clock, the Park and Tower guns were fired. An hour before this time the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, had arrived at the ſame place from the Manſion Houſe in grand proceſſion. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in their ſtate carriages, the Aldermen in their

ſubjects Our will and pleaſure, that the ſaid Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip be obſerved inviolably as well by ſea as land, and in all places whatſoever; ſtrictly charging and commanding all Our loving ſubjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themſelves thereunto accordingly.

"Given at Our Court at Windſor, the 26th day of April 1802, in the forty-ſecond year of Our reign.

"GOD ſave the KING."

private

private coaches, accompanied by the Officers of the City, the Militia, the East India Company Volunteers, and an immenſe concourſe of people. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs alighted at Temple Bar, and went into the houſe of Meſſrs. Child, Dent, and Co. Bankers. The ſtate carriages paſſed through the Bar, empty, and turned in the ſpace newly widened for the projected improvement to the Weſt of the Bar. They then returned through the Bar, and reſumed their ſtations in the line of Aldermen's carriages.

As ſoon as notice was brought to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the approach of the Heralds and ſuite from St. James's, they came forth and mounted their chargers. The Lord Mayor rode a very fine cheſnut horſe. The Sheriffs had alſo beautiful horſes. They were all dreſſed in their robes and chains of office—the Lord Mayor held in his hand the ancient ſceptre, which is regularly transferred when the Lord Mayor is ſworn in, but ſeldom or never uſed in public; it is about eighteen inches long, made of gold and glaſs, ornamented with pearls and precious ſtones round the coronet; at the top is the Britiſh arms. The Sheriffs bore their wands. They were received with a grand acclamation of trumpets and other muſical inſtruments; and took their ſtation within the Gate, which was ſhut and guarded.

On the approach of the proceſſion on the Weſtminſter ſide, the Horſe Guards filed off, and lined both ſides of the way. The Beadles of Weſtminſter, the Officers of the High Bailiff, and the Conſtables, did the ſame, and made a lane for the Knight Marſhal and his Officers to ride up to Temple Bar, the gates of which were ſhut. The junior Officer of Arms, coming out of the rank between two Trumpeters, preceded by two Horſe Guards to clear the way, rode up to the gate; and, after the Trumpets had ſounded thrice, knocked with a cane. Being aſked by the City Marſhal from within, "Who comes there?" he replied, "The Officers of Arms, who demand entrance into the City to publiſh his Majeſty's Proclamation of Peace."—The gates being opened, he was admitted alone, and the gates were ſhut again. The City Marſhal, preceded by his Officers, conducted him to the Lord Mayor, to whom he ſhewed his Majeſty's warrant, which his Lordſhip, having read, returned, and gave directions to the City Marſhal to open the gates, who, attending the Officer of Arms on his return to them, ſaid, on leaving him, "Sir, the Gates are opened." The trumpets and Guards being in waiting conducted him to his place in the proceſſion, which then moved on into the City (the Officers of Weſtminſter filing off, and retiring as they came to Temple Bar). The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs took their place in the line immediately after the Heralds and other Officers of the College of Arms. At the bottom of Chancery-lane the whole halted, and, the Trumpeters having made their ſound, the Heralds read aloud his Majeſty's Proclamation. The ſtate coach fell into the rear of the Marſhals, Heralds, &c. and was followed by ten Aldermen's carriages, among whom were thoſe of Meſſrs. Combe,

Combe, Cadell, Skinner, and Staines, who were much applauded at different times. The proceſſion then moved on through Fleet-ſtreet, up Ludgate-hill, through St. Paul's Church-yard, and into Cheapſide.

One of the Sheriffs (Rawlins), whoſe horſe was frighted at the noiſe and crowd, had nearly received a ſevere fall under St. Dunſtan's Clock. While the Cavalcade was going along Fleet-ſtreet, a child ſlipped out of a woman's arms in a one pair of ſtairs window; but the mob caught and ſaved it.

The order of proceſſion in the City was as follows:

Horſe Guards, to flank the Proceſſion, in ſingle file.

Horſe Guards.
Knight Marſhal's Men, two and two.
Knight Marſhal.
Drums.
Drum Major.
Trumpets.
Serjeant Trumpeter.
Purſuivants of Arms.
Serjeants at Arms — Heralds Kings of Arms — Serjeants at Arms
Four Conſtables together.

Horſe Guards, to flank the Proceſſion, in ſingle file.

Six Marſhal-Men, three and three, on foot.

Six Trumpeters, three and three.

Band of Muſic.

Sheriffs Officers on foot. — Two City Marſhals, on horſeback. Two Sheriffs, on horſeback. Sword and Mace, on horſeback. — Sheriffs Officers on foot.

Porter, in a black Gown and Staff. — Lord Mayor, on horſeback. — Beadle

Houſehold on foot.

Six Footmen in rich liveries, three and three.

State Coach, with ſix horſes, with ribbands, &c.

Aldermen in ſeniority, in their coaches.

Carriages of the two Sheriffs.

Officers of the City, in carriages, in ſeniority.

Horſe Guards.

The Volunteer Corps of the City.

The Artillery Company and Eaſt India Volunteers.

At the top of Wood-ſtreet, the cavalcade again halted, and the Trumpets having ſounded thrice, the Proclamation was again read. When the proceſſion came oppoſite the Manſion-houſe, a ſcaffold built in front of the building gave way. The brother of the Lady Mayoreſs, Mr. Hadley, it is ſaid, broke his leg; Mr. Dixon, Common-Councilman for Tower Ward, was alſo ſeverely bruiſed. The proceſſion having reached the Royal Exchange, where Alderman Curtis was in military command, the Proclamation was read for the laſt time, amid loud and reiterated huzzas. The proceſſion paſſed along Cornhill and Leadenhall-ſtreet, to Aldgate-Pump, where it doubled back along Fenchurch-ſtreet, up Gracechurch-ſtreet, down Cornhill, and formed oppoſite the Manſion-Houſe, where his Majeſty's thanks were preſented by the Lord Mayor to the various Volunteer Corps. He invited their Commanders, as well as the Aldermen,

Aldermen, &c. to dine with him. The Horſe Guards eſcorted the Heralds back to the Heralds College in Doctors Commons, and proceeded to St, James's, with the Knight Marſhal and his men. As they went along, they depoſited the three maces at Mr. Iſherwood's, on Ludgate-hill. The Lord Mayor invited the Heralds to dine with him in their tabarts. This they could not do; but they went in full dreſs.

The Proclamation of Peace was followed by an illumination, in which a general emulation ſeemed to prevail to greet the event with ſuperior brilliancy. Lights profuſely and fancifully diſpoſed, in form of letters, wreaths, crowns, anchors, and other emblems, were aided by tranſparent paintings of great effect and admirable execution.

Account of the Celebration of the Birth Day of the Right Honourable William Pitt, which took Place the 28th May 1802.

The public prints having announced that Mr. Pitt's birthday would be celebrated at the London Tavern, under the patronage of Earl Spencer, the Marquis of Worceſter, the Earl of Euſton, Earl Temple, Viſcount Morpeth, Lord Grenville Leviſon Gower, Lord Lovaine, Sir John Wrotteſley, and about twenty of other gentlemen of the higheſt character and fortune, the demand for tickets, at one guinea each, was ſo great, that it was found the London Tavern would be inadequate to the accommodation of the company, and Merchant Taylors Hall was procured for the occaſion.—At 4 o'clock the company began to aſſemble, and in half an hour the whole body of the Hall was filled, and thoſe who could not obtain ſeats there found accommodation in other rooms. Their number is thus ſtated.

In the Hall	505
The ſecond room	250
The third room	149
	904

To whom are added about one hundred and fifty perſons of diſtinction who occupied the head table, and others who found ſeats in the galleries.

Earl Spencer was in the chair: among the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons preſent were, the *Dukes* of Rutland and Montroſe; *Marquiſes* Cornwallis, Townſhend, Worceſter, Headfort, Buckingham and Exeter; *Earls* Camden, Cheſterfield, Carysfort, Aboyne, Compigham, Temple, Beverley, Euſton, Romney, Eſſex, Forteſcue, Gower, Weſtmoreland, Courtown, Dartmouth, Cowper and Yarmouth; *Lords*, Amherſt, Grenville, Braybrooke, Caſtlereagh, Bulkeley, Belgrave, Rolle, F. Montagu, Hinchinbroke, Newark, Valentia, Chetwynd, Limerick, Glaſtonbury, Walſingham, Whitworth, Hawkeſbury, De Dunſtanville, Morpeth, Louvaine, Alvanley, George Thynne, John Thynne, Leviſon Gower, Harvey, Ducie, George Seymour, Craven, Bridport, Arden, Minto, Bruce, Longford, Cawdor, Loftus, Bayning, W. Gordon, F. Campbell, Carington, Gwydir, Hood, Yarmouth, Wodehouſe, Mulgrave, and Villiers. *The Right Hon.* George

George Roſe, G. Wodehouſe,—Curzon, Frederick Campbell, G. Canning, John Staples, T. Wallace, T. Grenville, C. Yorke, W. Wickham, Sir W. Fawcett, H. Dundas, D. Ryder, J. C. Villiers, Sir W. Grant, C. Bragge, T. Steele, and W. Windham. To theſe was added a long liſt of Baronets, Knights, naval and military Officers of the higheſt ranks, ſons of Peers, members of Parliament, bankers, merchants, and gentlemen forming together an aſſemblage unrivalled on any ſimilar occaſion.

Dinner was ſupplied from the Londern Tavern, and ſerved at a quarter paſt ſix. On the cloth being removed, *Non nobis* was ſung by the Knyvetts, Gore, Nield, Sale, &c. Then followed the health of —"The King, with three times three," which was drank with the loudeſt acclamations of joy—"The Queen, with three times three."—"The Prince and Princeſs of Wales, ditto." "The Duke of York, and the reſt of the Royal Family, ditto."—"Mr. Pitt."—Earl Spencer prefaced Mr. Pitt's health by obſerving that that gentleman had been invited by the committee and ſtewards to be preſent at the meeting on that day, but he had received a letter from him, which he would take the liberty of reading to the company; and the ſubſtance of which was, that he felt moſt deeply the honour which was done him; but as from the nature of the meeting, and the partiality of his friends, for which he was impreſſed with the moſt lively gratitude, he could not reconcile it to his feelings to be preſent, he entreated his Lordſhip to offer his excuſes to the company. The letter was received with the loudeſt applauſe; and Mr. Pitt's health was drank with great enthuſiaſm. The company was not ſatisfied with the common expreſſions of huzzaing and clapping of hands, but hundreds of handkerchiefs waved in the air, and produced an undeſcribable effect.—After the tumult of applauſe had ſubſided, the following ſong, written for the occaſion (by G. H. Roſe, Eſq.), was ſung by Mr. Dignum:

SONG.—To the Tune of the Anacreontic.

To the ſtateſman, whoſe genius and judgment matur'd,
From Gallic ambition, 'midſt Anarchy's cry,
To his country her laws and her commerce ſecur'd,
Can Britons the grateful memorial deny?
No! juſt to his claim
Of a patriot's name,
They truſt not his merit to *poſthumous* fame.

Remember with pride what by Chatham was done,
And hallow the day that gave birth to his ſon.
Rome's ſenate decreed to her worthies ovations,
With civic rewards ſhe encircled their brows;
To a true Britiſh worthy we pour our libations,
While our ſenate her *order of merit* beſtows:
Amidſt Europe's alarms,
With perſuaſion's bleſt charms,
Britain's councils he led, rous'd her heroes to arms.

In the dread wreck of nations her empire maintain'd,
Her ſpirit unconquer'd, her credit unſtain'd.
No Jacobin rites in our fête ſhall prevail,
Ours the true feaſt of reaſon—the ſoul's ſocial flow;
Here we cheriſh the friend, and his virtues we hail,
But the Gallic fraternal embrace diſavow;

Impreſs'd

Impreſs'd with his worth,
We indulge in our mirth,
And bright ſhines the planet that rul'd at his birth;
Round the orbit of Britain, O! long may it move
Like attendant ſatellites circling their Jove.
To the counſels of Pitt *, in an æra that's paſt,
Her high rank 'midſt the nations this city may trace;
Though his ſtatue may moulder, his mem'ry will laſt;
"The great and the good live again in their race."
Ere to time's diſtant day
Our marble convey
The fame that now blooms, and will know no decay,
Our father's example our breaſts ſhall inſpire,
And we'll honour the Son, as they honour'd the Sire.

The next toaſts were,—"The "wooden walls of Old Englaud."—"The army, militia, yeo-"manry, and volunteers of the "United Kingdom."—"The Lord "Mayor, and proſperity to the "city of London."—The toaſt that ſucceeded was applicable to the occaſion—"The pilot that "weathered the ſtorm," which was received by the company, with a fervour of enthuſiaſm, as was the following ſong, compoſed for the occaſion by the Right Hon. G. Canning, and ſung by Mr. Dignum.

If huſh'd the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
The ſky if no longer dark tempeſts deform;
When our perils are paſt, ſhall our gratitude ſleep?
No—Here's to the pilot that weather'd the ſtorm!

At the footſtool of Power let Flattery fawn;
Let Faction her idols extol to the ſkies;
To Virtue, in humble retirement withdrawn,
Unblam'd may the accents of Gratitude riſe!
And ſhall not *his* mem'ry to Britain be dear,
Whoſe example with envy all nations behold;
A ſtateſman, unbiaſs'd by int'reſt or fear,
By pow'r uncorrupted, untainted by gold?
Who, when Terror and Doubt through the univerſe reign'd,
While Rapine and Treaſon their ſtandards unfurl'd,
The heart and the hopes of his country maintain'd,
And one kingdom preſerv'd 'midſt the wreck of the world.
Unheeding, unthankful, we baſk in the blaze,
While the beams of the ſun in full majeſty ſhine;
When he ſinks into twilight with fondneſs we gaze,
And mark the mild luſtre that gilds his decline.
So, Pitt, when the courſe of thy greatneſs is o'er,
Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recall;
Now juſtly we prize thee, when loſt we deplore;
Admir'd in thy zenith, but lov'd in thy fall!
O! take, then—for dangers by wiſdom repell'd,
For evils, by courage and conſtancy brav'd—
O! take, for a throne by thy counſels upheld,
The thanks of a people thy firmneſs has ſav'd!
And, O! if again the rude whirlwind ſhould riſe,
The dawning of peace ſhould freſh darkneſs deform;
The regrets of the good, and the fears of the wiſe,
Shall turn to the pilot that weather'd the ſtorm!

* The late Earl of Chatham.

Sir R. Peele propoſed the health of the noble chairman, which was drank with great applauſe, and his lordſhip, in very handſome terms, returned his acknowledgments.—The following toaſts ſucceeded:—"The memory of Earl "Howe, and the heroes of the "1ſt of June 1794."—"Earl St. "Vincent, and the heroes of Fe"bruary 14, 1797."—"Viſ"count Duncan, and the heroes "of Camperdown."—"Viſcount "Nelſon, and the heroes of the "Nile and Copenhagen."—"The "memory of Sir R. Abercromby; "and Lord Hutchinſon, and the "army of Egypt."—The Throne, "the virtue that fills it, and the "councils that ſaved it."—This toaſt was received with particular marks of approbation and applauſe.—"The landed intereſt of "the United Kingdom."—"The "Maſter, Wardens, and Court of "Aſſiſtants of Merchant Taylors' "Company, and thanks to them "for the uſe of their hall."—A little after ten o'clock the noble chairman having gratified the company by repeating the toaſt of "the pilot who weathered the "ſtorm," and Mr. Dignum having repeated the ſong, his lordſhip left the chair, amidſt the thanks and plaudits of the company, for the very able and ſatisfactory manner in which he had filled it. A large proportion of the company went away at the ſame time. The Marquis of Worceſter took the chair after Lord Spencer had quitted it, and ſupported the ſpirit of the company that remained for a conſiderable time after, with good effect.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1801, to DECEMBER 15, 1802.

Christened	Males 10564, Females 9354	Buried	Males 9889, Females 9490	Increased in Burials this Year 5.

Totals Males and Females Christened 19918.—Total Males and Females Buried 19379.

Died under Two Years	5925	—Thirty and Forty	1782	—Eighty and Ninety	369
Between Two and Five	2379	Forty and Fifty	2112	Ninety and a Hundred	62
—Five and Ten	892	Fifty and Sixty	1885	A Hundred	0
—Ten and Twenty	523	Sixty and Seventy	1353	A Hundred and One	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1199	Seventy and Eighty	896	A Hundred and Two	2

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive & Still-born	457	Cow Pox	2	Palsy	110	Broken Limbs	2
Abscess	32	Croup	27	Pleurisy	31	Bruised	3
Aged	1452	Dropsy	845	Quinsy	2	Burnt	19
Ague	2	Evil	3	Rash	1	Broken Neck	1
Apoplexy and sudden	266	All Fevers	2201	Rheumatism	2	Drowned	112
Asthma and Phthisic	639	Fistula	3	Rickets	1	Excessive Drinking	10
Bedridden	2	Flox	1	Scurvy	2	Executed *	6
Bile	2	Flux	9	Small Pox	1579	Found dead	10
Bleeding	20	French Pox	11	Sore Throat	15	Fractured	4
Burstan and Rupture	25	Gout	107	Sores and Ulcers	13	Frighted	2
Cancer	65	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	16	St. Anthony's Fire	3	Frozen	2
Canker	1	Grief	6	Spasm	9	Killed by Falls, &c.	78
Chicken Pox	2	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	109	Stoppage in Stomach	11	Killed by Fighting	1
Childbed	193	Impossthume	1	Swine Pox	1	Killed themselves	41
Colds	14	Jaundice	77	Teeth	363	Killed by a Bull	1
Colick, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	24	Jaw Locked	2	Thrush	53	Killed by a Madman	1
Consumption	4078	Inflammation	635	Vomiting and Loosenes	2	Poisoned	2
Convulsions	3503	Leprosy	2	Worms	7	Scalded	3
Cough and Hooping-Cough	1004	Lethargy	1			Smothered	1
Cramp	2	Livergrown	7			Starved	3
		Lunatick	125			Strained	1
		Measles	559			Suffocated	4
		Miscarriage	1			Total	297
		Mortification	336				

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 8; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES

PRICES OF THE STOCKS FOR 1802.

Date.	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	5 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Exche. Bills.	Omnium.	Irish 5 per Ct.	Imperial 3 per Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
January —	190	69	68½	85½	98⅜	99¼	20 1/16	5 5/16	214	5s. pr.	—	98½	68	16 12 o
	187	67½	87¼	84¼	97½	98¼	19 11/16	5 3/16	212⅜	3 do.	—	96½	66½	16 10 o
February —	192	70⅜	69⅞	87¾	100¾	101⅞	20¾	5⅜	215	8 do.	—	100¼	69⅜	16 17 o
	190	69	63⅛	85½	98¼	99¼	19 15/16	5¼	213¼	2 do.	—	98¼	67⅞	16 18 o
March —	188½	69⅛	70⅜	86¼	103	101⅛	20 5/16	5⅝	214	5 do.	—	100¼	69½	23 0 o
	187⅓	68¾	67½	85⅜	99⅜	100½	20 3/16	5 1/16	212½	Par.	—	99⅜	67⅛	16 19 o
April —	200	77¼	77¾	92⅞	107¼	106¼	22¾	5¼	226½	9 pr.	7 pr.	105¼	75¼	80 0 o
	194	74	70⅝	89⅜	103	104¾	21⅜	5	226	1 do.	2¼ do.	101¾	70⅛	24 0 o
May —	193	75¾	76⅞	91¾	104⅜	105¾	21 9/16	5 1/16	225	7 do.	3½ do.	102½	74½	— —
	183	72¼	72½	87⅞	101⅛	102¾	20⅝	4⅝	219½	7 dif.	Par.	99⅞	70¾	— —
June —	184	75⅛	—	90¾	104⅛	105⅞	21¼	5	216¾	Par.	1 pr.	102⅝	73⅝	17 9 o
	180	70⅞	—	84¾	103½	102⅜	20 5/16	4⅞	—	3 dif.	2 dif.	98¾	70¼	17 5 o
July —	190½	74⅞	74⅜	90⅝	102⅝	105⅞	21¼	5 1/16	215¼	6 pr.	¼ pr.	101¾	73⅛	18 16 o
	189	71¼	70⅜	88⅛	99¾	103⅛	20 7/16	5	208	3 do.	5¾ dif.	101⅜	69⅜	17 9 o
Auguſt —	186	72⅝	72	88¾	101¼	104½	20⅞	5	207½	5 do.	¾ do.	—	70½	48 0 o
	182	67	66	84¾	98½	101⅜	19 15/16	4⅞	203	Par.	12 do.	—	66⅝	21 5 o
September —	183	67⅞	70¼	86¾	102	103⅝	20 5/16	5	208	—	6 do.	101	69½	17 13 o
	182	67⅝	67	85	99¼	101½	20 1/16	4⅞	203	—	10 do.	100½	66⅝	17 10 o
October —	183	68½	70	86¾	101¾	103⅝	20¼	4½	208¼	—	7¼ do.	101⅜	68⅞	17 15 o
	179	66½	67¼	83⅛	99⅝	101½	19 9/16	4 7/16	201	—	10¾ do.	98¼	68⅜	17 14 o
November —	180½	67⅛	68¼	83⅞	101¼	100⅞	19 13/16	4½	204	4 pr.	9½ do.	97½	66⅛	18 5 o
	178½	66½	67⅜	82¾	100⅛	99⅜	19¼	—	202¼	1 do.	10¾ do.	97⅛	65½	17 16 o
December —	190	72⅝	67⅝	87⅜	101	104¼	20 11/16	4 7/16	201½	3 dif.	2½ do.	100	71	24 0 o
	177½	66⅛	67⅛	82⅛	100¼	99⅜	19⅜	—	201	1 do.	11¼ do.	97	64¾	18 5 o

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1802.

	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer *.			Hygrometer.			
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Rain.
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches
1802.													
* January - -	48	16	35,4	54	41	47,4	30,46	29,31	29,93	90	64	80,2	0,146
February - -	55	30	41,1	57	48	52,6	30,16	29,19	29,67	90	72	80,5	1,500
March - -	62	29	43,7	64	51	55,2	30,48	29,32	30,08	90	60	74,9	0,397
April - - -	67	35	51,8	62	55	59,1	30,33	29,57	30,22	84	60	72,6	0,989
May - - -	76	35	54,0	66	54	59,3	30,33	29,51	30,08	84	55	68,7	1,196
June - - -	77	43	61,0	66	60	62,8	30,38	29,46	29,90	90	60	72,3	1,862
July - - -	70	50	60,0	64	60	62,0	30,12	29,38	29,86	85	61	74,7	2,816
Auguſt - - -	81	53	68,2	74	63	69,1	30,30	29,74	30,04	90	61	72,4	0,517
September - -	75	42	60,9	71	61	66,3	30,41	29,42	30,05	85	61	73,6	0,672
October - -	74	33	52,8	69	57	61,1	30,43	29,22	29,80	89	62	77,8	1,641
November -	53	30	42,7	58	51	54,5	30,13	28,63	29,63	90	73	82,7	1,044
December - -	50	29	39,5	56	48	52,0	30,28	29,07	29,73	94	73	85,5	1,196
Whole Year.			50,8			58,6			29,91			76,3	13,964

* The Quickſilver in the baſon of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerſet Houſe.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January, 1803.

EXPORTED.

1802.	British. Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	
ENGLAND.			
Wheat	147	94,351	
Rye		6,484	
Barley	2,785	1,337	
Malt	3,148		
Oats	11,319	2,185	
Beans	6,750	42	Bounties Nil.
Peaſe	2,330	14	
Indian Corn		1,327	Drawbacks Nil.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	61,181 0 4	87,901 2 18	
Oatmeal	2,022 1 20	240 0 0	
Indian Meal		400 0 0	
SCOTLAND.			
	Qrs.	Qrs.	
Wheat		11,281	
Barley	897		
Oats	1,376		
Ditto Iriſh	254		
Peaſe		25	Bounties Nil.
Groats	1		
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	Drawbacks Nil.
Wheat Flour	705 0 0		
Ditto		7,377 0 0	
Biſcuit	2,920 1 26		
Oatmeal	798 3 0		
Ditto Iriſh	238 3 0		

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.			
Wheat	447,635			
Rye	15,171			
Barley	11,756			
Oats	437,812			£.589 4s. 8d.
Beans	5,792			
Peaſe	9,697			£.684,776 4 3
Malt	2,302			
Indian Corn	734			Bounties paid on Corn and Rice.
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs	
Wheat Flour	282,845	2	13	
Rye Meal	1,162	1	14	
Indian Meal	15,389	3	0	
			Bolls.	
Oatmeal	25,354	3	17	

IMPORTED.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.			
Wheat	110,000			
Barley	3,495			
Oats	79,123			
Peaſe	970			£.59 6 6¼
Buck Wheat	4			
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£.30,547 12 0½
Wheat Flour	32,177	0	2	
Indian Corn	3	2	0	
Ditto Meal	123	3	0	
			Bolls.	Bounties paid on Corn and Rice.
Oatmeal	58,677	0	0	

N. B. No diſtinction can be made between the Bounties paid on Corn and Rice imported, being paid under one Act of Parliament.

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the year 1802.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peaſe.
s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
8 5	5 4¾	4 1½	2 6¾	4 6½	4 11¼

N. B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peaſe.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.	6d.

A Liſt of Public Acts paſſed in the Second Seſſion of the Firſt Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

NOVEMBER 21, 1801.

For continuing and granting to his Majeſty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand eight hundred and two.

For continuing and granting to his Majeſty a duty on penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, and certain duties on ſugar, malt, tobacco and ſnuff, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand eight hundred and two.

To receive and continue until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thouſand eight hundred and three, ſo much of an act made in the forty-firſt year of his preſent Majeſty, as relates to permitting the uſe of ſalt, duty free, in preſerving of fiſh, and to diſcontinue the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and to indemnify all perſons who have iſſued or acted under any orders for delivering ſalt, duty free, for the purpoſes in the ſaid act mentioned.

To repeal an act made in the forty-firſt year of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act to prohibit, until the firſt day of October, one thouſand eight hundred and one, and from thence to the end of ſix weeks next after the commencement of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, any perſon or perſons from ſelling any bread which ſhall not have been baked twenty-four hours;" and to indemnify bakers and other perſons who have ſold, or expoſed to ſale, any bread within the time prohibited by the ſaid act.

DECEMBER 11, 1801.

For granting annuities to ſatisfy certain exchequer bills.

For raiſing the ſum of 500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

To rectify a miſtake in an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majeſty a certain ſum of money for the ſervice of Great Britain, to be raiſed by a lottery," and to amend ſo much of the ſaid act as relates to the commencement of the drawing of the ſaid lottery.

To continue until the firſt day of January one thouſand eight hundred and two, ſo much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts, or waſh brewed or made from molaſſes or ſugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any diſtiller or diſtillers, or maker or makers of ſpirits; for reviving and continuing, for the ſame period, ſo much of the ſaid act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of ſtarch; and for continuing, for the ſame period, an act made in the ſame ſeſſion of parliament for prohibiting the making of low ſpirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other ſort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or bran, in Scotland; and ſo much of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, as relates to the allowing the diſtillation of ſpirits in Scotland from molaſſes or ſugar, at a lower rate of duty.

To repeal an act made in the thirty-ninth year of his Majeſty, intituled "An act to permit, until "the

" the firſt day of Auguſt, one " thouſand eight hundred and two, " the importation of certain naval " ſtores from Hamburgh and other " parts of Germany."

To continue, until the firſt of January, one thouſand eight hundred and three, and amend an act of the thirty-ninth year of his Majeſty, for prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn, and for allowing the importation of other articles of proviſion, without payment of duty; and to continue for the ſame period, an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other proviſions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fiſh, and proviſions, without payment of duty.

To revive and continue, until the firſt day of January, one thouſand eight hundred and three, an act made in the thirty-third year of his Majeſty, intituled, " An act " for the relief of the captors of " prizes with reſpect to the bring- " ing and landing certain prize " goods in this kingdom."

To regulate, until the twenty-firſt day of March, one thouſand eight hundred and three, the number of private militia-men in the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places therein-mentioned; and for ſupplying of vacancies in the militia.

To remove certain reſtraints upon the correſpondence by letter between perſons reſiding in Great-Britain and Ireland, and perſons reſiding in certain foreign countries.

DEC. 15, 1801.

To prohibit the diſtillation of ſpirits from wheat in Ireland.

To permit, until the tenth of July, 1802, the making of ſtarch from rice or potatoes, or any mixture thereof, and the importation of any ſuch ſtarch from Ireland, free of duty.

To continue, until the firſt of July, 1802, an act made in the thirty-fifth year of his Majeſty, for permitting the importation of organized thrown ſilk, flax, and flax ſeed, into this kingdom, in ſhips or veſſels belonging to any kingdom or ſtate in amity with his Majeſty.

FEB. 24, 1802.

For raiſing a further ſum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain, for the year 1802.

For continuing the premium allowed to ſhips employed in, and for enlarging the limits of the Southern whale fiſhery.

To amend ſo much of an act made in the twenty-ninth year of George II. intituled, " An act for " explaining, amending, and ren- " dering more effectual an act made " in the twenty-ſecond year of his " preſent Majeſty, intituled, An " act for making a free market for " the ſale of fiſh in the city of " Weſtminſter, and for preventing " the foreſtalling and monopoli- " zing of fiſh, and for allowing " the ſale of fiſh under the dimen- " ſions mentioned in a clauſe con- " tained in an act of the firſt year " of his late Majeſty's reign, in " caſe the ſame are taken with a " hook," as relates to the ſale of eels.

MARCH 19, 1802.

For raiſing one million, by loans or exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1802.

To repeal the duties on cinnamon, imported by the East India company, and on caſſia lignea of all ſorts, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof; and to repeal the cuſtom duties on certain hides and ſkins, and to repeal certain duties granted by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament upon box-wood imported, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

To indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for certain offices and employments.

For making perpetual ſo much of an act made in the nineteenth year of his Majeſty, as relates to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum ſhipped as ſtores to be conſumed on board merchant ſhips on their voyages; and to continue ſeveral laws relating to the permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe-clay from Great Britain to the Britiſh ſugar colonies in the Weſt Indies, until the twenty-fourth of June, 1808; to the giving further encouragement to the importation of naval ſtores from the Britiſh colonies in America, until the twenty-ninth of September, 1812; to the regulating the payment of the duties on cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and mace; to the allowing the importation of certain fiſh from Newfoundland and the coaſt of Labrador, until the twenty-fourth of June, 1808; and to the allowing the importation and exportation of goods from and to India and China, in ſhips not of Britiſh conſtruction, during the continuance of the excluſive trade to and from the Eaſt Indies, granted to the Eaſt India company by an act of the thirty-third of his Majeſty's reign.

For continuing, until the twenty-fifth of December, 1804, the bounties granted for the encouragement of Greenland whale fiſheries, and for continuing and amending the regulations reſpecting the ſame.

MARCH 24, 1802.

For continuing until the twenty-fifth day of March, 1803, ſeveral acts of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for continuing and granting duties to his Majeſty in Ireland.

For puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

For regulation of the marine forces, while on ſhore.

To empower his Majeſty to cauſe certain countervailing duties, granted by an act of the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, intituled, "An act for carrying into "execution the treaty of amity, "commerce, and navigation, con-"cluded between his Majeſty and "the United States of America," to ceaſe or be ſuſpended until the twenty-fifth day of March, 1803, under certain circumſtances.

For continuing, until the twenty-fifth of March, 1805, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, and amending ſeveral laws relating to the tranſportation of felons, and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland reſpectively.

To authorize the Eaſt India company to make their ſettlement at Fort Marlborough, in the Eaſt Indies, a factory ſubordinate to the preſidency of Fort William, in Bengal, and to tranſfer the ſervants, who, on the reduction of that eſtabliſhment, ſhall be ſupernumerary to the preſidency of Fort St. George.

To continue until the twenty-fifth of July, 1802, an act made in the

the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act to ſtay, until the "twenty-fifth of March, 1802, "proceedings in actions under the "ſtatute of King Henry the "Eighth, for abridging ſpiritual "perſons from having pluralities of "livings, and from taking of "farms."

To enlarge the powers, and explain and amend an act made in the twenty-ſecond of George II. intituled, "An act for the better re-"pairing the highways, and clean-"ſing the ſtreets within the pariſh "of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, &c."

APRIL 15, 1802.

For raiſing twenty-five millions by annuities.

For granting additional duties on windows, and inhabited houſes, and for conſolidating the ſame with the preſent duties thereon.

To continue, until the twenty-ninth of September, 1803, ſeveral acts of the laſt ſeſſion for reviving, continuing, and amending ſeveral laws for the better collection and ſecurity of the revenues of Ireland.

For regulating, until the fifteenth of February, 1803, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain.

For enlarging the terms and powers granted by ſeveral acts, of laying a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale and beer brewed and vended within the town of Dundee, and the liberties and ſuburbs thereof.

To amend and render more effectual an act made in the ſeventeenth year of his Majeſty, for the better relief and employment of the poor of the pariſh of St. Mary, Iſlington, in the county of Middleſex.

APRIL 30, 1802.

For granting additional duties on ſervants, carriages, horſes, mules, and dogs, and for conſolidating the ſame with the preſent duties thereon.

For granting additional duties on beer, ale, malt, hops, and on ſpirits diſtilled in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, for repealing certain allowances to brewers of beer and ale, and for preventing frauds and abuſes in the revenue of exciſe on beer, ale, and malt.

For extending the time for the payment of loans made to perſons connected with, or trading to the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

To continue, until the firſt of March, 1803, the reſtrictions contained in ſeveral acts of the thirty-ſeventh and thirty-eighth years of his Majeſty, on payments in caſh by the bank.

For continuing and enlarging the term and powers of two ſeveral acts, of the thirty-ſecond George II. and of the twentieth of his preſent Majeſty, charging a duty of two pennies Scots, or one-ſixth part of a penny ſterling, upon every Scots pint of ale, porter, and beer, brewed for ſale, brought into, tapped, or ſold, within the town and pariſh of Kelſo, in the county of Roxburgh, for the purpoſe therein mentioned.

MAY 4, 1802.

To enable the lords of the treaſury to iſſue exchequer bills on the credit of aids or ſupplies, granted by parliament for the year 1802.

For repealing the duties on income

come; for the effectual collection of arrears of the ſaid duties, and accounting for the ſame; and for charging the annuities ſpecifically charged thereon upon the conſolidated fund of Great Britain.

MAY 7, 1802.

For granting certain duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, and on the tonnage of ſhips and veſſels entering outwards or inwards in any port of Great Britain to or from foreign parts.

For permitting French wines to be imported into Great Britain in bottles or flaſks, under certain reſtrictions.

To continue, until three months after any reſtriction impoſed by any act of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament on the bank of England from iſſuing caſh in payments ſhall ceaſe; an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his Majeſty, for confirming and continuing the reſtrictions on payments in caſh by the bank of Ireland.

To require overſeers and guardians of the poor to keep a regiſter of the ſeveral children who ſhall be bound or aſſigned by them as apprentices, and to extend the proviſions of an act paſſed in the twentieth year of his Majeſty, to the binding of apprentices by houſes of induſtry, or eſtabliſhments for the poor, which have been authoriſed ſo to do by ſubſequent acts.

MAY 10, 1802.

To continue until the twentieth day of May, 1803, and amend an act made in the laſt ſeſſion, relating to certain duties on ſugar and coffee exported; for permitting Britiſh plantation ſugar to be warehouſed; and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on ſugar exported.

MAY 24, 1802.

For enabling his Majeſty to ſettle an annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex, and a like annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cambridge, during his Majeſty's pleaſure.

For further continuing until the firſt day of February, 1806, an act made in the twenty-ſeventh year of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act to enable the lord high "treaſurer, or commiſſioners of "the treaſury, for the time being, "to let to farm the duties granted "by an act made in the twenty-"fifth year of his preſent Majeſty's "reign on horſes let to hire for "travelling poſt, and by time, to "ſuch perſons as ſhould be willing "to contract for the ſame."

For continuing an act made in this ſeſſion, intituled, "An act for "puniſhing mutiny and deſertion."

For continuing until the twenty-fifth day of June, 1802, an act made this ſeſſion, for the regulation of marine forces while on ſhore.

For defraying the pay of the militia in England, for the year 1802.

To indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

MAY 28, 1802.

For granting a ſum of money, to be raiſed by lotteries.

For making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia during peace.

JUNE 3, 1802.

For raiſing a certain ſum of money

money, by way of annuities or debentures, for the ſervice of Ireland.

To repeal an act, paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of his Majeſty, for granting ſtamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual proviſion for the better collection of the ſaid duties.

For allowing, until the 20th of May 1803, additional bounties on refined ſugar exported, and diſcontinuing the duty thereon granted by an act of this ſeſſion.

To amend ſo much of an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for "veſting a certain fund in com-"miſſioners at the end of every "quarter of a year, to be by them "applied to the reduction of the "national debt, and to direct the "application of additional funds, "in caſe of future loans, to the "like purpoſe," as relates to the commiſſioners for carrying the ſame into execution.

To continue, until the 30th of May, 1803, and amend an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion, for regulating and allowing drawbacks on ſugar exported from Ireland, and for allowing Britiſh plantation ſugar to be warehouſed in Ireland, and for granting an additional drawback on the exportation of refined ſugar.

For extending the proviſions of an act, made in the thirty-fourth year of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for directing the appoint-"ment of commiſſioners to ad-"miniſter certain oaths and de-"clarations, required by law, to "be taken and made by perſons "offering to vote at the election "of members to ſerve in parlia-"ment," to all oaths now required by law to be taken by voters at elections for members to ſerve in parliament.

For the further encouragement of Iriſh mariners, and for other purpoſes relating thereto.

JUNE 22, 1802.

To authoriſe the licenſing an additional number of hackney coaches.

To enable the Treaſury of Ireland, to ſell, leaſe, convey, or diſpoſe of, the parliament houſe in the city of Dublin, and all the premiſes and appurtenances thereunto belonging to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

To amend, and render more effectual, two acts, paſſed in the twenty-ſixth and thirty-ſecond years of his Majeſty, for reduction of the national debt.

For puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

For amending ſo much of an act paſſed in the ſeventh year of his Majeſty as relates to the ſecreting, embezzling, or deſtroying any letter or packet ſent by the poſt, and for the better protection of ſuch letters or packets, and for more effectually preventing letters and packets being ſent otherwiſe than by the poſt.

To enable his Majeſty to avail himſelf of the offers of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps to continue their ſervices.

To revive, and further continue, until the 25th of March, 1803, and to amend ſo much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of his Majeſty, as grants

grants certain allowances to adjutants and ſerjeant majors of militia diſembodied under an act of the ſame ſeſſion of parliament.

To enable his Majeſty to accept and continue the ſervice of certain troops or companies of yeomanry in Ireland.

For making allowances until the 25th of March, 1803, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia of Ireland, during peace.

To authoriſe the ſending and receiving of letters and packets, votes, proceedings in parliament, and printed newſpapers, by the poſt, free from the duties on poſtage, by the members of the two houſes of parliament of the United Kingdom, and by certain public officers therein named, and for reducing the poſtage on ſuch votes, proceedings, and newſpapers, when ſent by any other perſons.

To enable ſuch officers, mariners, and ſoldiers, as have been in the land or ſea ſervice, or in the marines, or in the militia, or any other corps of fencible men, ſince the twenty-fourth year of his preſent Majeſty, to exerciſe trades.

For directing certain public accounts to be laid annually before parliament, and for diſcontinuing certain other forms of account now in uſe.

To amend the laws for the better regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland.

For repealing ſeveral acts made in the thirty-fifth, thirty-ſixth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years of his Majeſty, relating to the admiſſion of certain articles on merchandize in neutral ſhips, and to the iſſuing of orders in council for that purpoſe, and for making other proviſions in lieu thereof, to continue until the firſt of January, 1804.

To continue until the twenty-ninth of September, 1803, an act made in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-ſeventh year of his Majeſty, for regulating the import, export, and ſale of coffee, and ſecuring the duties payable thereon; and alſo for ſecuring the duties payable on licenſes to perſons in Ireland not being maltſters, or makers of malt, ſelling malt by commiſſion, or otherwiſe.

For repealing an act made in the thirty-eighth year of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for "raiſing a body of miners in the "county of Cornwall and Devon, "for the defence of the kingdom "during the preſent war," and for the more effectually raiſing and regulating a body of miners for the defence of Great Britain.

For the further regulating the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to ſerve in parliament, and for expediting the proceedings relating thereto.

For the trying and puniſhing in Great-Britain, perſons holding public employments, for offences committed abroad, and for extending the proviſions of an act paſſed in the twenty-firſt year of the reign of king James, made for the eaſe of juſtices, and others, in pleading in ſuits brought againſt them, to all perſons either in or out of this kingdom, authoriſed to commit to ſafe cuſtody.

To alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act made in the twenty-fourth year of his Majeſty, for the more effectual prevention of ſmuggling in Great-Britain.

To

To revive and continue, until the 5th of April, 1804, and to amend ſeveral acts paſſed in the twenty-ſeventh, thirty-fifth, and thirty-ninth years of his Majeſty, for the more effectual encouragement of the Britiſh fiſheries, and to continue, until the 14th day of June, 1803, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, ſo much of an act of the ſixth year of his Majeſty, as relates to the prohibiting the importation of foreign wrought ſilks and velvets.

To prevent Britiſh built ſhips to carry on the fiſheries in the Pacific Ocean without licenſe from the Eaſt-India Company, or South Sea Company.

To continue, until the 8th of April, 1803, an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for ſtaying proceedings in actions under the ſtatute of Henry VIII, for abridging ſpiritual perſons from having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and alſo to ſtay proceedings in actions under an act of the thirteenth of Elizabeth, touching leaſes of benefices, and other eccleſiaſtical livings with cure.

For veſting certain lands and hereditaments in truſtees, for promoting the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For repealing two acts made in the thirty-ſecond and thirty-ſixth years of his Majeſty, for the more effectual adminiſtration of the office of a juſtice of the peace, in ſuch parts of the counties of Middleſex and Surrey as lie in or near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies, and for making other proviſions in lieu thereof, and for increaſing the ſalaries of the juſtices at the Thames Police-office, until the firſt day of June, 1807, and from thence to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament.

For the preſervation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton, and other mills, and cotton and other factories.

To amend an act made in the twenty-ſecond year of his Majeſty, for the better relief and employment of the poor, ſo far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-houſe.

To extend the proviſions of an act made in the thirteenth year of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for repealing ſo much of an act made in the twenty-third of George II. as relates to the preventing the ſtealing or deſtroying of turnips, and for the more effectually preventing the ſtealing or deſtroying of turnips, potatoes, cabbages, parſnips, peaſe, and carrots," to certain other field crops, and to orchards, and for amending the ſaid act.

For repealing ſo much of an act made in the ſecond year of his Majeſty, intituled "An act for the better ſupplying the cities of London and Weſtminſter with fiſh," &c. as limits the number of fiſh to be ſold by wholeſale within the ſaid city of London, and for the better regulation of the ſale of fiſh by wholeſale in the market of Billingſgate.

To remove doubts as to certain acts relating to the admeaſurement of coals in the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent, and to revive and continue an act paſſed in the twenty-ſixth year of his

his Majeſty, relating to the admeaſurement of coals within the limits aforeſaid, and to indemnify all perſons who have acted in purſuance of any of the proviſions of the ſaid act.

JUNE 26, 1802.

For raiſing five millions, by loans, or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

For raiſing 1,500,000l. by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

For granting to his Majeſty the ſum of 200,000l. to be iſſued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain.

For ſettling and ſecuring a certain annuity on Lord Hutchinſon, Baron Hutchinſon of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, and the two next perſons to whom the title of Baron Hutchinſon ſhall deſcend, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices.

For repealing certain duties on paper, paſteboards, millboards, ſcaleboards, and glazed paper, imported into, or made in Great-Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

For providing a proper ſalary for the office of Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal in Ireland.

For repealing the duties granted by an act made in this ſeſſion on ſpermaceti oil, blubber, train oil, fiſh oil, or oil of ſeals, and granting other duties in lieu thereof; for repealing the duties granted by the ſaid act on linen yarn made of flax, and on goods, wares, or merchandize imported by the Eaſt-India Company, and exported from the warehouſe in which the ſame ſhall have been ſecured; for exempting ſtone, the produce of Guernſey, Jerſey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, from duty; and for permitting merchandize, the produce of any of the colonies ceded to the French and Batavian Republics, to be imported for three years from the paſſing of this act, upon payment of certain duties.

For allowing the ſtamping certain deeds until the 31ſt of December, 1802; for amending an act paſſed in the thirty-ſixth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, relating to duties on legacies and ſhares of perſonal eſtates; for exempting certain legacies from the payment of duty; for reducing the allowance on preſent payment of ſtamp duties, and for reducing certain ſtamp duties on policies for ſea inſurances.

For exempting from the auction duty eſtates and effects bought in for the owner, and goods imported in any Britiſh ſhip from any Britiſh colony in America, or from any part of the United States; for the better collecting and ſecuring the duties of exciſe on wine, home-made ſpirits, ſtarch, auctions, rum ſhipped as ſtores, and on goods or merchandize chargeable with duties of exciſe; for granting a further allowance of ſalt in the curing and preſerving of pilchards and ſcads; and for allowing certain draining tiles to be made free of duty.

For enlarging the time for which horſes may be let to hire without being ſubject to any annual duty; for explaining and amending ſeveral acts relating to the duties on horſes,

horſes, ſervants, and carriages; and for authoriſing the allowance in the accounts of the Receivers' General, of the ſeveral ſums advanced by them, in purſuance of the acts for raiſing a proviſional force of cavalry, and not reimburſed to them by aſſeſſment.

To repeal the additional duty of 6l. per centum on the duties payable on the importation into Ireland of certain goods imported by retailers or conſumers; and for repealing and reducing certain duties on policies of ſea inſurance in Ireland.

To authoriſe the Commiſſioners of Exciſe to order the reſtoration of exciſeable goods ſeized or detained by officers of exciſe.

For the regulation of marine forces while on ſhore.

For amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia.

To raiſe and eſtabliſh a militia force in Scotland.

For conſolidating the proviſions of the ſeveral acts, paſſed for the redemption and ſale of the land-tax, into one act, and for making further proviſion for the redemption and ſale thereof, and for removing doubts reſpecting the right of perſons claiming to vote, at elections, for knights of the ſhire, and other members to ſerve in parliament, in reſpect of meſſuages, lands, or tenements, the land-tax upon which ſhall have been redeemed or purchaſed.

To require perſons licenſed to keep lottery-offices in Ireland, to divide into ſhares a certain number of whole lottery tickets, and for empowering the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury of Great-Britain, to remit to the Exchequer of Ireland a certain ſum of money out of the contributions for lotteries.

For regulating the trial of controverted elections, or returns of members to ſerve in the United Parliament for Ireland.

For repealing ſeveral acts for eſtabliſhing regulations reſpecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or reſident therein, in certain caſes, and for ſubſtituting other proviſions in lieu thereof.

For repealing the rates and duties of poſtage upon letters to and from France and the Batavian Republic, from and to London, and for granting other rates and duties in lieu thereof; and for exempting from the duty of tonnage the ſhips and veſſels to be employed in conveying the mails of letters from France to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

To authorize the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury in Great Britain, and Ireland, to order the uſe of the hydrometers now employed in the management of the revenues, to be diſcontinued, and other inſtruments to be uſed inſtead thereof.

For enabling his Majeſty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from the port Road Harbour, in the Iſland of Tortola, until the 1ſt day of July, 1803, and from thence until ſix weeks after the commencement of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament.

For authoriſing, and rendering valid, the diſcharge of certain militia men in Ireland, and for giving indemnity to the ſeveral counties and places in Ireland which may incur any expence in conſequence of the diſcharge of certain militia men.

To continue, until the 5th of July, 1803, two acts, made in the

thirty-eighth year of his Majesty, and in the last session, for the further encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, and for improving the revenue thereof.

More effectually to prevent the stealing of deer.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

For extending the provision of two acts of the thirty-fifth and thirty-eighth years of his Majesty, so far as they relate to the encouragement of persons coming to Milford Haven for the purpose of carrying on the southern whale fishery.

JUNE 28, 1802.

For granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the respective consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland; for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1802; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament.

For granting certain additional duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in Ireland, until the 25th of March, 1803; and for holding courts-martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied.

To suppress certain games and lotteries not authorized by law:

Also Road and bridge bills,	54
Enclosure bills, -	28
Building bills, -	10
Canal and internal navigation bills, - - -	10

Report of the Commissioners appointed for the Sale of the Land-tax.

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled. "The Lords Commissioners for regulating, directing, "approving, and confirming all "sales, and contracts for sale, "made by bodies politic or corporate, or companies, for the "purpose of redeeming their land-"tax," have received his Majesty's directions to lay before the House of Commons a statement of their proceedings, distinguishing the number and value of the sales, and contracts for sale, approved by the said Commissioners; the amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of such sales, and contracts for sale; the quantity of stock purchased by the produce of such sales; the gain to the public resulting from the proceedings under the said commission; the expence incurred, and the estimated value of the entire property of which the tenure has been, or will be changed, by the effect of such sales, or contracts for sale;

And the said Commissioners report accordingly:—I. By an act passed the 21st March, 1799, "to "amend and render more effectual "the preceding acts for the re-"demption and purchase of the "land-tax," it was made lawful for his Majesty to appoint seven persons of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, to be Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, and confirming all sales, and contracts for sale, made by bodies politic or corporate, or companies, for the purposes of redeeming any land-tax charged on any of the manors,

nors, meſſuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to ſuch bodies politic or corporate, or companies. And his Majeſty, by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great Britain, bearing date the March, 1799, nominated and appointed the Right Hon. William Lord Auckland, the Right Hon. Henry Addington (then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons), the Right Hon. William Pitt, the Right Hon. the Maſter of the Rolls (now Lord Alvanley), the Right Hon. Sir William Wynne, Knight, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron, and the Right Hon. Sylveſter Douglas (now Lord Glenbervie), for the purpoſes of the ſaid recited act, and with authority to any two or more of the ſaid Commiſſioners to do any act, matter, or thing, which by the ſaid commiſſion the ſaid Commiſſioners are authorized to do: and various legiſlative proviſions have ſince been made, to facilitate and extend the operation and effect of the ſaid commiſſion.—II. The Lords Commiſſioners, on the 29th March, 1799, ſeverally took the oath preſcribed by the act of Parliament, and afterwards entered upon the execution of their office. Their meetings have been continued from time to time by adjournments of more or leſs frequency, according to the nature and importance of the buſineſs to be tranſacted; and the Commiſſioners have acted with the advice of counſel, in ſuch caſes as have been thought to require profeſſional aſſiſtance. In adjuſting and approving the terms and conditions of ſale, it has been anxiouſly and invariably the object of the Lords Commiſſioners to eſtabliſh and maintain certain uniform principles calculated to prevent any improvident ſales, and beneficial as well as ſafe to the property of the church, and of other corporate bodies, as far as might be compatible with the nature of the property to be diſpoſed of, and with the different tenures to which that property might be ſubject. Purſuing theſe principles, the Board have found it neceſſary to diſcuſs many queſtions of intricacy and detail, with reſpect both to legal conſtructions and to modes of valuation. Their minutes and deciſions have been conſequently very voluminous, and have been accurately and carefully entered and preſerved. The Lords Commiſſioners take this occaſion to acknowledge the ready and efficient aſſiſtance and attention which they have experienced from time to time, from his Majeſty's law officers, from the Directors of the Bank, the Commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, and from the officers of the Bank of England. The current buſineſs of the commiſſion, as will appear in the two following ſections of this Report, is gradually diminiſhing; ſtill, however, it is conſiderable and important.—III. The number of ſales, and contracts for ſale, approved by the Commiſſioners, has been,

From the 29th March 1799 to 28th March 1800	895 ſales.
From the 29th March 1800 to 28th March 1801	433 ſales.
From the 29th March 1801 to 9th June 1802	277 ſales.
Total -	1,605

IV. The value of the ſales, and contracts for ſale, was,

In the firſt of the above periods - -	£. 364,678
In the ſecond - -	227,420
In the third - -	161,736
	£. 753,834

And the ſaid ſum of 753,834*l.* was obtained in the following proportions, from ſales made by the different deſcriptions of eccleſiaſtical and other corporate bodies:

	£.	s.	d.
Archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſixteen of the biſhops	189,493	16	3
Dean and chapters	286,982	12	4
Rectors and vicars	100,187	3	10
Colleges and prebends - - -	85,228	11	3
Lay corporations	91,942	11	1
	£. 753,834	14	9

V. The amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of ſuch ſales, and contracts for ſale, cannot yet be ſtated with preciſion, as, in ſeveral inſtances, the money ariſing from ſales approved and confirmed by the Lords Commiſſions, has not yet been paid into the Bank. Beſides which, the property ſold by the corporate bodies, being required by law to be ſold free and diſcharged from land-tax, the land-tax has, in very many caſes, by agreement between the parties, been freed by the leſſee or purchaſer at his expence. It is therefore difficult to aſcertain what amount of land-tax may have been redeemed by this part of the operation. On the whole, however, the amount of land-tax redeemed by virtue of the aforeſaid ſales, and contracts for ſale, may be eſtimated at 35,000*l.* per annum.—VI. The quantity of ſtock purchaſed by the Bank from the produce of ſuch ſales, is 1,013,000*l.*; excluſive of the ſums not paid into the Bank, and alſo of ſums not yet brought to account, amounting together by eſtimate to 200,000*l.* ſtock.—VII. The gain reſulting to the public from the proceedings under the commiſſion, conſiſts moſt immediately in the one eleventh required by the acts to be paid to the public, beyond the value of the land-tax redeemed, and ſuch gain cannot be ſtated at leſs than 110,000*l.* ſtock; and this is excluſive of the land-tax redeemed by the leſſees and purchaſers of many conſiderable parcels of the property ſold to them. A further gain reſulting to the public from the proceedings under the commiſſion, is to be found in the general operation of the redemption of the land-tax, particularly by creating a daily demand of a certain proportion of ſtock, which can never be brought back into the market. The effect of that circumſtance is evidently beneficial, and public credit has been materially aſſiſted, by thus withdrawing from the market nearly twenty millions of ſtock, in little more than three years, for the redemption of land-tax.—VIII. There are alſo other deſcriptions of gain to the public, which are not inconſiderable, when collectively taken, by the accumulation of the one eleventh beyond the amount of the land-tax ſold; by the ſaving of the allowances to the receivers general: by the ſtamps on renewal of leaſes, and on conveyances of ſettled leaſehold eſtates. And in a more indirect point of view, the ſales made by the proceedings under the commiſſion may be conſidered as beneficial to the public,

public, by giving local accommodation to the purchasers, by multiplying the means of improvement, and by increasing the revenues of the corporate bodies, in some instances very considerably.—IX. The expence incurred has been restricted within the narrowest limits, to the salaries of a chief secretary, assistant, and clerks; the fees of counsel, the rent of the office, and certain small incidents; the whole amounting, on the average of three years, to about 1,550*l.* per annum. —X. The value of the entire property, of which the tenure has been changed by the effect of the sales, and contracts for sale, has been computed to be not less than three times the amount of the whole sum received. Assuming this computation to be well founded, the amount sold or contracted for being 753,834*l.* the value in fee of the whole property transferred from corporate bodies will be 2,261,502*l.* The prices approved in sales, and contracts for sale, have varied from six to nine years purchase, for the reversion in fee of lands and tithes under leases for three lives: from eight to fourteen years purchase for the reversion in fee of leases for twenty-one years; five years purchase has been taken for houses let for thirty years, and three years for the reversion in fee of leases for forty years; reserved rents, and property not let on beneficial leases, have been sold from twenty-five to thirty years purchase.—XI. There cannot be a doubt that these sales are convenient to purchasers, advantageous to the sellers and their successors, and highly beneficial to the public in general; and therefore the Lords Commissioners would gladly have added to this Report some estimate of the proportion of land-tax payable, and not yet redeemed by the bodies corporate. It is, however, difficult to arrive at any certainty in this part of the inquiry. It is probable that the proportion of land-tax redeemed by the corporate bodies and their lessees, may exceed the proportion as yet redeemed by other descriptions of property chargeable with land-tax; still, however, it may be estimated that more than two thirds remain unredeemed.—XII. The general results may be stated to be: that the number of sales approved is 1,605; that the amount in money of such sales so approved, is 753,834*l.* sterling; that the value in fee simple of the property sold, is about 2,000,000*l.* sterling; that the stock purchased for the redemption of land-tax, under the proceedings of the Commissioners, is about 1,200,000*l.*; that the whole expence to the public has been 5,400*l.*; that the gain to the public, by the operation, has not been less than 110,000*l.* stock; exclusive of the other benefits explained and detailed in this Report.

By order of the Lords Commissioners,

W. YOUNG, *Secretary.*

10*th June*, 1802.

Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on Dr. Jenner's Petition, respecting his important Discovery of Vaccine Inoculation.

The committee, to whom the petition of Edward Jenner, doctor of physic, was referred, have, pursuant to the order of the house, examined the matter thereof; which is divided into three distinct heads of inquiry:

The utility of the discovery it-

ſelf, which is the foundation of the petition:

The right of the petitioner to claim the diſcovery:

The advantage, in point of medical practice, and pecuniary emolument, which he has derived from it.

Upon the firſt head a number of witneſſes of the higheſt characters, and moſt extenſive experience in the profeſſion, were examined, whoſe names, with the ſubſtance of their reſpective evidence (ſtrongly confirmed by their general practice, as well as by that in their own families) appear in the appendix; nor was it for want of the teſtimony of many other equally reſpectable phyſicians and ſurgeons, whom the petitioner was deſirous of producing, that many other names are not inſerted; but becauſe your committee, after having received ſo conſiderable a body of evidence to the ſame purport, and with ſo little variation in opinion, thought that his caſe could ſuſtain no injury in being left to reſt upon the concurring depoſitions of thoſe already examined, who had both the moſt ample experience of the facts, and the beſt means of forming an opinion upon them. The teſtimony alſo of ſome perſons not profeſſional, has been admitted, who could ſpeak to occurrences that tend to illuſtrate particular points connected with the ſubject. The reſult, as it appears to your committee, which may be collected from the oral teſtimony of theſe gentlemen (with the exception of three of them) is, that the diſcovery of vaccine inoculation is of the moſt general utility, inaſmuch as it introduces a milder diſorder in the place of the inoculated ſmall pox, which is not capable of being communicated by contagion; that it does not excite other humours or diſorders in the conſtitution; that it has not been known, in any one inſtance, to prove fatal; that the inoculation may be ſafely performed at all times of life (which is known not to be the caſe with regard to the inoculation of the ſmall-pox) in the earlieſt infancy, as well as during pregnancy, and in old age; and that it tends to eradicate, and, if its uſe becomes univerſal, muſt abſolutely extinguiſh one of the moſt deſtructive diſorders by which the human race has been viſited.

The written evidence which is inſerted in the appendix (for your committee have judged it proper to make a ſelection from a great maſs of what appeared moſt important) is more various, but directed to the ſame objects: part of it relates to the very extenſive and ſucceſsful practice of this mode of inoculation in every quarter of the globe, the efficacy of which does not ſeem abated by the cold of the northern, nor the heat of the ſouthern and tropical climates; and though there are no means of examining the authors from whence ſome of theſe atteſtations come, it would be an act of injuſtice to the petitioner to exclude theſe important documents, which ſhew the conſideration in which this diſcovery is held, and the benefit with which it has been attended, in ſo many other countries, to at leaſt as great an extent as in our own.

As a compariſon between this new practice, and the inoculated ſmall pox, forms a principal conſideration in the preſent inquiry, ſome facts with regard to the latter engaged the attention of your committee, and

and they have inſerted in the appendix (No. 44) ſtatements of the mortality occaſioned by the ſmall pox in 42 years before inoculation was practiſed in England, and of the 42 years from 1731 to 1772: the reſult of which appears to be an increaſe of deaths, amounting to 17 in every 1000: the general average giving 72 in every 1000 during the firſt 42 years, and 89 in the 42 years ending in 1772, ſo as to make the whole exceſs of deaths in that latter period 1742. The increaſe of mortality is ſtated by another witneſs (No. 4.) to be as 95 to 70, comparing the concluding 30 years with the firſt 30 of the laſt century, and the average annual mortality from ſmall pox to have been latterly about 2000; for though individual lives are certainly preſerved, and it is true that a ſmaller loſs happens in equal numbers who undergo the ſmall pox now, than there was formerly; yet it muſt be admitted that the general prevalence of inoculation tends to ſpread and multiply the diſeaſe itſelf; of which, though the violence be much abated by the modern mode of treatment, the contagious quality remains in full force. It deſerves alſo to be noticed, that the deaths under the inoculated ſort of ſmall pox, with all the improvements of modern experience, are not inconſiderable; it is ſtated by one of the witneſſes at about one in every 300 throughout England (No. 35); by another, as about one in every 100 in London (No. 38); while the loſs in the natural ſmall pox is probably not leſs than one in ſix (No. 37); nor ought it to be overlooked, that miſtakes have been known to ariſe in the inoculated ſmall pox, and inſtances are cited by ſome of the witneſſes, in which perſons ſuppoſed to have gone through the ſmall pox by inoculation, have caught it afterwards in the natural way (Nos. 21 and 41); the general laws of vaccine and variolous diſeaſe are extremely ſimilar, and it is not ſurpriſing that they ſhould reſemble each other in their anomalies.

A ſpurious or imperfect ſort of cow pox having been mentioned in ſome of the examinations, your committee have been particularly diligent in their inquiries into every individual caſe that came within their notice, where ſuſpicions had ariſen or facts were alleged, tending to bring into doubt the preventive power of vaccine inoculation: and although, for the reaſons before given, they have reſtricted and abridged the proofs in favour of this practice, they have thought proper to withhold no part of the evidence that has been received relative to the caſes that appear to controvert it; of which it will be obſerved that ſome (Appendix, Nos. 31, 32, and 33) evidently reſolve themſelves into variolous infection, taken previouſly to the vaccine inoculation; others (Appendix, Nos. 33, and 40) into the patient not having taken the cow pox at all; others again (No. 25) from the vaccine matter being, by want of attention in preſerving it, decompoſed, or mixed with variolous matter, or from the fluid being taken at too late a period of the puſtule; to which laſt cauſe it ſeems probable that moſt of the errors and dubious caſes are to be referred (No. 20.) All the practitioners agree, that there is no difficulty in diſtinguiſhing the real diſorder from any

ſpurious or imperfect appearance; and that the regular progreſs of the puſtule itſelf, if attended to, cannot be miſtaken.

The caſes (Nos. 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49) are not explained by any particular evidence applied to them in a ſatisfactory manner: but in leaving them to have ſuch weight as they may appear to deſerve; your committee cannot avoid recurring to the multitude of inſtances in which endeavours have been uſed to communicate the ſmall pox to patients who have been known to go through the regular vaccine diſeaſe, in which neither repeated inoculations, nor expoſure to the moſt malignant ſmall pox, have been able to produce any effect; Appendix (Nos. 6, 9, 16, 36.)

Upon the ſecond head, the whole of the oral depoſitions, as well as all the written documents from abroad, are uniform and deciſive in favour of Dr. Jenner's claim to originality in the diſcovery; but as ſome pretenſions have been advanced to a knowledge at leaſt of this practice before Dr. Jenner's publications, it may be proper to notice ſhortly what the nature of thoſe claims is, and in what manner they bear upon this part of the petitioner's caſe. The extracts which can be conſidered as in any degree material, are contained in Appendix, (Nos. 50, 51, and 52.) The diſorder itſelf, and its ſpecific property of ſecuring againſt ſmall pox infection, was not a diſcovery of Dr. Jenner's, nor of any of thoſe whoſe writings are referred to: for in various parts of England, in Glouceſterſhire and Devonſhire particularly, there was an opinion of that ſort current among the common people employed in dairies, which the obſervations of inoculators for the ſmall pox tended to confirm. It appears not improbable, that in ſome very rare inſtances this knowledge was carried one ſtep farther, and that the cow pox was communicated either by handling the teat, or by inoculation from the animal for the purpoſe, and with the intention of ſecuring againſt the danger of ſmall pox: but the practice of which Dr. Jenner aſſerts himſelf to be the original inventor, is, the inoculation from one human being to another, and the mode of transferring, indefinitely, the vaccine matter, without any diminution of its ſpecific power, to which it does not appear that any perſon has ever alleged a title: and the papers and experiments, whatever accuracy of obſervation, and ſpirit of reſearch, they may evince in their reſpective authors, and to whatever extent they may be ſuppoſed to go, as they were never given to the public, ſo neither is there any intimation that they were imparted to Dr. Jenner; nor is it contended that the world became acquainted with this diſcovery, by any other means than by the courſe of trials conducted by the Petitioner, and by his ample and unreſerved communications.

Upon the laſt diviſion of the ſubject, the evidence of ſeveral perſons has been received who were acquainted with the medical practice, and former ſituation of Dr. Jenner, Appendix (No. 40) which confirm the allegation contained in the petition, that he has not only reaped no advantage from his diſcovery, but that he has been a conſiderable loſer by the perſevering attention which he has beſtowed upon this one ſubject, to the neglect

of

of his other buſineſs, without an opportunity of replacing himſelf in the ſituation which a deſire of publiſhing and diffuſing more extenſively, and eſtabliſhing beyond the reach of controverſy the practice itſelf, induced him to quit. What his gains might probably have been, if he had been ſolicitous to keep the ſecret within his own practice, and that of his own immediate pupils, as far as medical men in great practice themſelves can form a conjectural opinion, may be collected from the teſtimonies expreſſed in the Appendix (Nos. 35 to 43) in which no more than juſtice is done to the liberality and public ſpirit of the petitioner, in conſidering the propagation and extenſion of this important diſcovery, and in rendering it rather of univerſal utility to the human race, than of emolument to himſelf.

Dr. Edward Jenner begged leave to ſubmit to the Committee, vouchers from correſpondents in various parts of the globe, referring to at leaſt one hundred thouſand caſes. Of theſe teſtimonials your Committee have ſelected the moſt important, and annexed them in the Appendix to this report.

Appendix to the Report from the Committee.

[*The Evidence delivered by each perſon is numbered for the ſake of reference: but we give them in the order they are referred to in the Report, not in the order of the Appendix.*]

Dr. Blane, F.R.S. and one of the Commiſſioners of ſick and wounded ſeamen, firſt heard of this diſcovery about ten years ago; but could not give credit to what ſeemed ſo extraordinary and romantic, but ſtill he did not deſiſt from making inquiries, as ſome of his children have ſuffered much from the ſmall-pox. His inquiries led him to ſee how it was practiſed in the Inoculation Hoſpital, from whence he came away ſo much prejudiced againſt it, that he immediately inoculated one of his children with the ſmall-pox. Soon after he found the opinions he had taken up, to ariſe from the vaccine having mixed itſelf with the variolous infection in this hoſpital; and his further enquiries ended in a perfect conviction of the merits of vaccine-inoculation, inſomuch that he inoculated another of his children with it, who went through the diſeaſe perfectly well, and has ſince reſiſted the variolous infection, which was attempted to be communicated ſeventeen months after the other. He attributes the diſcovery ſolely to Dr. Jenner. In his official ſituation he recommended to the Admiralty to have it tried on board the fleet, which was done, and in the Kent man of war all thoſe who had received the vaccine-inoculation, were afterwards inoculated with variolous matter, but without effect; that the reports of all the navy ſurgeons were favourable to its operations; remarking, that the men, during the diſorder, were not incapacitated from their uſual duties; and ſo highly did they prize this diſcovery, that a meeting was held at Plymouth, where a gold medal was ſubſcribed for by them, and preſented to Dr. Jenner as its author. He laid before the Committee teſtimonials from Egypt, ſigned

ſigned by Lord Keith and General Hutchinſon, in its favour; his own opinion of its advantages he draws from the compariſon with the mortality occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, which, by computation, amounts to nearly one-tenth of the whole mortality in this country (95 out of every 1000 deaths reported in the bills); and that ſince the introduction of inoculation for the ſmall-pox, the mortality occaſioned by that diſeaſe has increaſed; that the number who die of the ſmall-pox annually within the bills of mortality is about 2000, and in the united kingdoms it may be computed at 45,000; therefore if the vaccine was univerſally ſubſtituted, he thinks the ſmall-pox muſt in a ſhort time be extinct; he has heard of objections and prejudices againſt this method, but upon inquiry he has found them grounded on fallacy and miſrepreſentations; an inſtance of which occurred in the tenth regiment of dragoons, where he found the lancets uſed to have been confounded with others armed with variolous matter, which probably occaſioned the report of ſmall-pox infection having ſucceeded the inoculation with vaccine-matter. He gave two or three other inſtances equally injurious to the practice of vaccine-inoculation, which were evidently founded upon miſapprehenſion. He believes moſt of theſe caſes to have ariſen from the uſing of matter taken at too late a period of the puſtule, which may equally happen in inoculating for the ſmall-pox with virus taken at an improper period of maturation. (No. 4.)

Dr. Bradley, Licentiate of the Royal College of Phyſicians, Phyſician to the Weſtminſter Hoſpital, and one of the conductors of the medical and phyſical journal, is in correſpondence with the faculty on the Continent as well as in England; has received accounts of the progreſs of vaccine-inoculation from New York and Philadelphia; from Paris, Malta, Italy, and Germany; from all which parts its excellence is confirmed, and it is now likewiſe introduced into Turkey. He laid before the Committee all the publications and papers he had received on that head. He looks upon Dr. Jenner as the author of the vaccine-inoculation, and believes no medical man in the world doubts it; and in his extenſive correſpondence he has never heard any other perſon lay claim to it; he believes vaccine-inoculation will prevent the ſmall-pox to the extent of human life; for the natural cow-pox has already been proved to do ſo; and there have been deciſive experiments made to prove that vaccine-inoculation will mitigate the ſmall-pox, when caught in the natural way. The ſpurious ſort of cow-pox can be readily diſtinguiſhed from the real, by an examination of the plates given as illuſtrations of the practice by Dr. Jenner; he thinks that if Dr. Jenner had ſettled in London, and kept the practice a ſecret, he might have made £.10,000 per annum for the firſt five years, and double that ſum afterwards; for notwithſtanding the aſſiduous labour of Dr. Jenner and others to inſtruct practitioners, important errors are daily committed in it, both at home and in foreign parts. He believes that not leſs than two millions of perſons have been inoculated

culated with vaccine-matter in the world, and he has never known one inſtance of a patient dying in conſequence of this mode of inoculation; and he has only *heard* of four caſes which were ſaid to have failed, to the explanation of which Dr. Woodville, Mr. Cline, and Mr. Ring can ſpeak. He believes the computation of deaths occaſioned by inoculated ſmall-pox, to be one in three hundred, in England; and not leſs than one in one hundred and fifty, throughout the reſt of Europe, Africa, Aſia, and America. (No. 35.)

Dr. Woodville, Licentiate of the royal College of Phyſicians, and phyſician to the ſmall-pox hoſpital, conſiders Dr. Jenner as the original diſcoverer of vaccine-inoculation. He has introduced it in one of the hoſpitals under his care, in conſequence of the communications of Dr. Jenner. He gives the preference to the vaccine over the ſmall-pox inoculation, becauſe he finds it equally certain in ſecuring the patient from the ſmall-pox; becauſe it is without danger or riſk of life, and not, like the ſmall-pox, contagious. One patient in the hoſpital was ſaid to have died of the vaccine-inoculation, but in his opinion it was not ſo, as he had previouſly caught the ſmall-pox in the natural way, to which his death ought to be attributed; the caſe of failure which Dr. Bradley mentioned, was a child who had been inoculated with the cow-pox, but who died in conſequence of a bowel complaint, attended with a diarrhœa to ſo violent a degree, that he attributed its death to that diſorder, and not to any thing belonging to vaccine-inoculation. He has inoculated 7500 patients up to laſt January with the vaccine-diſeaſe, about half of which number have been ſince inoculated with ſmall-pox matter, in none of whom did the ſmall-pox produce any effect. The mortality occaſioned by the ſmall-pox will be found in the calculation delivered in; which agrees with Dr. Blane's. (No. 3.)

Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. Licentiate of the Royal College of Phyſicians, and Phyſician to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, ſtated, that he never heard of vaccine-inoculation previous to its introduction by Dr. Jenner. Two of his own grand-children were inoculated at the ſame time; one with the ſmall-pox in the uſual manner, who had it at firſt in a favourable manner, but latterly attended with conſiderable eruptions and convulſion fits; the other child was inoculated with the cow-pox, which he underwent in the mildeſt manner poſſible, and on the 12th day from the inoculation was brought home to his brother, and lived with him during the progreſs of the ſmall-pox, without the ſmalleſt ſymptoms of catching it. He conſiders vaccine-inoculation as the greateſt diſcovery which has been made for many years; thinks Dr. Jenner has ſuffered in his fortune materially by making this diſcovery public; that on its firſt being communicated to him by Mr. Cline, he ſaid, that if Dr. Jenner was confident of its ſucceſs, and would reſide in London, he would inſure him £.10,000 per annum; but that if he ſuffered the ſecret to be divulged, every practitioner would get hold of it, and Dr. Jenner loſe all chance of emolument. This has actually happened, and he

he has therefore loſt the opportunity of making his fortune.—He is of opinion that vaccine-inoculation is a permanent ſecurity againſt variolous infection, and it never has proved fatal. The general computation of the mortality of the ſmall-pox, when performed in the beſt manner, is about one in three hundred. (No. 36.)

Mr. John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, conſiders Dr. Jenner as the author of vaccine-inoculation, and the diſcovery itſelf as being beyond all compariſon the moſt valuable and important ever made by man; he believes it to be a perfect and permanent ſecurity againſt the ſmall-pox; he has inoculated upwards of 1,200 perſons with vaccine-matter, and has reaſon to believe that at leaſt 1000 of them have been either voluntarily or involuntarily expoſed to variolous infection, which they all reſiſted. The vaccine-inoculation is attended with no danger unleſs from ignorance or neglect. If Dr. Jenner had kept this diſcovery to himſelf, his practice might have been worth £.10,000 per annum, it being well known that certain individuals have acquired as much or more by the ordinary practice of phyſic; all humours and diſorders which happen after any ſpecies of inoculation, are commonly attributed to that inoculation by perſons prejudiced againſt it, and others are ſometimes influenced by their opinions; but he knows of no inſtance where the cow-pox has occaſioned any other complaint, than what may be cauſed by any other diſeaſe which is equally mild; he is of opinion that every diſeaſe is capable of exciting other diſeaſes or humours, in proportion to its magnitude; the magnitude of the cow-pox depends much upon the treatment. He never practiſed the ſmall-pox inoculation in any particular manner, nor ever kept any account of the number he inoculated, but ſuppoſes it might amount to about 600; he thinks that about one in every hundred in London, on an average, inoculated with ſmall-pox, die; the reaſon of a greater mortality prevailing amongſt perſons inoculated for the ſmall-pox in London, is the unwholeſomeneſs of the atmoſphere, and the frequent neceſſity of inoculating children at an improper age; he has never known any accident happen from inoculating from a ſpurious ſort of cow-pox; in reſpect of the periods of coming out and turning, the inoculation of the cow-pox is ſubject to the ſame laws, and liable to the ſame variations, with the inoculation of the ſmall-pox; it is not more difficult to determine whether a patient has had the regular cow, than whether the patient has had the regular ſmall-pox, provided care is taken not to interrupt the regular progreſs of the vaccine-puſtule by friction; he has known local inflammation produced both from inoculation with vaccine, and inoculation with variolous matter, without being followed by any puſtule; in this reſpect, therefore, the two inoculations are ſimilar, and he knows of no advantage either in this or any other reſpect which the inoculation of the ſmall-pox has over that of the cow-pox. (No. 38.)

Dr. James Sims, Licentiate of the Royal College of Phyſicians, and Preſident of the Medical Society of

of London, ſtated, that he was originally adverſe to vaccine-inoculation, but his confidence has been increaſing in it every hour, from the repeated trials and authorities cited of its efficacy. He never heard of it before Dr. Jenner's publication, to whom alone he attributes the diſcovery, which he looks upon to be the moſt uſeful ever made in medicine; he thinks that if Dr. Jenner had kept it a ſecret, as he might have done, he might, during his life (if protracted to a moderate length) have become the richeſt man in theſe kingdoms. The vaccine-diſeaſe does not introduce any other diſorder into the human frame. The computation made of deaths occaſioned by the natural ſmall-pox, by Dr. Jurin and others, is one in ſix.

Dr. Sims laid before the Committee a teſtimony, unanimouſly reſolved upon by the Medical Society of London, (which conſiſts of above 150 members, reſident in the metropolis, and of more than double that number reſiding elſewhere) in favour of this very important diſcovery, ſigned by himſelf as Preſident. (No. 37.)

Mr. John Addington, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, is acquainted with vaccine-inoculation, and has practiſed it ſince the ſpring of the year 1799 with uniform ſucceſs, and has kept an exact regiſter of caſes to the number of eighty-one, with all their particulars. He has inoculated with variolous matter, and expoſed to the infection of natural ſmall-pox in its moſt violent forms, and in every ſtage, by every method he could deviſe, about one-third of his patients, and in no caſe was the infection of ſmall-pox communicated. He further ſtated, that he had been particularly careful in the choice of the matter employed in vaccine-inoculation, and had not found in his own practice any caſe of ſpurious cow-pox, but had ſeen many caſes of ſpurious ſmall-pox; and therefore conſidered that the objections which are thought to ariſe againſt the vaccine-inoculation from this ſource, apply equally againſt the inoculation of ſmall-pox. (No. 21.)

Dr. Lettſom, F.R.S. Licentiate of the Royal College of Phyſicians, and Phyſician Extraordinary to the City of London Lying-in Hoſpital, ſtated, that he looked upon Dr. Jenner to be the diſcoverer of vaccine-inoculation. He thought that inoculation of the ſmall-pox had increaſed the number of deaths. About the year 1773, he paid particular attention to this ſubject, which afforded ſome obſervations applicable to the preſent inquiry, and deciſive upon a large ſcale of calculation, which a table by figures more clearly evinced. The experience of forty-two years preceding the introduction of inoculation into this country, was already placed in a clear point of view in the philoſophical tranſactions, by Dr. James Jurin, who was a ſanguine advocate for inoculation, and whoſe teſtimony was therefore unexceptionable. His numbers were taken from the yearly bills of mortality, and the reaſon why the fourteen years from 1686 to 1701 were omitted, was, becauſe in the bills of thoſe years the accounts of the ſmall-pox and meaſles were not diſtinguiſhed, as in the preceding and following years, but were joined together in one article, ſo that from them no certain account could

could be drawn of the number of perſons that died of the ſmall-pox. It appeared by theſe tables, that out of 1,005,279 burials within the laſt forty-two years, 1742 perſons more have died of the ſmall-pox than the proportionate number, as collected from the experience of the firſt forty-two years; ſeventeen more burials therefore in one thouſand had been occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, ſince inoculation had been adopted. He believes that the inoculation of the cow-pox ſecures the perſon inoculated from the ſmall-pox, as much as the method of inoculation for the ſmall-pox, with this difference, that the cow-pox is not infectious. Vaccine-inoculation has diminiſhed the fatality occaſioned by the natural ſmall-pox, by leſſening the number ſuſceptible of taking it. Taking London and the out-pariſhes as containing nearly 1,000,000 of people, he calculates, that 3000 probably died yearly by the ſmall-pox, or eight every day; or allowing Great Britain and Ireland to contain 12,000,000 of people, no leſs than 36,000 annually. About eight perſons die by the ſmall-pox every day in the metropolis and its environs, or about fifty-ſix in each week; although, from ſome defects in the bills of mortality, the amount does not appear to have exceeded forty-five. But if he calculated the laſt three weeks in March laſt, which amounted to thirty-five deaths, and compared them with three weeks in March for ten years preceding, which amounted to 697, it would reſult that the preſent month was thirty-five leſs than the average of ten preceding years, that is, from 1790 to 1800. He thought that the genuine cow-pox was never fatal; he had reaſon to conclude that about 60,000 perſons had been inoculated with cow-pox. He had heard curſorily of four deaths; but upon minute inquiry, he was convinced that three of them had no connection with the cow-pox: of the fourth, he had received no accurate information. But ſuppoſing the cow-pox, during its progreſs, to occupy fourteen days, it appeared by the deaths in London, that on a common average, in every 60,000 healthy ſubjects, ſeven died in fourteen days, without the infliction of any diſeaſe, but what was in the common courſe of events; that knowing the fatality of ſmall-pox, and riſk occaſioned by inoculation, he was early inquiſitive upon this important ſubject, both from its conſequence to mankind in general, and from his acquaintance with ſome particular families, who had ſuffered both from the natural ſmall-pox and inoculation; and from thoſe who had adopted the practice, no one unfavourable event has reſulted. Hence he acquired the moſt favourable opinion of the practice, which his ſubſequent experience has not altered: that he had not known any inconveniences to follow the ſpurious ſort of cow-pox. He further ſtated, that if Dr. Jenner had kept this practice a ſecret to himſelf, he might have derived immenſe pecuniary profits; and that conſidering the apparent incredibility of the practice to common obſervation, and the ſecrecy with which the Suttonians long monopolized the inoculation of ſmall-pox, that Dr. Jenner might have excluſively kept the practice to himſelf for a long period.

riod. Upon being aſked, whether he had ever known a patient who had been inoculated for the ſmall-pox, undergo that diſeaſe a ſecond time? he replied, that he had two relations inoculated under the Suttonian method, both of whom afterwards took the ſmall-pox in a natural way, one of whom died; and leſs than twelve months ago, he had attended two children in different families, the parents of which aſſured him that they had been inoculated for the ſmall-pox a year or two before his attendance, when both were attacked ſeverely with the natural ſmall-pox. He added, that the mode of ſmall-pox inoculation practiſed by the Suttons and Baron Dimſdale, was the ſame as now adopted; but by ſome vague pretenſions of the former, the public opinion ran very generally in their favour, till Baron Dimſdale publiſhed his account of the Suttonian method. (No. 14.)

Mr. Cline, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hoſpital, ſtated, That in July, 1798, he received ſome vaccine matter from Dr. Jenner, with which he inoculated a boy who had not had the ſmall-pox; when he had gone through the ſtages of vaccine-inoculation, he tried to infect him with the ſmall-pox, by inoculation, but in vain; this circumſtance, together with the communications he received from Dr. Jenner, produced the ſtrongeſt conviction in his mind of the great utility of this practice, and he therefore recommended it ſtrongly to all his friends, amongſt whom was Sir Walter Farquhar, and he perfectly recollects the converſation relative to the emolument Dr. Jenner might derive from the practice of vaccine inoculation; but Dr. Jenner at that time declined ſettling in London. Mr. Cline looks upon it as the greateſt diſcovery ever made in the practice of phyſic, for the preſervation of the human race, as the ſmall-pox had been the moſt deſtructive of all diſeaſes.

Mr. Cline was conſulted upon the caſe of a child of Mr. Auſtin, at Clapton, with whom it was ſaid the cow-pox inoculation had failed; but from particular enquiries of the parents and nurſe, he was perfectly convinced the child had never received the vaccine-diſeaſe; and this evidence Mr. Taylor, the Surgeon, who inoculated it, confirmed. He thinks that experience has ſufficiently demonſtrated that perſons inoculated with the cow-pox, are incapable of receiving the ſmall-pox; and he believes that in the inſtances where the ſmall-pox has been caught, and the patient has, before the coming out of the diſeaſe, been inoculated with the cow-pox, it mitigates the virulence of the ſmall-pox. The vaccine-diſeaſe is not contagious, nor does it create any blemiſh on the human frame; nor does it excite ſcrofula, or any other diſeaſe, which is ſometimes the caſe with the inoculated ſmall-pox.

In November, 1800, he performed the operation for the ſtone on William Rench, a child in Iſaac's Ward of St. Thomas's Hoſpital. In a few days after, hearing that this boy was in great danger of catching the ſmall-pox, he directed that he ſhould be inoculated with the cow-pock matter, which

which took effect, and proceeded in the usual manner: but in thirteen days after this inoculation, a few eruptions appeared that seemed to be variolous.

Admitting these eruptions were the true small-pox, the time of their appearance shows the infection had been received before the child was inoculated with cow-pock matter; for the natural small-pock frequently does not appear until sixteen or eighteen days after the patient has been exposed to infection.

A second case was in November 1801, the child of Mary Solloway, in Mary's Ward of the same Hospital: this child was known to have been exposed to the infection of the small-pox, and therefore the mother permitted it to be inoculated with cow-pock matter; but in four days after, the small-pox appeared, and the disease, was very severe; however, the child recovered.

A third case was a patient of Dr. Lister's, whose mother had the small-pox.—In six days after the complaint had appeared in the mother, the child was inoculated with cow-pock matter, and the complaint from this inoculation proceeded as usual; but in about fifteen days a few eruptions appeared that were of a doubtful nature.

From the most minute inquiry, these are all the cases which have occurred in St. Thomas's Hospital, where variolous eruptions have succeeded the vaccine-inoculation, and in each of which there can be no doubt that the patients were exposed to the infection of small-pox previous to their being inoculated. (No. 33.)

Mr. David Taylor, Surgeon of Wooton under-Edge, Gloucestershire, spoke to cases which had been brought before the Committee, as disproving the efficacy of cow-pox in preventing small-pox; the one a child of Mr. Austin, of Clapton, the other of a woman at Old Sudbury. With regard to the first, he had inoculated the child with vaccine-matter himself, but did not see the progress of the disorder, nor was the child attended by any medical person; but from the account given by those who were with the child, he was apprehensive at the time that the vaccine-disease had not taken effect, and strongly recommended that she should be inoculated for small-pox, which she afterwards caught in the natural way. He stated, that a full and minute investigation of the second case had been made by five or six persons, who were unanimous in their opinion that the woman at Old Sudbury had never had the cow-pox. His own practice in vaccine inoculation has been considerable, and he has inoculated about 2000 persons without a single failure; nor has he met with any ulcerations, humours, or diseases following it, supposed to be excited by it. He has inoculated a large proportion of his patients with variolous matter afterwards, without any disease being produced. He further stated, that he was acquainted with the extent of Dr. Jenner's medical practice before he left Gloucestershire, where he was situated in a very populous neighbourhood, without any practising physician within 16 miles; well supported, and of course in the most considerable practice; and he thought

thought that in consequence of his quitting his situation in the country, and coming to town, he had lessened his income most considerably, as two physicians had succeeded to the situation which Dr. Jenner had left, both of whom are in considerable practice; and of course Dr. Jenner's former situation cannot be re-attainable. (No. 40.)

Mr. Jordan, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, two or three years ago inoculated between one and two hundred with vaccine-matter; some matter was received by him from the Apothecary of the Inoculation Hospital (over which Dr. Woodville presides) for vaccine, which proved to be variolous; the patients, not being prepared for it, were very ill, but recovered; he has avoided these mistakes since, by taking the matter himself from the patient; and has learnt by Dr. Jenner's publication how to distinguish and select the proper time for taking it, since which no mistake of the kind above mentioned has occurred. He is of opinion that errors of that kind brought vaccine-inoculation for a time into disrepute. (No. 25.)

Mr. Gardner has known Dr. Jenner more than twenty-two years, and been in the constant practice of hearing his medical opinions and discoveries. It was in the month of May, 1780, that Dr. Jenner first informed him of the particular nature of the cow-pox as a sure preventive from small-pox, and the theory he had framed on the subject; declaring his full and perfect confidence that it might be continued in perpetuity of inoculation from one human being to another, in the same way with the small-pox; and in time supersede that disease. (No. 26.)

Dr. Thornton, Physician to the Mary-le-Bonne Dispensary, stated the case of two children belonging to Lord Somerville's coachman, whom he inoculated three years ago, with what he supposed to be true cow pox matter; the matter from which the inoculation was performed at that early period of vaccine-inoculation, was taken indiscriminately, as long as there appeared a pustule from whence matter could be procured, he being unacquainted at that time, that the cow-pox inoculation ceased to produce the disease after a certain period, which was known to Dr. Jenner, and published by him, and forms one of the important discoveries respecting the new practice; he was some time afterwards informed that these two children had the small-pox, and upon examining their arms, there were found no scars, which is a criterion that these children had not had the true cow-pox, and he was confirmed in this belief by the mother of the children declaring that the pustules had advanced more rapidly than in the true cow-pox; this case appears to him important, as exhibiting a proof that all other cases adduced against the general principle of security from vaccine-inoculation, must arise from want of acquaintance of the inoculator with the period when to take the matter; which difficulty he deems to be now completely done away, by Dr. Jenner having elucidated a subject before involved in much obscurity. He further states, that matter taken from a pustule, which was a week old, never failed to produce the true cow-pox; but in the afore-

mentioned instances of the two children, he has great reason to believe it was taken the fourteenth day, or later: he states another source of spurious cases in the lancet being corroded with the cow-pox matter, on which it is placed; he inoculated a week before some patients from the same matter with which he inoculated the aforementioned children, who went through the disease in a regular way; one patient in particular has been, during these last three years, inoculated with small-pox matter at least twelve different times; he has even slept with a person who died of the natural small-pox, and has been otherways exposed, but could not take the infection: he says, when he was in the north, at Lord Lonsdale's, he inoculated upwards of one thousand persons, and completely satisfied himself, and all the medical practitioners in that part of England, that the cow-pox was a mild disease, hardly deserving that appellation; not contagious, never disfiguring the person, never producing blindness, never fatal, nor exciting other diseases; equally safe, whether during the period of pregnancy, or the earliest infancy, or extreme old age. (No. 20.)

Earl Berkeley stated, That his youngest son was inoculated with the cow-pox, by Dr. Jenner, at six months old, and went regularly through its course; about a year after a maid-servant in the family caught the small-pox in the natural way, and was attended by Mr. Robert Pope, surgeon, from Staines, who pronounced the girl to be in a very dangerous situation; having in the house at that time three persons who had been inoculated with the cow-pox, the child above-mentioned, a maid-servant, and a little girl, and being desirous of proving the efficacy of vaccine inoculation, he sent for Dr. Jenner and permitted him to inoculate the child and one of the girls with variolous matter, taken from the maid-servant; the small-pox took no manner of effect on either of them (the girl had been inoculated with vaccine matter four years before) the other girl that was not inoculated attended on the maid-servant the whole time until her death, and resisted the infection.—The effluvia in that part of the house was so offensive, that all the servants were obliged to be removed to another part of the house. Lord Berkeley further stated, That there is an old servant now in his family, seventy-two years of age, who had the cow-pox, from milking cows, when a boy of fifteen, who has never been in the least cautious in guarding against the small-pox, but has exposed himself repeatedly, without being sensible of its effects; and Lord Berkeley once saw him, himself, sitting next a boy who had the small-pox visibly out upon him. (No. 6.)

Robert Pope, surgeon, at Staines, attended the maid-servant from whom Earl Berkeley's son and the girl were inoculated with variolous matter; he deposed to the virulence of the disease, and to her death in consequence. His opinion was not favourable to vaccine-inoculation on the first publication of it; but he is since pretty well convinced, that if properly conducted, it is a preventive of small-pox, and he has practised it himself with success. (No. 7.)

The

The Rev. G. C. Jenner is conversant in the practice of the vaccine-inoculation, and has inoculated three thousand persons, without meeting with one unfavourable case, although he has inoculated persons from the earliest infancy to eighty years of age, and under those circumstances in which it would not be prudent or indeed safe to inoculate with variolous virus, such as children at the time of dentition, and women in every stage of pregnancy, from the first month to the last week. Upwards of two hundred of his patients have since been inoculated with active small-pox matter, and at least an equal number exposed to contagious effluvia, but in no one instance was the small-pox produced. On the arms of some of those inoculated with small-pox, a slight local inflammation shewed itself, which disappeared in four or five days; some of these persons were put to the test of the small-pox, after a period of a year. The perfect pustule is always to be distinguished from the imperfect or spurious, by those who have paid a proper attention to the practice of vaccine-inoculation. He believes that vaccine-inoculation will frequently supersede the infection of the small-pox, when the patient has been exposed to a variolated atmosphere previous to the inoculation, in confirmation of which he related a case under his own immediate observation. A boy, infected with the natural small-pox, came home to his father's cottage; four days after the eruption had appeared upon this boy, the family (none of whom had ever had the small-pox) consisting of the father, mother, and five children, were inoculated with vaccine virus; on the arm of the mother it failed to produce the least effect, and she had the small-pox; but the six others had the cow-pox in the usual mild way, and were not affected with the small-pox, although they were in the same room, and the children slept in the same bed with their brother, who was confined to it with the natural small-pox, and subsequently they slept with their mother. He is of opinion, that if the practice of vaccine-inoculation is universally adopted, it will in a short time annihilate the small-pox. He has known many instances of the infection not taking in the early part of his practice, owing to his using vaccine-virus taken at too advanced a stage of the disease; but since he has made it a rule never to inoculate with matter after the eighth or ninth day of the disease, he has seldom met with a failure; he inoculated two hundred and thirty-eight individuals on the same day, with recent fluid-virus, taken on the eighth day of the disease, and every one of them had the cow-pox in the most perfect manner. The progress of the cow-pox is in general uniform; he has seen a few exceptions, one or two cases have occurred when the progress of the disease has been retarded for at least a fortnight before there were any visible appearances of the inoculation having succeeded; the course of the spurious disorder is universally quicker than the perfect, so as to form a certain criterion between the sorts in every case which has come under his observation; when the pustule assumes the genuine character, the patient may

be conſidered as ſafe from any future attack of the ſmall-pox, although there has been no apparent conſtitutional indiſpoſition. (No. 8.)

Dr. Joſeph Marſhall, Phyſician Extraordinary to the king of Naples, firſt began to inoculate in the ſummer of 1799, in Glouceſterſhire, having received inſtructions on this ſubject from Dr. Jenner. In July, 1800, recommended by Dr. John Walker, who aſſiſted him in ſome of theſe inoculations, he commenced this practice on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Endymion, eleven of whoſe crew were inoculated, and went through the vaccine diſeaſe without any remiſſion of their ordinary duty, or any deprivation of their uſual allowance of wine or proviſions. He alſo inoculated ſuch ſoldiers in the garriſon of Gibraltar, as had not had the ſmall-pox; the plague, at this time, prevented the garriſon from receiving the uſual ſupplies of freſh proviſions from Barbary; and Spain was ſhut againſt them by the war; their food in conſequence was principally ſalt proviſions ſent from England, and they generally indulged in drinking new wine; this diet, added to the exceſſes which ſoldiers uſually commit, put the cow-pox to a ſevere trial, eſpecially when it is further conſidered that they, whilſt under inoculation, performed their ordinary regimental duties; and ſo far was the cow-pox from preventing their doing this, that not a ſingle caſe occurred where any application was requiſite to the inoculated part, though the heat of the atmoſphere was frequently upwards of ninety degrees; in corroboration of which the ſurgeon-major's certificate was produced. At Minorca the ſame ſucceſs attended the inoculation, where it was alſo generally introduced amongſt the inhabitants; and their medical men were inſtructed in the practice; ſuch ſeamen alſo on board of the Britiſh fleet, under the command of Admiral Lord Keith, as had not had the ſmall-pox, were inoculated with the cow-pox. At Malta, its practice was alſo generally introduced both among the troops and inhabitants; and an hoſpital, called the Jennerian Inſtitution, was eſtabliſhed by the governor, for the inoculation of the poor. In this iſland the ravages of the ſmall-pox had always been dreadful; and ſome of the men of war then in the harbour, had the ſmall-pox on board, and had buried ſeveral men; this apprehenſion was alſo entertained by the Admiral and General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who each iſſued general orders for the inoculation of ſuch ſeamen and ſoldiers, under their reſpective commands, as had not had the ſmall-pox. A certificate, confirming the above facts, was delivered in, ſigned by Sir Alexander Ball, governor of Malta. In Sicily, the ſmall-pox had been, if poſſible, ſtill more fatal than in Malta; for the computation of deaths, occaſioned by it in the year preceding his arrival, exceeded eight thouſand in the city of Palermo alone: the introduction of the cow-pox was therefore received with enthuſiaſm, and an hoſpital, ſimilar to that at Malta, was immediately eſtabliſhed by his Sicilian Majeſty; and although the ſmall-pox, ſoon after his arrival in the city, again appeared, it was immediately ſtopped by vaccine-

inocula-

inoculation, which was alſo extended through the whole iſland. The benefits received at Palermo from the cow-pox excited a great wiſh for its practice in Naples, where the ſmall-pox has always been conſidered as very fatal. An hoſpital was alſo there eſtabliſhed by his majeſty, and the practice of vaccine-inoculation was ſpeedily adopted throughout the whole kingdom; his Majeſty having commanded that children to be inoculated, attended by ſurgeons to be inſtructed in the practice, ſhould be ſent from each province to the hoſpital at Naples, to carry both the knowledge of the diſeaſe, and the practice of it into their reſpective provinces. On his leaving Naples, the witneſs received very honourable teſtimonials from His Sicilian Majeſty, which were produced. He alſo extended this practice to other parts of Europe, to Rome, Leghorn, and Genoa, and in every inſtance, where tried, he found it reſiſt the infection of ſmall-pox. He never heard that any ſuch mode of inoculation had been practiſed or known in thoſe countries before; and as an example of the diſbelief entertained by the medical men of Naples, he related a trial which they inſtituted ſoon after his arrival there, and without his knowledge, at the Foundling Hoſpital; where they firſt inoculated with the cow-pox a conſiderable number of children; and after they had paſſed through the diſeaſe, expoſed them to all poſſible modes of infection of the ſmall-pox, both by inoculation, and by making them ſleep in the bed with people infected with the ſmall-pox. This trial, which had excited the attention of the whole city, completely eſtabliſhed the reputation of the cow-pox; and they appointed a deputation to him, publicly to expreſs their conviction of its efficacy. He believes the number inoculated under his direction was upwards of ten thouſand; many of them were ſubjected to every poſſible means of variolous infection, which all of them reſiſted. He never did obſerve the vaccine-inoculation to introduce or excite any other diſeaſe; on the contrary, children in a weak ſtate of health have immediately, after paſſing through the vaccine-inoculation, begun to thrive and became vigorous. He is of opinion, that the ſpurious or imperfect ſort is eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the perfect diſeaſe, and that perſons who have once ſeen the true cow-pox puſtule can never be miſtaken. (No. 9.)

Mr. John Griffiths, ſurgeon to the Queen's Houſehold, and to St. George's Hoſpital, has inoculated upwards of fifteen hundred perſons with vaccine-matter, not one of whom has had any untoward ſymptom; among them three of his own children, at various periods, within three years. (No. 10.)

Dr. Skey, Phyſician to the Worceſter Infirmary, ſtated, that in the ſpring of laſt year, the ſmall pox being generally and fatally epidemic in the city of Worceſter, he ſeized the opportunity of inoculating a number of children with the cow pox; that in the diſtrict where he inoculated the greateſt number, the ſmall pox contagion ceaſed to exert its influence, and the number of victims gradually diminiſhed; that in every caſe which he witneſſed, the inoculated cow-pox was incomparably leſs

ſevere than the natural ſmall-pox; that none of thoſe patients whom he inoculated with vaccine-matter, received the ſmall-pox afterwards, although they were conſtantly expoſed to the ſmall-pox contagion, and although caſes of the two diſeaſes not unfrequently occurred under the ſame roof, and at the ſame time; that he had never yet known a caſe in which any conſiderable degree of hazard was incurred by the vaccine-diſeaſe, and that he had not met with a ſingle inſtance in which, after a ſecond or third inoculation, he did not ſucceed in producing the vaccine-diſeaſe. (No. 14.)

Dr. Croft has paid particular attention to vaccine-inoculation ever ſince its firſt introduction; from that time his own children have been inoculated with it, and he has uniformly recommended it to his patients; he has even recommended infants to be inoculated at the end of the month, but he never dared to recommend the inoculation of the ſmall-pox earlier than at two years of age, except under very particular circumſtances. Upon being deſired to relate what he knew concerning the inoculation of a child of ſir George Dallas, he ſtated, that he recollected a child of ſir George Dallas's being inoculated with the vaccine-diſeaſe by Dr. Jenner; he believed, in five days from the time it was inoculated, it broke out with the ſmall-pox; it went through the diſeaſe rather favourably; he was not called in to the child till about the third or fourth day of the eruption of the ſmall-pox, when the arm inoculated appeared in the ſtate one ſhould naturally expect to find it from the fifth to the ſeventh day. He imagined that the inoculation of this child with the vaccine-matter might have ſome effect in abating the violence of the natural ſmall-pox, the eruption not being equal to what might have been expected from the violence of the firſt attack of ſmall-pox fever. Sir George Dallas has ſince had an infant of one month old inoculated with the vaccine-diſeaſe. He had ſeen children, whoſe arms had been conſiderably inflamed from being inoculated with matter taken from under the vaccine-ſcab as late as the fourteenth day, but does not know why this ſhould be called a ſpurious ſort of cow-pox, as they had none of the characters of vaccine-diſeaſe. He is of opinion, that if the vaccine-inoculation were generally introduced, it would be productive of greater bleſſings on mankind than any diſcovery that was ever made in medicine, and it would ultimately cauſe the ſmall-pox only to be remembered by name. (No. 15.)

Mr. James Simpſon, ſurgeon to the Surry Diſpenſary, and to the Magdalen Hoſpital, has practiſed vaccine-inoculation, and has inoculated between fifty and ſixty patients, and in no one inſtance had any ſymptoms occurred injurious to the part inoculated, or conſtitution of the patients; and he believes them to be completely ſecure from the ſmall-pox. In one particular inſtance, the patient, a child of nine months, was covered with a cruſt commonly called the *cruſta lactea*, which generally covers the body from head to foot, and had reſiſted the uſual remedies for that diſeaſe: but on the tenth day after the infection it began to diſ-

appear, and on the twelfth day was wholly gone, during which time not a particle of medicine was given to it; and it continued in perfect health ever since. (No. 16.)

Many other persons of the first respectability, gave evidence to the same effect as these we have selected; and Dr. Jenner assured the Committee, that he was prepared to produce any number they might choose to examine. They informed him, that he had established the allegations contained in his petition to their intire satisfaction. And it does not appear that any member of the house, when the report was taken into consideration, entertained the smallest doubt of the Petitioner's claim on the munificence of his country.

Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in Conformity to an Act of Parliament, and copied from the Report.

Counties of England and Wales.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Bedford	11,882	13,980	185	30,523	32,870	63,393
Berks	20,573	23,416	622	52,823	56,394	109,215
Buckingham	20,443	23,834	543	52,094	55,350	107,441
Cambridge	16,139	19,262	312	44,081	45,265	89,346
Chester	34,482	37,613	1,139	92,759	98,992	191,751
Cornwall	32,906	39,040	1,472	89,608	98,401	188,268
Cumberland	21,573	25,893	872	54,377	62,353	117,230
Derby	31,822	33,660	1,369	79,401	81,741	161,142
Devon	57,955	72,559	3,235	157,240	185,761	343,001
Dorset	21,437	24,142	825	53,667	61,652	115,319
Durham	27,195	38,109	1,171	74,770	85,501	160,361
Essex	38,371	46,784	1,027	111,256	115,081	226,407
Gloucester	46,457	55,133	1,715	117,180	133,629	250,809
Hereford	17,003	18,822	941	43,955	45,236	89,191
Hertford	17,681	20,092	491	48,063	49,514	97,577
Huntingdon	6,841	8,150	135	18,521	19,047	37,568
Kent	51,585	65,967	1,413	131,374	156,250	307,624
Lancaster	114,270	132,147	3,394	332,356	350,375	672,731
Leicester	25,992	27,967	742	63,943	66,138	130,081
Lincoln	41,395	42,629	1,094	162,445	106,112	208,551
Middlesex	112,912	199,854	5,171	373,655	444,474	818,129
Monmouth	8,948	9,905	417	22,173	23,409	45,582
Norfolk	47,617	57,930	1,523	129,842	143,529	273,371
Northampton	26,665	29,361	736	63,417	68,340	131,757
Northumberland	26,518	35,503	1,534	73,357	83,744	157,101
Nottingham	25,611	30,081	542	68,558	71,792	140,350
Oxford	20,599	23,750	594	53,786	55,834	109,620
Rutland	3,274	3,563	87	7,978	8,378	16,350
Salop	31,182	34,501	929	82,563	85,076	167,639
Somerset	48,040	57,013	2,136	126,927	146,823	273,250
Southampton	38,345	45,331	912	105,667	113,989	219,656
Stafford	45,198	48,185	1,995	118,698	120,455	289,153
Suffolk	32,253	43,481	552	101,091	109,340	210,431
Surrey	46,072	63,673	1,514	127,138	141,905	269,043
Sussex	25,272	30,755	721	78,797	80,514	159,310
Warwick	40,847	44,028	2,936	99,942	108,248	208,190
Westmoreland	7,897	9,026	315	20,175	21,442	41,617
Wilts	29,462	30,527	1,127	87,380	97,727	185,107
Worcester	26,711	29,741	1,109	67,630	71,702	139,333
Yorkshire East Riding	25,781	31,544	681	67,457	71,976	139,433
Yorkshire North Riding	31,512	34,542	1,014	74,904	80,602	155,506
Yorkshire West Riding	111,146	117,379	4,723	276,005	287,948	563,953
	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Anglesey	6,679	7,058	127	15,775	18,031	33,806
Brecon	6,315	6,800	479	15,393	16,244	31,631
Cardigan	8,819	9,435	221	20,403	22,548	42,956
Carmarthen	13,449	14,876	371	31,439	35,878	67,317
Carnarvon	8,304	8,796	129	19,586	21,935	41,521
Denbigh	12,621	13,765	427	29,247	31,105	60,352
Flint	7,585	8,216	194	19,577	20,045	39,622
Glamorgan	14,225	16,596	537	34,190	37,335	71,525
Merioneth	5,787	6,576	193	13,896	15,610	29,506
Montgomery	8,725	9,750	223	22,914	25,064	47,978
Pembroke	11,869	12,448	398	25,406	30,874	56,280
Radnor	3,675	3,987	212	9,307	9,703	19,050
	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546

Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in Conformity to an Act of Parliament.

SUMMARY.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
England -	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Wales -	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546
Army -				198,351		198,351
Navy -				126,279		126,279
Seamen in registered Vessels				144,558		144,588
Convicts -				1,410		1,410
Grand Total	1,575,923	1,896,723	57,476	4,715,711	4,627,867	9,343,578

In England 1,524,227 persons are employed chiefly in agriculture, and 1,789,332 in trade, manufactures, and Handicraft. In Wales 189,062 are employed in agriculture, and 53,822 in trade, &c.

It will be observed, that when the army and navy are added to the males, there is a total excess of the number of males over that of females of 88,844.

List of all the CITIES *and* TOWNS *in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds* FIVE THOUSAND.

Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
London -	121,229	216,073	5185	393,369	471,476	864,845
Manchester -	12,547	18,560	279	39,110	44,910	84,020
Liverpool -	11,446	16,989	338	34,367	43,286	77,653
Birmingham -	14,528	15,303	1875	34,716	38,954	73,670
Briſtol -	10,403	14,413	493	26,943	36,702	68,645
Leeds -	11,258	11,790	341	25,504	27,658	53,162
Plymouth -	4447	10,708	89	18,016	25,178	43,194
Newcaſtle -	419	8944	198	16,343	20,620	36,963
Norwich -	8016	9093	747	1,810	21,044	36,854
Bath -	4289	6510	174	12,441	19,759	32,200
Portſmouth -	5310	6937	30	14,309	17,857	32,166
Sheffield -	6518	6754	643	15,483	15,831	31,314
Hull -	4649	7449	118	13,051	16,465	29,516
Nottingham -	4977	6707	100	13,729	15,132	28,861
Exeter -	2692	3947	144	7314	10,084	17,398
Leiceſter -	3205	3668	85	7921	9032	16,953
York -	2407	3841	72	7018	9127	16,145
Coventry -	2930	3548	204	7672	8362	16,034
Cheſter -	3109	3427	85	6492	8560	15,052
Dover -	3339	3834	231	7187	7658	14,845
Yarmouth -	3081	3541	78	6463	8382	14,845
Stockport -	2572	2965	126	6983	7847	14,830
Shrewſbury -	2773	3300	88	6647	8092	14,739
Greenwich -	2067	3215	54	7323	7016	14,339
Bolton, Great	2454	2509	56	5924	6625	12,594
Wolverhampton -	2344	3087	190	6207	6358	12,565
Oldham -	1212	1464	19	5946	6078	12,024
Sunderland -	1365	3372	14	4902	7510	12,412
Blackburn -	2339	2405	13	5559	6421	11,980
Preſton -	2169	234	62	5415	6472	11,887

Continuation of the List of all the CITIES *and* TOWNS *in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds* FIVE THOUSAND.

Cities and Towns.	*Inhabited Houses.*	*By how many Families occupied.*	*Uninhabited Houses.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total of Persons.*
Oxford -	1827	2230	82	5920	5774	11,694
Colchester -	1959	2829	38	5012	6508	11,520
Worcester -	2237	2627	133	4909	6443	11,352
Ipswich -	2170	2738	51	4984	6293	11,277
Wigan -	2177	2277	59	5068	5921	10,989
Derby -	2144	2441	26	4982	5850	10,832
Huddersfield -	1873	1873	101	5240	5431	10,671
Quick (Yorkshire)	1215	1873	92	5496	5169	10,665
Warrington -	2258	2315	38	4780	5787	10,567
Chatham -	1715	2665	14	4699	5806	10,505
Walfal -	1984	2084	185	5274	5125	10,399
Carlisle -	1314	2303	24	4479	5742	10,221
Dudley -	1922	2170	118	4909	5198	10,107
Lynn -	1965	2437	47	4540	5556	10,096
Cambridge -	1691	2078	42	4964	5123	10,087
Woolwich -	1341	2556	21	4476	5350	9826
Reading -	1751	2135	32	4642	5100	9742
Spotland (Lancashire)	1672	1707	123	4430	4601	9031
Lancaster -	1598	1998	13	3999	5031	9030
Canterbury -	1741	2276	58	3805	5195	9000
Halifax -	1913	1935	62	3976	4910	8886
Frome -	1653	1853	56	4084	4664	8748
Macclesfield -	1426	1539	101	3979	4764	8743
Whitehaven -	1776	2403	47	3348	5394	8742
Wakefield -	1721	1792	81	3701	4430	8131
Shields, South -	1260	2225	3	3274	4834	8108
Maidstone -	1330	1742	16	3835	4192	8027
Southampton -	1509	1876	73	3390	4523	7913
Devizes -	1552	1728	41	3624	4285	7909
Salisbury -	1489	1833	45	3412	4256	7668
Bury -	1360	1641	37	3399	4523	7655
Gloucester -	1325	1732	43	3428	4151	7579
Wellington -	1467	1576	13	3796	3735	7531
Durham -	1024	1930	30	3319	4211	7530
Whitby -	1596	1992	108	3271	4212	7483
Lincoln -	1516	1619	58	3474	3924	7398
Brighthelmstone -	1282	1380	142	3274	4065	7339
Bradford -	1254	1551	34	3473	3829	7302
Shields, North -	891	2024	3	2972	4308	7280
Huddersfield -	1376	1456	22	3619	3649	7268
Berwick -	930	1791	35	3009	4178	7187
Bury -	1341	1400	43	3442	3630	7072
Northampton -	1322	1652	49	3244	3776	7020
Grantham -	1385	1456	72	3377	3637	7014
Bilston	1246	1268	55	3433	3481	6914
Kendall -	1394	1671	30	2950	3942	6892
Hereford -	1392	1715	68	3023	3805	6828
Rochester -	1136	1553	14	3071	3746	6817
Newark -	1376	1487	14	3098	3632	6730
Scarborough -	1615	1769	50	2730	3958	6688
Tiverton -	1221	1397	101	3001	3504	6595
Sandwich -	1287	1407	111	2966	3540	6506
Bradford (Yorkshire)	1317	1393	51	2987	3406	6393
Barton - -	1051	1150	22	3070	3127	6197
Bishop Wearmouth	844	1603	46	2706	3420	6126
Kidderminster -	1251	1405	44	3020	3090	6110
Swansea -	1182	1504	21	2529	3570	6099
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Continuation of the List of all the CITIES *and* TOWNS *in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds* FIVE THOUSAND.

Cities and Towns.	*Inhabited Houses.*	*By how many Families occupied.*	*Uninhabited Houses.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total of Persons.*
Boston	1221	1334	31	2698	3228	5926
Winchester	791	902	19	2767	3059	5826
Trowbridge	1018	1073	67	2552	3247	5799
Hunslet	1205	1258	64	2828	2971	5799
Taunton	1146	1308	48	2450	3344	5794
Warwick	1055	1142	29	2709	3066	5775
Croydon	1020	1115	54	2761	2982	5743
Workington	1160	1375	21	2453	3263	5716
Doncaster	1186	1261	60	2477	3220	5697
Holywell	1093	1189	53	2566	3001	5567
Ellesmere	1009	1117	26	2733	2820	5553
Carmarthen	930	1737	15	2338	3210	5548
Stroud	1033	1355	15	2602	2820	5422
Deal	906	1107	11	2484	2036	5420
Shepton Mallet	1105	1191	49	2310	2794	5104
Hinckley	919	966	11	2597	2473	5070

A List of the COUNTY TOWNS *in England and Wales, whose Population is less than Five Thousand.*

County Towns.	*Inhabited Houses.*	*By how many Families occupied.*	*Uninhabited Houses.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total of Persons.*
Chichester	821	1017	10	2091	2653	4744
Bedford	783	975	17	1712	2236	3948
Stafford	710	802	13	1921	1977	3898
Launceston	465	947	3	1466	2218	3684
Hertford	529	666	13	1762	1598	3360
Monmouth	638	743	39	1512	1833	3345
Dolgelly (Merioneth)	630	730	28	1326	1623	2949
Haverfordwest	593	722	20	1097	1783	2880
Pool (Montgom.)	530	661	13	1305	1567	2872
Cardiff	314	413	13	852	1018	1870
Guildford	464	579	19	1242	1312	2634
Buckingham	551	617	14	1180	1425	2605
Brecon	499	586	41	1123	1453	2576
Dorchester	344	515	9	1078	1324	2402
Denbigh	534	590	18	1061	1330	2391
Huntingdon	350	350	6	993	1042	2035
New Radnor	359	390	20	951	970	1921
Cardigan	415	430	20	789	1122	1911
Carnarvon	304	336	0	828	942	1770
Beaumaris	267	288	2	659	917	1576

General

General Abſtract of the Population of SCOTLAND, *according to the Enumeration made under the Authority of an Act of Parliament, in* 1801.

Counties.	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total.*
Aberdeen	55,625	67,457	123,082
Argyle	33,767	38,092	71,819
Ayr	39,666	44,640	84,306
Banff	16,067	19,740	35,807
Berwick	14,294	16,327	30,621
Bute	5,552	6,239	11,791
Caithneſs	10,183	12,426	22,609
Clackmanan	5,064	5,794	10,858
Cromarty	1,351	1,701	3,052
Dumbarton	9,796	10,914	20,710
Dumfries	25,407	29,190	54,597
Edinburgh	54,224	68,730	112,954
Elgin	11,763	14,942	26,705
Fife	42,952	50,791	93,743
Forfar	45,461	53,666	99,127
Haddington	13,890	16,096	29,986
Inverneſs	33,801	40,491	74,292
Kincardine	12,104	14,245	26,349
Kinroſs	3,116	3,609	6,725
Kirkudbright	13,619	15,592	29,211
Lanark	68,100	78,599	146,699
Linlithgow	8,129	9,715	17,844
Nairne	3,639	4,618	8,257
Orkney and Shetland	20,793	26,031	46,824
Peebles	4,160	4,575	8,735
Perth	58,808	67,558	126,366
Renfrew	36,068	41,988	78,056
Roſs	24,143	28,148	52,291
Roxburgh	15,813	17,869	33,682
Selkirk	2,356	2,714	5,070
Stirling	23,875	26,950	50,825
Sutherland	10,425	12,692	23,117
Wigtown	10,570	12,348	22,918
	734,487	864,487	1,599,068

Liſt of ſome of the PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

	Inhabitants.		*Inhabitants.*
Aberdeen	17,597	Dunbar	3,971
Campbeltown	7,093	Inverneſs	8,732
Rotheſay	5,231	Lanark	4,692
Alloa	5,214	Glaſgow	77,385
Dumbarton	2,541	Perth	14,878
Dumfries	7,288	Greenock	17,458
Edinburgh, with N. and S. Leith	82,560	Paiſley Town and Abbey	31,179
Dunfermline	9,980	Port-glaſgow	3,865
Dundee	26,084	Falkirk	8,838
Montroſe	7,974	Stirling	5,256

Some "Observations on the Results of the Population Act." From a Paper under that Title, drawn up and printed by Order of the House of Commons, and annexed to the Abstract of Returns.

The enumeration of 1801 amounts to 8,872,980 persons for England and Wales; and to this number an appropriate share of the soldiers and mariners is to be added. These appear to have been 469,188; and if (exclusive of them) the total population of the British isles is 14,630,812*, about a thirtieth may be added to the inhabitants, to ascertain the population of any distinct part.

Therefore the existing population of England and Wales is taken at 9,168,000 in the following table; and the population therein attributed to the other years is obtained by the rule of proportion.

Thus: If 255,426 baptisms (the average medium of the last five years) were produced from a population of 9,168,000, from what population were 152,540 (the baptisms of 1700) produced?

TABLE of POPULATION throughout the last Century.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	
In the Year	Population.
1700 - - -	5,475,000
1710 - - -	5,240,000
1720 - - -	5,565,000
1730 - - -	5,796,000
1740 - - -	6,064,000
1750 - - -	6,467,000
1760 - - -	6,736,000
1770 - - -	7,428,000
1780 - - -	7,953,000
1785 - - -	8,016,000
1790 - - -	8,675,000
1795 - - -	9,055,000
1801 - - -	9,168,000

1. It is evident, that if the existing population of 1801 is taken too low in the preceding table, the population of the other years deduced from it, must be in the same proportion below the truth: and the population, as stated for 1801, certainly *is* taken somewhat too low; because no addition has been made to it for returns wanting, and for omissions in the returns made, the amount of which could not be positively ascertained.

2. The dearth which prevailed in the years 1709 and 1710 caused the average price of wheat in those years to rise to 62 shillings per quarter; whereas the average price of the ten preceding years was only 30 shillings per quarter. The

* 15,100,000—469,188=14,630,812.

dearth

dearth of 1800 caused the average price of wheat to rise to 110 shillings per quarter; whereas the average price of the ten preceding years was no more than 54 shillings per quarter.

Therefore the severity of the dearths of 1710 and 1800 may be reckoned as equal, and the effect of both in diminishing the births and baptisms may be assumed to have been also equal. In the year 1800 the baptisms were 247,000, though the five years average is above 255,000. By applying a proportional increase to the baptisms of 1710, the number from whence the population of 1710 was to be deduced, became 146,000 instead of 139,000. If the latter number had been used, the population of 1710 had appeared in the table at no more than 5,003,000.

3. For 1785 the average medium of the baptisms of that year and the four preceding years is taken. So for 1790 and 1795. Before 1780 the baptisms of every year do not appear in the abstract.

4. Although the beginning of the century exhibits a decreasing population, the lost number had been regained in 1720; and since that time a continual, though irregular, increase is manifest.

5. The population of England and Wales in 1801, compared with that of the beginning of the last century, appears in this calculation as 1,000 to 597, or nearly as ten to six.

The following table for Scotland is formed in the same manner in every respect, but is of much less authority, as founded on a collection of no more than 99 parish registers from different parts of the country. These parishes contain less than a seventh of the whole population. In all there are about 900 parishes in Scotland.

TABLE of POPULATION throughout the last Century.

SCOTLAND.	
In the Year	Population.
1700 - - -	1,048,000
1710 - - -	1,270,000
1720 - - -	1,390,000
1730 - - -	1,309,000
1740 - - -	1,222,000
1750 - - -	1,403,000
1760 - - -	1,363,000
1770 - - -	1,434,000
1780 - - -	1,458,000
1785 - - -	1,475,000
1790 - - -	1,567,000
1795 - - -	1,669,000
1801 - - -	1,652,370

The

The population of Scotland in 1801, compared with that of the beginning of the laſt century, appears to be as 1000 to 634; nearly as 10 to 6½: but it is proper to obſerve, that a large proportion of the aforeſaid 99 pariſh regiſters were received from the manufacturing parts of Scotland; ſo that in the preceding table the increaſe of the population is perhaps ſtated higher than it would have appeared if a larger number of returns could have been obtained.

In the year 1695 a poll-tax was levied in Ireland; and on this occaſion it was calculated that the number of inhabitants was 1,034,000. But the uſual evaſion of taxation may be ſuppoſed to have leſſened the real number conſiderably. About the year 1795 Ireland contained at leaſt four millions, and ſince that time the number has not increaſed. It may not be very erroneous to eſtimate the population of Ireland at 1,500,000 in the year 1700, and at 4,000,000 in the year 1801.

If this be granted, the population belonging to all the Britiſh iſles has increaſed during the laſt century from 8,100,000 to 15,100,000.

From the collection of pariſh regiſters it is not difficult to compute the increaſe or diminution of the population of the ſeveral counties, in the ſame manner as of that of the whole kingdom; but it is ſufficient for this ſubordinate examination to ſtate the population in 1700, 1750, and 1801. To the reſident population of each county for the year 1801, a thirtieth is added for ſoldiers and mariners: for though it muſt be admitted, that a higher proportion of theſe is drawn from the maritime and manufacturing counties, and a leſs proportion from the midland agricultural counties, yet the difference is not ſufficient to affect the approximation to the true numbers, in any important degree.

The circumſtances which have variouſly affected the different counties throughout the century, may prevent the following table from being accurate. The mode of conſtructing it, ſuppoſes that the births throughout the laſt century have borne the ſame porportion to the exiſting population, as in the five years preceding 1801; and therefore the population of 1700 in this table, is perhaps ſomewhat too low in the counties which have moſt rapidly increaſed in the laſt half of the century; and, poſſibly, ſomewhat too high in the oppoſite caſe.

In the fourth column is ſhewn the proportion of the population of 1801, to the medium average of the marriages of the laſt five years. The ſupplement to the abſtract of the pariſh regiſters is taken into the account, by preſuming that the average of the marriages in the laſt five years is a third of the number of burials attributed to each county therein for the year 1800. This proportion appearing to be true of the whole ſupplement, cannot be very erroneous when applied to its component parts.

Beſides this addition from the ſupplement, two marriages are added for each return ſuppoſed to be wanting.

In the fifth column is ſhewn the number of regiſters from which returns were received: and, in the laſt column, the number of returns ſuppoſed to be wanting from each county *.

* See *Pariſh Regiſter Abſtract*, p. 449.

COUNTIES

COUNTIES OF	POPULATION. 1. 1700	2. 1750	3. 1801	4. Proportion of Population 1801, to annual Marriages in 5 preceding Years.	RETURNS. 5. Received.	6. Wanting
Bedford -	48,500	53,900	65,500	115.7	128	0
Berks - -	74,700	92,700	112,800	148.0	160	0
Buckingham -	80,500	90,700	111,000	122.6	178	4
Cambridge -	76,000	72,000	92,300	121.0	160	1
Cheſter - -	107,000	131,600	198,100	125.6	124	4
Cornwall -	105,800	135,000	194,500	121.1	203	5
Cumberland -	62,300	86,900	121,100	147.8	135	1
Derby - -	93,800	109,500	166,500	137.7	180	4
Devon - -	248,200	272,200	354,400	* 110.2	466	7
Dorſet - -	90,000	96,400	119,100	143.1	263	5
Durham - -	95,500	135,000	165,700	120.1	99	0
Eſſex - -	159,200	167,800	234,000	124.5	409	8
Glouceſter -	155,200	207,800	259,100	130.4	330	0
Hereford -	60,900	74,100	92,100	167.1	222	13
Hertford - -	70,500	86,500	100,800	150.6	129	2
Huntingdon -	34,700	32,500	38,800	107.6	96	0
Kent - -	153,800	190,000	317,800	116.6	387	18
Lancaſter -	166,200	297,400	695,100	116.1	174	5
Leiceſter -	80,000	95,000	134,400	129.7	258	0
Lincoln - -	180,000	160,200	215,500	116 6	647	13
Middleſex -	624,200	641,500	845,400	† 97.8	188	0
Monmouth -	39,700	40,600	47,100	142.1	118	4
Norfolk - -	210,200	215,100	282,400	125.8	686	16
Northampton -	119,500	123,300	136,100	127.3	296	8
Northumberland -	118,000	141,700	162,300	141.4	97	1
Nottingham -	65,200	77,600	145,000	114.3	202	12
Oxford - -	79,000	92,400	113,200	140.6	221	2
Rutland - -	16,600	13,800	16,900	135.2	48	0
Salop, (Shropſhire)	101,600	130,300	172,200	139.7	212	24
Somerſet - -	195,900	224,500	282,800	138.9	461	16
Southampton, (Hampſh.)	118,700	137,500	226,900	‡ 107 2	294	30
Stafford - -	117,200	160,000	247,103	126.1	171	6
Suffolk - -	152,700	156,800	217,400	126.0	498	3
Surrey - -	154,900	207,100	278,300	133.6	137	5
Suſſex - -	91,400	107,400	164,600	129.8	297	2
Warwick -	96,600	140,000	215,100	115.3	200	9
Weſtmoreland -	28,600	36,300	43,000	141.0	64	2
Wilts - -	153,900	168,400	191,200	146.6	279	6
Worceſter -	88,200	108,000	143,900	137.4	196	10
York, Eaſt Riding -	96,200	85,500	144,000			
Do. North Riding	98,600	117,200	160,500	123.0	744	14
Do. Weſt Riding	236,700	361,500	582,700			
England - -	5,140,400	6,073,700	8,606,400	122.0	10,157	260
Wales - -	366,500	449,300	559,000	144.3	835	19
Total - - §	5,512,900	6,523,000	9,165,400	123.2	10,992	279

TO ONE.

* During a war, about 400 marriages are celebrated annually at Plymouth and in the vicinity, between the ſeamen of the royal navy and the women who receive them on ſhore. Omitting Plymouth in the calculation, the population of Devon is as 135.3 to one marriage.

† Many perſons who intend a ſecret marriage, lodge a month in the metropolis, and are then married there; this helps to augment the marriages in Middleſex ſo largely above the average of England.

‡ During a war, the marriages at Portſmouth and in the vicinity are annually about 400 more than uſual, for the ſame reaſon as at Plymouth. Omitting Portſmouth and Portſea in the calculation, the population of Hampſhire is as 129.9 to one marriage.

§ It is proper to obſerve that the total population of England and Wales in 1700 and 1750, does not appear exactly the ſame in this place as at page 237. From the nature of the calculation it does not follow that the reſult in both places ſhould be exactly the ſame.

The aggregate of the ſeveral county calculations on this page is probably more accurate for the Years 1700 and 1750, than is the general calculation (p. 237.) for thoſe years.

The population of 1801 here given, is rather below that at page 237, becauſe fractional parts are here rejected from each county.

The metropolis of England, at once the ſeat of government and the greateſt emporium in the known world, ſeems to claim a diſtinct notice of the increaſe or diminution of its population. It is ſituated in two counties, divided by the River Thames, and its population is exhibited in five diviſions. A thirtieth part was added to the exiſting population of England in general; but it is undeniable that fourteen thouſand arrivals of trading ſhipping annually, muſt make a conſtant, though fluctuating acceſſion to the reſident population of the metropolis, to a larger amount than elſewhere. On this conſideration, adding a twenty-fifth inſtead of a thirtieth part, the metropolis contains 900,000 perſons *.

THE METROPOLIS. †	POPULATION.		
	1700	1750	1801
1. City of London within the Walls	139,300	87,000	78,000
2. City of London without the Walls (including the Inns of Court)	169,000	156,000	155,000
3. City and Liberties of Weſtminſter	130,000	152,000	165,000
4. Out-Pariſhes within the Bills of Mortality - -	226,900	258,900	379,000
5. Pariſhes, not within the Bills of Mortality - -	9,150	22,350	123,000
6. Total of the Metropolis -	674,350	676,750	900,000

1. The walls of the ancient city of London included a ſpace now in the middle of the metropolis, about one mile and a half in length, and rather more than half a mile in breadth. ‡ The population has diminiſhed almoſt one-half during the laſt century. Many ſtreets have been widened, and many public buildings erected, whereby the number of houſes has been much leſſened; and the houſes which remain are not crowded with inhabitants, as formerly they were. At preſent the population is nearly the ſame as that of Liverpool; § which town in extent alſo and ſituation is very ſimilar to the ancient City of London.

2. The City of London without the walls, is an extenſion of the ancient city, which it ſurrounds. It is governed by the city magiſtrates.

* The reſident population of the metropolis, 864,845; add one twenty-fifth = 34,594.
Total - - 899,439.

† For the places included under this title, ſee *Enumeration Abſtract*, p. 489 to p. 503.

‡ See a deſcription of its limits, *Pariſh Regiſter Abſtract*, p. 442.

§ The reſident population of Liverpool, 77,653: add one twenty-fifth for mariners, &c. = 3,100:
Total - - 80,759.

3. Weſtminſter, which is the ſeat of government, adjoins to the city, extending weſtward.

4. The London bills of mortality were originally inſtituted about the year 1562; and from 1603 a complete ſeries is preſerved. The putrid filth produced by a crowded population, and not carried off by ſufficient ſewers, made London very unhealthy in former times, and cauſed a plague about once in twenty years; and a timely notice of this danger was to be given by the weekly bills of mortality. The crowded part of London was purified by the memorable conflagration of 1666, which ſeems to have exterminated the plague. The diſtrict within the bills of mortality has been gradually extended, and, beſides London and Weſtminſter, now comprehends a large population under the title of the Out-Pariſhes.

5. A few pariſhes, now forming part of the metropolis, have not yet been taken into the bills of mortality. The rapid increaſe of the population of this diviſion ſhews how rapidly London increaſes in extent, though its population does not increaſe ſo faſt as that of the kingdom in general. In 1700 the metropolis contained almoſt an eighth part of the inhabitants of England and Wales, in 1750 above a tenth part, and at preſent rather leſs than that proportion.

6. Some objections may perhaps be made to the accuracy of the limits of the metropolis aſſumed in the Enumeration Abſtract; it may therefore be proper to obſerve, that within a circle extending eight miles around St. Paul's Cathedral, the total population, including the aforeſaid addition of one twenty-fifth part, amounts to one million and thirty thouſand perſons.

The many inquiries and diſcuſſions which have taken place concerning the population of the metropolis, have determined the deaths unregiſtered at about 5,000 annually, and the regiſtered burials of the laſt five years average at 24,000. Nine hundred thouſand divided by twenty-nine thouſand gives the annual mortality at one in thirty-one. In the year 1750 it appears to have been one in twenty-three; but it is not wonderful that the extenſion of the population over a larger ſpace ſhould have had this ſalutary effect.

Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons reſpecting the financial State of the Kingdom, including certain Reſolutions which were moved, but not carried.

The houſe (according to order) reſumed the adjourned debate upon the *motion*, that the amount of the public funded debt on the 1ſt of Feb. 1793, was 238,231,248l. excluſive of long and ſhort annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l. of which ſums, ſtock to the amount of 10,242,000l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and the annuities to the amount of 79,880l had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 1ſt Feb. 1793, to 227,989,148l. and the annuities, to 1,293,670l. and that on the 1ſt Feb. 1802, ſtock, to the amount of 39,885,308l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners, and ſtock to the amount of 18,001,148l.

had

had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, and annuities, to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in reducing on the 1ſt of February 1802, the actual amount of debt exiſting before the war to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

A motion was made, that the total amount of ſtock created ſince the 1ſt of February 1793 (including the amount created by ſums borrowed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, and after deducting 20,490,003l., purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt) on the 1ſt of February 1802, is 338,138,360l.; of which ſum the intereſt on 7,502,633l. is payable by the emperor of Germany; and the intereſt on 22,348,000l. is payable by Ireland: and that annuities have been granted, ſince the 1ſt of February 1793, to the amount of 550,460l. of which 9,791l. is payable by Ireland, and 230,000l. by the emperor of Germany.

A motion was made, that the total amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the ſums borrowed in the preſent ſeſſion, and after deducting 60,375,311l. purchaſed by the commiſſioners, and 18,801,148l. transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed) was, on the 1ſt of February 1802, 518,483,152l.; of which ſum 29,064,226l. is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 489,418,926l.; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1ſt of February 1802, in ſhort annuities and for lives, 543,200l.; and in long annuities 1,015,410l.

A motion was made, that, under the heads of treaſury, army, ordnance, barracks, and advances from civil liſt (after deducting the ſurplus of ways and means of 1801) outſtanding demands, as far as the ſame can be made up, remained to be provided for, on the 5th of January 1802, to the amount 3,264,235l.

That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved inſufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,744,443l.

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,073,070l.; and, that the total amount of demands outſtanding, naſy debt and exchequer bills unprovided for, or provided for out of inſufficient funds, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 26,081,748l.; of which ſum 11,771,836l. has ſince been made good out of the ſupplies of the preſent ſeſſion, leaving an unfunded debt of 14,309,912l. to which 5,000,000l. of exchequer bills, voted in the preſent ſeſſion, being added, makes a total of unfunded debt hereafter to be provided for, of 19,309,912l.

A motion was made, that the total debt may be ſtated as follows: *viz.*

	£.	
Total amount of the public funded debt unredeemed -	518,483,152	
1,015,410l. long annuities, valued at 25 years purchaſe -	25,385,250	
Unfunded debt -	19,309,912	
		563,178,314

Of this sum, Ireland and the emperor of Germany are chargeable with the interest on - - -	29,064,226
Leaving a total debt charged on Great-Britain (exclusive of 543,000l. short annuities, and any further sums necessary for winding up the expenses of the war) of - - -	534,114,088

A motion was made, that the sum applicable to the reduction of the total funded debt was, on the 1st February 1793, 1,427,143l, and, on the first February 1802, 5,809,330l. to which must be added 26,390l. being 1 *per cent.* on part of the loan of the present year; making a total of 5,835,720l., of which sum 5,587,399l. is applicable to the reduction of the debt charged on Great-Britain, and, being appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, will redeem a sum equal to the amount of debt created since the 1st of January 1800, in about 16 years, supposing all stocks to be purchased at par, and in about 12½ years, supposing the 3 *per cents.* to be purchased at 75.

A motion was made, that the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,866l. including 1,000,000l. applicable to the reduction of the debt:

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt created since the 5th of January 1793 (exclusive of the interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session, but exclusive of 18,000l. interest on deferred stock) is 13,557,600l. of which sum, 2,462,100l. is the 1 *per cent.* sinking fund on the capital of the said debt, applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735l. *per annum* is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the emperor of Germany.

A motion was made, that the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the war was, on the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000l.; and, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,221,682l.:

That the net produce of the permanent taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793 was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,187,288l.:

And, that the total amount of the permanent taxes was, on the 5th of January 1802, 22,408,970l.

A motion was made, that the total official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390l.

That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032l.; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,036l.:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851l.

18,336,851l. and, on an average of fix years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049l.:

That the total official value of Britiſh produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979l. and, on an average of fix years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050l.:

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,346l.; and on an average of fix years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,469,014l.

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480l.; and, on an average of fix years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700l.

A motion was made, and the queſtion being propoſed, that the total ſum to be raiſed in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be eſtimated as follows, *viz.*

	Amount. £. s. d.
Intereſt of the public funded debt, charges of management, and ſinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting intereſt payable by Ireland — — — — —	22,444,564
Intereſt, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th January 1802 and the 5th January 1803, on ſtock created by loans of the preſent ſeſſion to the amount of 30,351,375l. — — —	665,422
Intereſt on exchequer bills, eſtimated to be the ſame as paid in the year ending 5th January 1802 —	1,121,890
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil liſt, and other charges on the conſolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,472l. — — — —	1,376,888
Civil government of Scotland, penſions on revenue, militia, and deſerters warrants, bounties for promoting fiſheries, &c. &c. eſtimated at — —	1,000,000
Charges of management of revenue, eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ended 5th January 1802 -	1,871,861
Supplies voted for 1802, on account of Great-Britain excluſively — — — 8,409,743	
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the ſupplies voted for Great-Britain and Ireland (amounting in the whole to 31,259,209l.) — 27,261,063	
Total amount of ſupplies for 1802, to be defrayed by Great Britain —	35,670,536
Advance to Ireland - - -	2,000,000
Intereſt payable for loans to Emperor of Germany	497,735
Making in the whole the ſum of -	£.66,648,896

A motion was made, and the queſtion being propoſed, that the intereſt of the public funded debt, charges of management, and ſinking fund, after deducting intereſt payable by Ireland is - £. 23,520,003

That the intereſt on exchequer bills, excluſive of three millions not at preſent bearing intereſt, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than - - 459,000

That the intereſt on navy debt cannot be eſtimated at leſs than - - - 150,000

That of the preſent charges on the conſolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, is - 1,376,888

That of the miſcellaneous charges of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 397,069

That the charges of the militia of Great Britain cannot be eſtimated at leſs than - - 22,000

That of the charges of Chelſea and Kilmainham hoſpitals, and widows penſions in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 262,948

That of the half pay of the army of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 400,000

26,776,899

That of the charge of the navy (ſuppoſing the number of ſeamen employed to be reduced from 70,000, their preſent amount to 30,000, for the year 1803) the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be eſtimated at leſs than - - 3,514,613

£. 30,291,512

A motion was made, that ſuppoſing the produce of the old permanent taxes to be the ſame as in the year ending the 5th of January 1800, being their higheſt amount, and the new permanent taxes to produce the ſum for which they were laid, the income applicable to the peace eſtabliſhment of Great Britain, may be eſtimated as follows: viz.

Old permanent taxes - - -	£. 15,740,000
New permanent taxes, including 1801 - -	10,395,246
Taxes impoſed in preſent ſeſſion - - -	4,000,000
Land and malt - - -	2,558,000
Eſtimated profit on lottery -	360,000
	£. 33,053,246

Which

Which ſum, being ſo raiſed, after deducting certain eſtimated charges, to the amount of	30,291,512
would leave towards the charge of the army ordnance, and contingencies, a ſurplus of	£.2,761,734
A motion was made, and the queſtion being propoſed, that the actual charge of the army and ordnance for Great Britain and Ireland, for ſix months, ending the 5th of January 1803 (excluſive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelſea, &c.) to be defrayed by Great Britain, is 2,414,876l. being after the rate of 4,829,750l. per annum. That, ſuppoſing a reduction to take place to the amount of 20,000 men, with a proportionate reduction in the barracks and ordnance departments, the total charge to be defrayed by Great Britain for the army and ordnance (excluſive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelſea, &c.) may be eſtimated for the year 1803, at	£. 3,812,960
And that upon ſuch an eſtabliſhment, the charge of army extraordinaries to be defrayed by Great Britain, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than	600,000
Making (excluſive of contingent charges, and of 497,000l. intereſt due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) a ſum of	4,412,960
Which, after applying the eſtimated ſurplus of taxes	2,761,734
would leave a deficiency to be provided for, of	£.1,651,226

On all theſe motions, the previous queſtion being put, that that queſtion be now put; it paſſed in the negative.

The houſe (according to order) reſumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. excluſive of long and ſhort annuities, and annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550l.: that, on the 1ſt of February, 1793, ſtock to the amount 10,242,100l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 5th of January 1793 to 227,989,148, and the annuities to 1,293,670l. and that, on the 1ſt of February 1802, ſtock to the amount of 39,885,308 had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in, and been carried to their account, and ſtock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt exiſting before the war, on

the 1st of February 1802, to 180,344,792l., and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

Resolved,—That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, 238,231,248l.; exclusive of long and short annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l.: that on the 1st of February 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January 1793, to 227,949,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l.: and that on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st February 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

Resolved,—That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633l. 3 per per cent. Stock created by advances to the emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730l.—That the amount of long annuities, created during the same period, is 320,461l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000l. annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1820.—That of these sums, 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,720l. charged on Great Britain.—And that, on the 1st of February 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt, created since the 5th January 1793, to 309,074,134l. exclusive of long annuities, to the amount of 310,670l. per annum.

Resolved,—That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in, to the commissioners, and 18,001,148l. transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February 1802, 489,418,926l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410l.

Resolved,—That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may, for the year 1802, be estimated at 5,800,000l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until

until the whole of the exiſting debt is diſcharged; which, ſuppoſing all the ſtocks to be purchaſed at par, and no further ſums to be transferred for redemption of land-tax, cannot be later than the cloſe of the year 1843.

Reſolved,—That the annual charge incurred on acconnt of the permanent debt on the 5th of January 1786, was 9,297,000l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,000l. including 1,000,000l. applicable thereto; in which ſum of 10,325,000l. was included, on the 5th of January 1793, the intereſt of 10,242,100l. capital ſtock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commiſſioners, making together the ſum of 387,143l. and that the ſaid ſum of 10,325,000l. was reduced on the 5th of January 1802, by reaſon of ſtock transferred for redemption of land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management, on account of ſums redeemed by the commiſſioners, to 9,770,169l. in which ſum is included the intereſt on 39,885,308l. capital ſtock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commiſſioners, making together the ſum of 1,334,186l.

Reſolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created ſince the 5th of January 1793, including 924,199l. permanent intereſt and charge on loan of the preſent ſeſſion, of which 48,761l. 17s. will not become payable till after the 5th of January 1806, amounts to 13,597,594l. per annum; of which 10,544,383l. is for intereſt, annuity, and charges of management, of ſuch part of the ſaid debt as was unredeemed on the 1ſt of February 1802; and 3,053,211l. ariſes from 1 per cent. ſinking fund on the capital of part of the ſaid debt and intereſt of ſtock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the intereſt of certain loans by his majeſty the emperor of Germany.

Reſolved,—That the annual charge on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain on the 1ſt of February 1802 (including 924,199l. for intereſt and charges of the loan of the preſent ſeſſion, and 200,000l. now permanently added to the ſinking fund) amounts to 23,568,763l. whereof 5,587,397l. is applicable to the reduction of the national debt. And that a further charge of 497,735l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the intereſt of certain loans by his majeſty the emperor of Germany.

Reſolved,—That the amount of the outſtanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of January 1802, excluſive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,514,531l. That the ſurplus of ways and means for the year 1801 was 114,000l. and 99,886l. remained unpaid and applicable to the public ſervice on the grant to the queen of Portugal; reducing the amount of demands unprovided for to 4,300,465l. of which 4,018,420l.

4,018,426l. has been provided for in the preſent ſeſſion.

Reſolved,—That the unfunded debt, excluſive of the anticipation in the uſual form of certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January 1793, to 8,925,422l. and on the 5th of January 1802, to 21,179,170l. excluſive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000l. advanced by the bank without intereſt, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which ſum of 21,179,170l. 10,113,493l. has been paid off or provided for in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion.

Reſolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting on the 5th of January 1784 then amounted to 10,194,259l. and that taxes were afterwards impoſed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000l, making together 11,132,000l.

Reſolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000l. impoſed as above ſtated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000l. ariſing from the conſolidation act, and from duties impoſed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000l. on the 5th of January 1794, 13,941,000l. on the 5th of January 1795, 13,858,000l. on the 5th of January 1796, 13,557,000l. on the 5th of January 1797, 14,292,000l. on the 5th of January 1798, 13,332,000l. on the 5th of January 1799, 14,275,000l. on the 5th of January 1800, 15,743,109l. on the 5th of January 1801, 14,194,589l. and on the 5th of January 1802, (including 1,275,544l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported) 14,497,226l. which laſt ſum, after deducting the duties ariſing from the conſolidation act and thoſe impoſed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January 1784, together with that of the taxes impoſed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226l.

Reſolved,—That the actual net produce of the taxes impoſed ſince the 5th of January 1793, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, to 9,187,288l. and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, amounted to 23,684,514l. (including 1,275,544l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.)

Reſolved,—That the total groſs receipt within the year (deducting repayments, diſcounts, and drawbacks, and alſo deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179l. in the year 1798, 30,176,303l., in the year 1799, 34,750,976l. in the year 1800, 33,535,016l. and in the year 1801, 35,368,376l. being an increaſe, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197l. compared with 1798, of 5,192,073l. compared with 1799, of 617,400l. and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360l.

Reſolved,——That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 13,122,235l. and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January 1784, was 11,690,829l. —That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358l. and on an

an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,399l.—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increase, as compared with the average of the 5th of January 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to the 5th of January 1793, of 8,278,648l.—And that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000l.

Resolved,—That the official value of British manufactures, exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 10,409,713l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th of January 1784, was 8,616,660l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979l., making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l., and with 1792, of 7,383,128l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050l., making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January 1784, of 13,014,390l.; and, with the average to 5th of January 1793, of 6,860,001l.:—And that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000l.

Resolved,—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,332,909l., and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,263,930l.:—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,468,014l.:—that the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480l., making an increase as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700l., making an increase as compared with the average to January 5th 1784, of 9,840,770l., and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 8,636,686l.:—and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000l.

Resolved,—That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in

in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172, and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962.---In the year 1792 the number of vessels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of seamen navigating the same 118,286; and, in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987; —being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1789; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

Resolved,—That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows:—viz.

	£.
Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before Pensions on hereditary revenue, estimated as before Militia and deserters warrants, estimated as before Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,511
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l., including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain	35,532,371
	£.63,773,882

Advance

Advance to Ireland	£.2,000,000	
Intereſt payable for imperial loans	497,596	
		2,497,596
		£.66,271,478

Reſolved,---That the groſs receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted in the year ending 5th January 1802, to - - - - - - £. 29,220,536

Eſtimated produce, to the 5th April 1803, of the taxes impoſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament - - - - - - - - 2,400,000

That further ſums are applicable to the ſervice of the year 1802, as follows:

Repayments from Grenada, impreſts, and lottery - 862,000

And that the remainder of the ſupply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of - - - - - - 23,000,000

And a loan for Ireland, of - - - - 2,000,000

And by exchequer bills, to be charged on ſupplies 1803 - - - - - - 5,000,000

And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - 1,600,000

Surplus of ways and means 1801, and reſidue of grants to the Queen of Portugal - - - - 213,886

Intereſt on land-tax contracted to be paid for by inſtalments - - - - - - 25,000

Arrears of income tax - - - - - - 2,500,000

Making in the whole the ſum of - - - - £.66,821,422

Reſolved,—That it appears by a report of a committee of this houſe in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace ending the 5th of January 1791, and including ſundry extraordinary expences for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyaliſts, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to £.16,816,985.

By the peace eſtabliſhment was eſtimated by the ſaid committee, at - - - - - - £. 15,969,178

With which eſtimate the actual expence of the year 1792 nearly agreed.

In

In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000l., from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax on the 5th January 1802	540,000
	£.15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is	13,597,59[illegible]
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding is about	140,000
Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at £.5 *per cent.* is about	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt is	200,000
And that the increased expence of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war, and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expences, may be estimated at	700,000
And also exclusive of 497,000l. interest on loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament)—may be estimated at	£.30,726,772

Resolved,—That, adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, the sum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties; and the sum of 1,600,000l., being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year; the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows, viz.

Old permanent taxes	£.14,497,226
New permanent taxes	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes 1801	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land tax redeemed	2,060,000
	£.32,208,833

And

And that a further ſum of 454,340l., ariſing from annuities which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805	£.56,554
1806	8,152
1807	15,515
1808	374,119
	£.454,340

will then alſo be applicable, as well as ſuch ſums as may from time to time ariſe from the ſavings on the intereſt of ſtocks which may be reduced to a lower rate; and which, ſuppoſing the whole of the ſtocks to be reduced to 3 *per cent.* would amount to 1,491,890l.: which ſums are excluſive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

Reſolved alſo,

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. excluſive of long and ſhort annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l. That on the 1ſt of February, 1793, ſtock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 127,980,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l. And that, on the 1ſt of February, 1802, ſtock to the amount of 36,885,308l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and ſtock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt exiſting before the war, on the 1ſt of February, 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

2. That the capital of the public funded debt, created ſince the 1ſt of February, 1793, as the ſame ſtood on the 1ſt of February, 1802, together with the capital to be created by ſums borrowed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, and excluſive of 7,502,633l. three per cent. ſtock, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730l. That the amount of long annuities created during the ſame period, is 220,461l. per annum, excluſive of 230,000l. annuity, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802. That of theſe ſums 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; and leaving a permanent debt of 328,771,730l. charged on Great Britain: and that on the 1ſt of February, 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for redeeming the

the national debt, reducing the ſaid permanent debt created ſince 5th Jan. 1793, to 309,074,134l. per annum, excluſive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670l.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the ſum of 59,558,904l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to the commiſſioners, and 18,001,148l. transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1ſt of February, 1802, 419,418,926l. together with ſhort annuities to the amount of 543,103l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410l. after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the ſum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in purſuance of the act paſſed in 1786, was 1,000,000l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then exiſting; and for 1793, was 1,427,143l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt exiſting in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be eſtimated at 5,800,000l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt exiſting in 1802; which ſum of 5,800,000l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound intereſt, until the whole of the exiſting debt is diſcharged, which, ſuppoſing all the ſtocks to be purchaſed at par, and no further ſums to be transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, cannot be later than the cloſe of the year 1843.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was 9,297,000l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and of the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000l. including 1,000,000l. applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which ſum of 10,325,000l. was included, on the 5th of January, 1793, the intereſt of 10,242,100l. capital ſtock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commiſſioners, making together the ſum of 387,143l. and that the ſaid ſum of 10,325,000l. was reduced on the 5th of January, 1802, by reaſon of ſtock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by the diminution in the charges of management on account of ſums redeemed by the commiſſioners, to 9,771,169l. in which ſum is included the intereſt on 39,885,308l. capital ſtock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, and transferred to the commiſſioners, making together the ſum of 1,334,186l.

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great-Britain, created ſince the 5th of January, 1793, (including 924,199l. permanent intereſt, and charge on loan of the preſent ſeſſion) of which 48,761l. 17s. will not become payable until after the 5th of January, 1806, amounts to 13,597,594l. per annum, of which 10,544,383l. is for intereſt, annuity, and charges of management of ſuch part of the ſaid debt as was unredeemed on the 1ſt of February, 1802, and 3,053,211l. ariſes from 1l. per cent. ſinking fund on the capital of part of the ſaid debt and intereſt of ſtock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament,

liament, in default of payment of the intereſt of certain loans by His Majeſty the Emperor of Germany.

7. That the amount of the outſtanding demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1802, excluſive of unfunded debt and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220l. That the ſurplus of ways and means for the year 1802, was 114,000l. and 99,886l. remained unpaid, and applicable to the public ſervice, on the grant to the Queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334l. of which 3,920,289l. has been provided for in the preſent ſeſſion.

8. That the unfunded debt (excluſive of the anticipation in the uſual form on certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 8,925,422l. aad on the 5th of January, 1802, to 21,179,170l. excluſive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000l. advanced by the bank, without intereſt, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which ſum of 21,179,170l. 10,113,493l. has been paid off, or provided for in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259l.; and that taxes were afterwards impoſed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000l. making together 11,132,000l.

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000l. impoſed as above ſtated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000l. ariſing from the conſolidation act, and from duties impoſed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1794, 13,941,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1796, 13,557,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1797, 14,292,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1798, 13,332,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000l. on the 5th of January, 1800, 15,743,109l. on the 5th of January, 1801, 14,194,539l.; and on the 5th of January, 1802, including 1,275,544l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226l. which laſt ſum, after deducting the duties ariſing from the conſolidation act, and thoſe impoſed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes impoſed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226l.

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes impoſed ſince the 5th of January, 1793, amounted, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, to 9,187,288l.; and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, amounted to 23,684,514l. including 1,275,544l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.

12. That the total groſs receipt within the year (deducting repayments, diſcounts, and drawbacks; and alſo deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179l.; in the year 1798, 30,176,303l.; in the year 1799, 34,750,976l.;

in the year 1800, 33,535,016l.; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376l.; being an increaſe, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197l.; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073l.; compared with 1799, of 617,400l.; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360l.

13. That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 13,122,235l.; and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 11,690,829l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 19,659,358l.; and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, (ſuppoſing the imports from the Eaſt-Indies, of which no account has been yet made up, to be the ſame as in the preceding year (was 32,317,032l. making an increaſe, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increaſe, as compared with the average to 5th of January, 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to 5th of January, 1793, of 8,278,648l.; and that the real value of imports in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, ſuppoſing the imports from the Eaſt-Indies to be the ſame as in the preceding year, may be eſtimated at about 58,686,000l.

14. That the official value of Britiſh manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713l. and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1784; was 8,616,660l.: That the official value of Britiſh manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851l. and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 14,771,049l.: That the official value of Britiſh manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 25,719,979l.; making an increaſe, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l. and with 1792, of 7,383,128l. and on an average of ſix years ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 21,631,050l. making an increaſe, as compared with the average to 5th January, 1784, of 13,014,390l. and with the average to 5th January, 1793, of 6,860,001l. and that the real value of Britiſh manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be eſtimated at 41,770,000l.

15. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ended the 5th January, 1784, was 4,332,909l.; and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 4,263,930l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of ſix years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 5,468,014l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 16,523,480l.; making an increaſe, as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l.

12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 14,104,700l.; making an increase, as compared with the average to January the 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770l.; and with the average to January the 5th, 1793, of 8,636,686l.; and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000l.

16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962: in the year 1792, the number of vessels was 16,079, their tonnage 1,540,145, and the number of seamen navigating the same, 118,286; and in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772, their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987; being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

17. That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain, in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland,	£.22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January, 1802, and the 5th of January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session.	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—Militia and deserters warrants, ditto—Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament.	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,514
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the supplies voted or 1802, for Great-Britain and Ireland,	

amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l. including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain		£.35,532,371
		63,773,882
Advance to Ireland — —	2,000,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans —	497,596	
		2,497,596
		66,271,478

18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting re-payments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, to — — — 29,220,536

Estimated produce to the 5th of April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament — — — — — 2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	862,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of — — — —	23,000,000
And a loan for Ireland, of — — —	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803 — — — —	5,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 —	1,600,000
Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal — —	213,886
Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments — — — —	25,000
Arrears of income tax — — — —	2,500,000
Making in the whole, the sum of —	66,821,422

19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house, in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to — — 16,816,985

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at — — — 15,969,178

[With which eſtimate the actual expenſe of the year 1792 nearly agreed.]

In the above ſum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000l. from which is to be deducted the charge of ſtock extinguiſhed by the redemption of land-tax, on the 5th of January, 1802 — — —	£.540,000
	15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created ſince 1793, excluſive of intereſt payable by Ireland, is — — —	13,597,594
That the additional charge to be incurred for increaſed amount of exchequer bills outſtanding, is about — — — —	140,000
Intereſt of money for ſatisfying increaſed navy debt, at 5l. per cent. is about — — —	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the conſolidated fund, is — — —	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a ſum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is — — — —	200,000
And that the increaſed expenſes of the peace eſtabliſhment (excluſive of any charges to be incurred by intereſt on further ſums, to be paid on winding up the expenſes of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military eſtabliſhments, but allowing for increaſe or pay and other expences) may be eſtimated at	700,000
And alſo excluſive of 497,000l. intereſt on loans, due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be eſtimated at —	30,726,772

20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, the ſum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties, and the ſum of 1,600,000l. being the eſtimated deficiency of certain duties in the ſame year, the income applicable to the peace eſtabliſhment may be eſtimated as follows:

Old permanent taxes — — —	14,497,226
New permanent taxes — — —	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 — — —	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes, 1801 — —	864,319
Taxes impoſed in 1802 — — —	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land-tax redeemed	2,060,000
	32,208,833

And that a further ſum of 454,340l. ariſing from annuities, which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805 — — —	£.56,554
1806 — — —	8,152
1807 — — —	15,515
1808 — — —	374,119
	454,340

will then alſo be applicable, as well as ſuch ſums as may from time to time ariſe from the ſavings on the intereſt of ſtocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, ſuppoſing the whole of the ſtocks to be reduced to 3 per cent. would amount to 1,491,890l. which ſums are excluſive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

An

An Account of the Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding on the 5th of January 1802; under the Heads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, &c.

EXCHEQUER BILLS:

By what Acts raised.	On what Funds charged.	Amount outstanding. £.	£. s. d.
Sess. 2d. 39 Geo. III. Cap. 2.	Malt Duties - Anno 1800 -	433,000	
41 Geo. III. Cap. 7.	Do - - - 1801 -	750,000	
42 Geo. III. Cap. -	Do - - - 1802 -	750,000	
40 Geo. III. Cap. 8.	Pensions, Offices, Personal Estates, and certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, Anno 1800 (a)	90,000	
41 Geo. III. Cap. 2.	Do - - - 1802	2,000,000	
39 & 40 Geo. III. Cap. 102.	Supply - - 1800 (a)	47,700	
41 Geo. III. Cap. 82.	Do - - 1801 (a)	88,900	
39 & 40 Geo. III. Cap. 33.	Aids - - - - 1800	1,650,200	
41 Geo. III. Cap. 4.	Do - - - 1801	6,849,400	
- - - - Cap. 83.	Supply - - 1801 (Bank)	3,000,000	
39 & 40 Geo. III. Cap. 104.	Further Sum - - 1800 (a)	38,600	
41 Geo. III. Cap. 81.	Vote of Credit - 1801 (a)	3,300	
42 Geo. III. Cap. 9.	Loan - - - 1802	1,887,000	
39 & 40 Geo. III. Cap. 28.	Aids - - - 1806, for Extension of Bank Charter	3,000,000	
			20,588,100 — —

TREASURY:			
Miscellaneous Services - -	£.245,387 11 —¼		
Warrants for Army Services -	577,037 11 7		
Treasury Bills accepted previous to, and on the 5th of January 1802, due subsequent to that day	372,779 18 6		
		1,195,205 1 1¼	
ARMY:			
Ordinary Services - - -	£.874,669 17 5		
Extraordinaries - - -	Nil.		
		874,669 17 5	
BARRACKS - - - - - - - - -		98,131 — —	
ORDNANCE - - - - - - - - -		593,716 6 2	
NAVY - - - - - - - - -		7,110,880 1 7½	
CIVIL LIST ADVANCES - - - - - - - -		2,268 8 —	
		£.30,372,970 14 4	

(a) Paid off since the 5th January 1802.—The remaining sums to be discharged by the funds on which they are respectively charged.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 6th May 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, to the 1st Day of February 1802; distinguishing the Capitals of the several Funds existing prior to the 5th of January 1793, from the Permanent Debts created since that Period; specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt since the 1st of August 1786, the total Sums paid, the average Price of Stocks, and the Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of each Debt respectively; likewise what further Annuities will fall in; shewing also the Capital of the Debt created before 1793, that has been transferred to the said Commissioners on account of Land Tax redeemed; and the Amount of the Capital created by Debts charged upon the Duties on Income, together with the Capitals that will be created by the Loan raised Anno 1802.

Debts created prior to 5th January 1793.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Old Sinking Fund, between 1st August 1786 and 1st February 1802.	Total Sums paid.	Average Price of Stocks.	Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of the Public Debt, created before 5th January 1793.	
	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.			£. s. d.
Consolidated 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	107,399,696 5 1¼	18,513,365	20,903,161 17 2¾	63⅝	Annual Charge	1,000,000 — —
Reduced D°	41,540,073 16 4	14,337,543			Usual Grant	200,000 — —
Old South Sea Annuities	24,065,084 13 11½	5,234,400	3,826,148 10 6	73⅛	Annuities for 99 and 96 Years expired	54,880 14 6
New D°						
3*l.* per Cent. Annuities 1751	1,919,600 — —	608,000	456,467 7 6	75¼	Life Annuities expired or unclaimed	45,827 2 6
		38,693,308	25,185,777 15 2¾		Short Annuities 1777	25,000 — —
Consolidated 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	32,750,000 — —	1,192,000	1,011,111 5 —	84⅞	Dividend on 38,693,308*l.* 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	1,160,799 4 9
D° 5*l.* per Cent. D°	17,869,993 9 10				Dividend on 1,192,000*l.* 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	47,680 — —
3*l.* per Cent. Annuities, A° 1726	1,000,000 — —					
D° Bank Annuities	11,686,800 — —					
Old Permanent Debt £.	238,231,248 5 2¾	39,885,308	26,196,889 — 2¾		Old Sinking Fund £.	2,534,187 1 9

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Old Permanent Debt, as above	£. 238,231,248 5 2¾	
Transferred to the Commissioners, by reason of Land Tax redeemed at 1st February 1802	18,001,148 5 5	
Old Debt existing at 1st February 1802		220,230,099 19 9¾
Permanent Debts created between 5th January 1793 and 5th January 1802		241,981,355 1 3
Total Debt at 1st February 1802		462,211,455 1 —¾
Redeemed by the Commissioners at 1st February 1802		59,588,904 — —
Total Permanent Debt unredeemed at 1st February 1802		402,622,551 1 —¾
Debts created between 5th January 1798 and 5th January 1801, charged on the Duties upon Income		56,445,000 — —
	£.	459,067,551 1 —¾
Since 1st February 1802 the following Capitals have been created by 23,000,000*l.* raised, viz.		
In 3*l.* per Cent. Reduced Annuities	£. 13,800,000	
D° Consolidated D°	14,950,000	

Day of February 1802.

Debts created since 5th January 1793.

Funds.	Capitals. £. s. d.	Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund. £.	Total Sums paid. £. s. d.	Average Price of Stocks.	Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of Public Debt, created since 5th January 1793. £. s. d.	Annuities that will hereafter fall in. £. s. d.
Consolidated 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	155,445,486 19 4	9,589,180	11,437,473 5 5¼	58⅛	1793 62,500 — —	Exchequer Annuities, 2, 3, 4 Ann, expire A° 1805 - 53,654 11 6
Reduced - D° - - -	37,252,737 10 —	10,114,416			1794 166,445 5 —	
Consolidated 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	16,675,084 17 2				1795 268,933 19 6	
D° - 5*l.* per Cent D°	10,255,589 9 9				1796 313,558 14 10	
5*l.* per Cent. Annuities, created Annis 1797 and 1802 -	22,352,456 5 —				D° 110,863 5 —	D° 5 Ann, expire A° 1806 - 7,776 10 —
					1797 417,376 13 7	
New Permanent Debt - - £.	241,981,355 1 3				D° 258,807 11 8	D° 6 Ann, expire A° 1807 - 14,891 10 —
					1798 142,240 — —	
					1799 56,242 10 —	Bank Long Annuities, expire A° 1860 - 1,015,410 18 8½
					D° 26,250 — —	
					1800 78,500 — —	
					1801 448,162 10 —	Bank Short Annuities, Annis 1778, 1779, and 1789, expire A° 1808 - - 418,333 — 1
					1802 112,222 12 6	
					1*l.* per Cent. on Capitals created Annis - - 2,462,103 2 1	
					Dividend on 19,703,596*l.* 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities - 591,107 17 7	
Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund - - - -		19,703,596	New Sinking Fund - - - - - -		3,053,210 19 8	
D° - Old Sinking Fund - - - -		39,885,308	Old - D° - - - - - - -		2,534,187 1 9	
Total Redeemed - £.		59,588,904	Total Sinking Fund - £.		5,587,398 1 5	

Exchequer,
the 5th day of May 1802.

JAMES FISHER.

An Account of the total Produce of the Duties of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, respectively, for one Year, ended the 5th Day of January 1802; distinguishing, as far as possible, in each Branch, the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the four Quarters of the Year: viz.

	Duties applicable to the Consolidated Fund.			Temporary Duties.			Total.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The total produce of the duties of customs for one year, ended the 5th day of January 1802, as per account	2,499,972	3	8¾	3,371,228	13	7¾	5,871,200	17	4½
Do. of the duties of excise for do. as per account	10,164,888	—	—	1,095,222	—	—	11,260,110	—	—
Do. of the duties of stamps for do. as per account	2,852,726	8	11	—			2,852,726	8	11
Do. of incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer for do. as per account	4,705,176	10	8	—			4,705,176	10	8
£.	20,222,763	3	3¾	4,466,450	13	7¾	24,689,213	16	11½

Memorandum.

The above sum of 4,705,176*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* stated in the account of incidents at the Exchequer, includes 935,870*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* being the amount of imprests and other monies paid within the above period, of which 802,188*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* was paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on account of loans for the service of Ireland.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,

N. VANSITTART.

the Charges of Collection and Deductions, and distinguishing the Returns made to Commercial Commissioners.

Amount of Gross Assessments.				Charges of Collection.	Amount of Deductions on Account of Children.	Net Produce.
By Commissioners for General Purposes.	By Commercial Commissioners		Total.			
	On Income from Trade.	On Income from other Sources.				
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
4,658,491 15 9½	1,175,836 16 1	410,109 18 11	6,244,438 10 9½	162,825 — —	371,040 17 3½	5,710,572 13 6

The charges of Collection cannot be accurately ascertained until the duties be paid into the Exchequer, and the accounts of the Receivers General and the Commercial Commissioners passed there. The above is taken from the account of the expences actually incurred, and the best estimate that can be formed of what may reasonably be incurred for charges not yet settled; to which has been added, an estimate of the expences to be incurred in the collection of arrears subsequent to the 5th of April 1802, and which may be applicable to the duties of the year ending the 5th day of April 1801.

WILLIAM LOWNDES.
BARNE BARNE.
HORACE HAYES.
G. T. GOODENOUGH.

Office for Taxes,
30th March 1802.

A more perfect Account than that of last year of the Net Revenue of Post Office paid into the Exchequer, exclusive of Parliamentary Pensi from the 5th April 1761 to 5th April 1802, distinguishing each Ye together with an Account of annual Remittances from Scotland for same Period.

Years (ending 5 April)	Exchequer Payments. £.	Edinburgh Remittances. £. s. d.
1761	36,400 — —	7,345 5 11
1762	36,400 — —	8,602 12 11
1763	36,400 — —	6,000 — —
1764	46,400 — —	6,200 — —
1765	88,100 — —	7,600 — —
1766	101,400 — —	11,300 — —
1767	105,400 — —	11,900 — —
1768	109,400 — —	12,100 — —
1769	110,400 — —	12,500 — —
1770	105,400 — —	11,800 — —
1771	100,100 — —	12,000 — —
1772	118,400 — —	12,000 — —
1773	149,400 — —	12,000 — —
1774	147,400 — —	12,000 — —
1775	153,400 — —	12,000 — —
1776	165,100 — —	12,300 — —
1777	141,400 — —	12,600 — —
1778	118,400 — —	16,383 12 4
1779	121,400 — —	16,964 12 4
1780	121,400 — —	18,250 — —
1781	142,400 — —	20,000 — —
1782	103,100 — —	20,000 — —
1783	148,400 — —	20,000 — —
1784	177,400 — —	20,000 — —
1785	225,100 — —	26,500 — —
1786	264,000 — —	29,000 — —
1787	254,000 — —	28,000 — —
1788	274,000 — —	28,018 7
1789	300,000 — —	34,635 3
1790	361,000 — —	32,000 — —
1791	325,000 — —	33,000 — —
1792	340,484 3 9½	33,130 11
1793	384,000 — —	50,225 12
1794	392,000 — —	44,332 — —
1795	421,000 — —	34,664 19
1796	442,000 — —	43,811 15
1797	500,000 — —	57,204 15
1798	632,000 — —	68,390 18
1799	683,000 — —	64,959 10
1800	699,000 — —	84,481 18
1801	743,000 — —	78,336 9
1802	858,000 — —	85,791 11

Examined, per

10th *May* 1802. THOS. CHURCH, Deputy Accountant General.

An Account of all Pensions granted since the 1st of January 1797; with Names of the Persons to whom granted, and the Amount of each. Orde to be printed May 14, 1801.

Date of Grants.	Names.	Amou
1797.		
29th March.	Edgcombe, Peggy — — —	£. 1
11th July.	Erskine, Mary Henrietta — —	4
19th.	Hyde, Rev. George Hooten, continuation of a grant from K. Will. and Q. Mary to his family, for services — —	
2d September.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary — —	4
	Bulkeley, Lady Frances — —	2
17th November.	Ross, James Tyrrell — — —	2
1798.		
13th January.	Mudge, Thomas — — —	1
7th February.	M'Laine, Harriet Anne — —	2
2d May.	Davis, Mary — — —	
	Lewhellin, Ann — — —	
20th March.	Brooks, Lydia, widow of the late Samuel Brooks, one of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary — — —	1 2

22d Auguſt.	Woodford, Sir Ralph — —	£.200
16th October.	Cathcart, Elizabeth, Baroneſs —	500
24th.	Lempriere, John, and Eliz. Badinell his wife, ſeverally and ſucceſſively —	200
2d November.	Roberts, David — — —	60
21ſt December.	Wilſon, Dr. James — — —	250
1799.		
6th March.	Cranſton, Henry, in truſt for James Lord Cranſton — — —	300
3d April.	Goddard, Ch. Eſq. to be wholly or proportionably ſuſpended agreeable to the amount of any office he may hold —	850
17th.	Sutton, T. Manners, G. Downing, and M. Beachcroft, in truſt for Mary Anne Herries — — —	300
	Do. - do. - do. - in truſt for Iſabella Maria Herries — —	150
	Do. - do. - do. - in truſt for Catharine Herries — — —	150
	Do. - do. - do. - in truſt for Julia Mary Herries — — —	150
10th June.	Howell, Ann — — —	16
24th July.	Lloyd, Joyce, widow — —	100
26th.	Jardine, Joanna — — —	250
14th Auguſt.	Leſlie, Lord — — —	500
2d October.	Byron, Catharine Gordon — —	300
	Nott, Charlotte Georgiana Auguſta —	150
	Nott, Auguſta — — —	150
1800.		
9th May.	Bearcroft, Clare St. George — —	200
21ſt.	Gower, Earl, and Archibald M'Donald, in truſt for Gertrude Phillipine Kutzleben	150
29th.	Hereford, Viſcount and Viſcounteſs, and the ſurvivor of them; and after their deceaſe, 150*l.* per ann. to each of their ſix children — — —	900
11th June.	M'Laine, Charles Anthony — —	130
7th October.	D'Ivernois, Sir Francis — —	200
	Jardine, Chriſtine — —	125
	Livingſton, Edmund — —	500
8th.	Montford, Thomas Lord — —	600
9th.	Mallet du Pan, Frances — —	200
14th.	Maurice, Thomas, clerk — —	300
16th.	Swinburne, Mary — —	60
20th.	Mundy, Rev. Robert — —	90
24th.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary, additional penſion of	200
1801.		
9th January.	Mitchell, Rev. William — —	130

1st February.	Villiars, Rt. Hon. J. and Wm. Garthſtone, in truſt for Lady Louiſa Paget —	£.3
12th March.	Fitzgerald, Lord Robert — —	8
	Green, Elizabeth — —	2
	Miller, Ann — — —	1
14th.	Hewgill, Elizabeth — —	3
	Pierſon, Rev. Robert — —	1
	Spiegel, Van de, Digna Johanna, and after her death to be equally divided among her four ſons and five daughters, or ſuch of them as ſhall ſurvive her —	5
1797.	*Contingent Penſions:*	
14th September.	Wilmot, Sarah Ann, wife of J. Wilmot, Eſq. to commence from the death of the ſaid J. Wilmot — — —	4
7th November.	Hayter, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. J. Hayter, and to Sophia Hayter, their daughter, reſpectively and ſucceſſively, to commence from the death of the ſaid J. Hayter — — —	1
1798.		
12th January.	Hammond, George, Eſq. late miniſter plenipotentiary to America, to commence when he ſhall ceaſe to hold his preſent office of under ſecretary of ſtate, and not be in poſſeſſion of any other office or place of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal ſign manual	1,2
8th Auguſt.	Mayor, Mary, to commence from the day of the death of her huſband John Mayor	4
1799.		
3d April.	Fraſer, Charlotte Mary Ann, William John Theodore, Charles Henry, and Jane Wilhelmina Agnes, children of Charles Henry Fraſer, in equal proportions, and to the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them; to commence and take effect from the day of the deceaſe of the ſaid Charles Henry Fraſer — —	4
	William Huſkiſſon, Eſq. 1,200*l.* per annum, during pleaſure; to commence and take effect when he ſhall ceaſe to hold the office of one of his Majeſty's under ſecretaries of ſtate, and not be in poſſeſſion of any other office or place of equal value. ——N. B. This penſion was revoked, and another granted for life, to the like amount, on the 14th of March 1801. Vide *.	

1801. 3d April.	Gilbert Baron Minto, during life; to commence from the time he ſhall ceaſe to be his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Germany, but to be ſuſpended when and ſo long as he ſhall be and continue in poſſeſſion of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 2,000*l.* and to be continued, on the death of Lord Minto, to the Right Hon. Sylveſter Douglas, and Sir George Cornwall, during the life, and in truſt for ſuch ſon of Lord Minto as ſhall ſucceed to the title of Baron Minto — —	1,200
1801. 14th March *.	William Huſkiſſon, Eſq. for life, to commence when he ceaſes to hold the office of under ſecretary of ſtate, but to be ſuſpended when and ſo long as he ſhall be and continue in poſſeſſion of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 1,200*l.* or upwards —	1,200

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers,
14th May 1801. N. VANSITTART.

An Account of all Penſions or annual Gratuities whatſoever (the ordinary Salaries of Public Offices excepted), charged on any other Fund than the Civil Liſt and the 4½ per Cent. Duties, ſince the 5th January 1786.

New Charges, ſince January 1786, upon the Conſolidated Fund.

	Penſions per Annum.
Heirs and deſcendants of William Penn, Eſq. —	£.4,000 — —
Earl St. Vincent — — —	2,000 — —
Lord Viſcount Duncan — — —	2,000 — —
Baron Nelſon — — —	2,000 — —
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent —	12,000 — —
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland —	12,000 — —
Sir James Marriott — — —	2,000 — —
Earl Roſslyn — — —	4,000 — —
Duke of Richmond (granted for 19,000*l.* per annum, but reduced by act of Parliament to) —	12,666 13 4
Sir William Henry Aſhhurſt — —	2,000 — —
Sir Richard Perryn — — —	2,000 — —
Sir John Skynner — — —	500 — —
Sir Sydney Smith — — —	1,000 — —
Baroneſs Abercromby — — —	2,000 — —
His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales —	65,000 — —
	£.125,166 13 4

Exchequer,
the 24th Day of May 1802. JAMES FISHER.

	Estimated in 1786.	YEAR ENDED 5 Jan. 1787.	5 Jan. 1788.	5 Jan. 1789.	5 Jan. 1790.	5 Jan. 1791.	5 Jan. 1792.	5 Jan. 1793.	5 Jan. 1794.	5 Jan. 1795.	5 Jan. 1796.	5 Jan. 1797.	5 Jan. 1798.	5 Jan. 1799.	5 Jan. 1800.	5 Jan. 1801.	5 Jan. 1802.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£. s. d.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
His Majesty's privy purse - -	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000 — —	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
The Queen - -	58,000	56,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000 — —	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000
The Prince of Wales	50,000	50,000	57,000	60,000	60,000	60,000 — —	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
Duke of York, Pr. William, and the other Princes -	14,500	11,000															
Duke of Cumberland	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	6,239 13 9 3/10											
Princess Amelia -	12,000	9,000															
Duke of Clarence	—	3,500	3,500	3,500	9,875	12,000 — —	3,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	625	2,500	2,500	2,500
Pr. William, Edw. Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	8,500	6,000	6,000												
Duke of York -	—	—	6,000	12,000	12,000	12,000 — —	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
The Princes Edw. Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	—	—	—	8,500 — —	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	9,000	9,000	9,000	2,250		
Duchess Dowager of Cumberland -	—	—	—	—	—	1,226 16 0 4/10	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
The Pr. of Wales, for support of the Princess Charlotte	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	—	—	—	—	—	5,967	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Duke of Cambridge	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,000
£.	203,500	198,500	202,500	208,500	214,875	217,966 9 10 1/2	205,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	208,967	209,000	209,625	204,750	202,500	208,500

An Account of all annual Payments charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and 4½ per Cent. Duties, and paid to any Branch of the Royal Family since the 4th January, 1786.

	To their Royal Highneſſes							
Payments in the Year.	William Henry Duke of Gloucester.	Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland.	William Henry Duke of Clarence.	Frederick Duke of York.	Frederique Charlotte. Duchess of York.	George Prince of Wales.	Edward Duke of Kent.	Ernest Augustus Duke of Cumberland.
	£	£.	£.	£.	£	£.	£.	£.
1786	17,000	8,000						
1787	17,000	8,000						
1788	17,000	8,000						
1789	17,000	8,000						
1790	17,000	4,000						
1791	17,000		9,000	7,000	2,000			
1792	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000			
1793	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000			
1794	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000			
1795	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	81,250		
1796	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000		
1797	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000		
1798	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000		
1799	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	9,000	9,000
1800	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
1801	17,000		12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
	272,000	36,000	129,000	147,000	42,000	471,250	33,000	33,000

Exchequer, the 24th Day of April, 1802.

JAMES FISHER.

An Account, shewing the Amount of the Monies which have been applicable to the Expences of his Majesty's Civil Government in England, if the Hereditary and Temporary Revenues of the Crown, enjoyed by his late Majesty, had been enjoyed by his present Majesty; from the 5th January 1777, to the 5th January 1802, so far as the same can be made up; distinguishing each Year, and the net Produce of each of the said Revenues, so far as the same can be ascertained: shewing, also, the Amount of the Annuity received by his Majesty during the same Period in lieu of those Revenues; and the Amount of the Monies granted by Parliament during the said Period, for the Discharge of the Civil List Debts; and the Difference to the Public upon the Balance of the said Account.

Years.	Customs: Temporary Revenue.	Excise: Hereditary and Temporary Revenues, by the 23d and 24th Charles II.	Excise: Annual Sum to be raised to Hereditary Revenue, pursuant to 9 Geo. III. in lieu of Duty on Low Wine, &c.	Excise: Sum brought to Account from the Duty on Wine Licenses, pursuant to Act 30th Geo. II.	Post Office: Hereditary Revenue.	£.120,000 per Ann pursuant to an Act of the 1st Geo. II	Sum brought to Account annually, pursuant to Act 4 Geo. II. in lieu of the Flax Duty, repealed.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1777	328,542 4 9	271,119 14 11	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	101,594 6 4¾	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1778	289,477 3 4	280,927 18 2½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	102,848 9 9	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1779	295,229 9 8	311,224 — 6½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	100,009 5 10	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1780	355,933 19 10	313,038 12 3½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	115,658 8 5 3/12	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1781	326,451 15 3	301,143 9 8¼	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	80,925 4 10¾	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1782	300,743 10 4	344,826 2 8	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	119,303 14 1	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1783	304,761 3 4	270,701 11 5	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	143,896 4 5	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1784	334,300 18 2	321,819 7 4	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	134,004 14 4	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1785	456,843 2 7	308,488 14 3	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	123,804 4 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1786	422,609 4 9	296,900 6 8½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	118,886 16 8¼	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1787	563,639 5 4	345,496 4 5¾	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	136,306 18 5	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1788	516,945 17 8	308,670 7 11	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	150,726 14 2	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1789	590,238 15 3	316,040 8 —½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	159,106 9 6½	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1790	646,493 19 11	353,529 13 2½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	175,652 14 8 6/12	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1791	575,329 12 7	374,478 9 10	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	182,959 16 10	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1792	583,715 15 4	420,604 18 6	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	199,325 14 —¼	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1793	529,759 12 1	412,745 12 6½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	225,427 18 3 3/12	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1794	513,117 5 6	424,079 17 9	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	211,318 2 3 9/12	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1795	522,706 1 11	377,203 14 2½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	257,978 1 7 9/12	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1796	489,463 10 —	489,396 12 6½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	299,575 13 8 2	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1797	403,703 — 1	495,542 18 10	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	212,025 8 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1798	540,356 17 11	516,268 18 5	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	212,025 8 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1799	824,582 19 11	502,768 10 8	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	212,025 8 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1800	726,830 4 10	384,119 18 7½	70,000 — —	7,002 14 3	212,025 8 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2
1801*	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	212,025 8 —	120,000 — —	2,125 15 2

Duty on certain Yarn imported from Ireland.	Smaller Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.	Total of his Majesty's Temporary and Hereditary Revenues.		Annuity.	Fees from Suppressed Offices.	Grants to discharge Arrears of Civil List Debts.	Total.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
2,388 4 11	134,801 12 6	1,037,574 12 10¾	1777	900,000	— — —	618,340 9 6¼	1,518,340 9 6¼
2,388 4 11	158,512 15 1	1,033,283 — 8½	1778	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	116,387 13 2	1,024,367 3 6½	1779	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	90,556 17 10¼	1,076,704 12 9	1780	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	99,060 17 9½	1,009,098 1 11½	1781	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	64,542 15 1¾	1,030,932 16 6¼	1782	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	57,785 3 9	978,660 17 3	1783	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	55,161 3 5¼	1,046,802 17 7¼	1784	900,000	1,800 — —	60,000 — —	961,800 — —
2,388 4 11	31,533 13 11½	1,122,186 9 1½	1785	900,000	3,622 8 10	— — —	503,622 8 10
2,388 4 11	33,817 12 11½	1,073,730 15 5¼	1786	900,000	4,694 5 10½	210,000 — —	1,114,694 5 10½
2,388 4 11	16,603 17 11	1,263,563 — 5¾	1787	900,000	600 — —	— — —	900,600 — —
2,388 4 11	25,135 8 1½	1,202,995 2 2½	1788	900,000	3,315 — —	— — —	903,315 — —
2,388 4 11	23,420 3 2	1,290,322 10 4	1789	900,000	2,764 12 3½	— — —	902,764 12 3½
2,388 4 11	18,332 8 2¾	1,395,525 10 4¾	1790	900,000	3,460 2 8¼	— — —	903,460 2 8¼
2,388 4 11	37,273 — 6	1,371,557 14 1	1791	900,000	1,400 — —	— — —	901,400 — —
2,388 4 11	26,509 6 10	1,431,671 19 —¼	1792	900,000	7,881 16 9¾	— — —	907,881 16 9¾
2,388 4 11	16,719 15 5	1,386,169 12 7½	1793	900,000	936 2 4½	— — —	900,936 2 4½
2,388 4 11	30,568 9 2¾	1,380,600 9 1½	1794	900,000	2,500 — —	— — —	902,500 — —
2,388 4 11	24,883 7 7¼	1,384,287 19 8½	1795	900,000	— — —	— — —	900,000 — —
2,388 4 11	10,924 12 3	1,490,877 2 10	1796	900,000	30,109 17 2	— — —	930,109 17 2
2,388 4 11	27,628 2 1	1,340,416 3 4	1797	900,000	38,675 1 2	— — —	938,675 1 2
2,388 4 11	51,179 11 10	1,521,347 10 6	1798	900,000	16,990 11 —	— — —	916,990 11 —
2,388 4 11	39,284 16 —¾	1,780,178 2 11½	1799	900,000	28,025 7 5	— — —	928,025 7 5
2,388 4 11	56,539 6 7	1,581,031 12 4½	1800	900,000	29,560 6 8	— — —	919,560 6 8
— — —	— — —	— — —	1801	—	— — —	— — —	— — —
57,317 18 —	1,247,162 5 5¾	30,253,885 17 10		21,600,000	166,335 12 3½	888,340 9 6¼	22,654,676 1 9⅜

* The sale accounts of importations from the East Indies, not having been received by the Inspector General of the Customs for the year 1801, the general account for that year cannot be completed.

N. B. Exclusive of the grants and payments stated in the above Account, in aid of the income of the civil list, sums have been transferred from the 4½ per centum revenue to the civil list account, within this period, to the amount of 172,000l.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 14th May, 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

The Salaries of the Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Judges of England and Wales.

Years.	Eſtimate of 1786.	Charge.	Increaſe.	Decreaſe.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
	32,955 — —			
1787	— — —	32,361 2 —	— — —	593 18 —
1788	— — —	32,433 15 9¼	— — —	521 4 2¾
1789	— — —	32,813 5 7½	— — —	141 14 4½
1790	— — —	32,748 14 6	— — —	206 5 6
1791	— — —	32,125 — —	— — —	830 — —
1792	— — —	32,955 — —		
1793	— — —	32,960 — —	5 — —	
1794	— — —	32,897 2 6	— — —	57 17 6
1795	— — —	32,948 3 7½	— — —	6 16 4½
1796	— — —	32,955 — —		
1797	— — —	32,320 — —	— — —	635 — —
1798	— — —	32,955 — —		
1799	— — —	32,955 — —		
1800	— — —	32,955 — —		
1801	— — —	32,955 — —		
1802	— — —	32,955 — —		
		524,292 4 —¼	5 — —	2,992 15 11¾
				5 — —
	Total decreaſe below the eſtimate £.			2,987 15 11¾

An

Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
CUSTOMS.—Collector Customs Inwards London	Patent for life	21 April 1784	Earl of Liverpool - -	736 13 4	1,094 16 6	
Surveyor General - - - London	Ditto	31 July 1773	Earl of Chichester - -	500 — —	997 17 11	
Comptroller Inwards and Outwards - London	Ditto	26 August 1778	Earl of Guildford - -	375 — —	927 13 4	
Surveyor of Subsidies and Petty Customs London	Ditto	16 December 1757	Lord Stawell - - -	320 — —	905 7 —	
Comptroller of Cloth and Petty Customs Inwards and Outwards - - London	Ditto	29 June 1750	Lancelot Harrison - -	200 — —		
Register General of all Trading Ships belonging to Great Britain - - - -	Ditto	30 August 1749	Peter Shaw - - -	500 — —	None.	
Register of Seizures - - - -	Ditto	14 October 1779	Bryan Broughton - -	250 — —		
Collector Outwards - - - London	Treasury Warrant	13 September 1788	Ja. Meller, for his Grace the Duke of Manchester	276 13 4	1,694 4 6	
Comptroller General - - - -	Patent for life	10 March 1800	Thomas Taylor - - -	1,000 — —	None.	Lord F. Montague, as per sect. 5. 38 Geo. III. c. 86.
Inspector of Prosecutions in the Court of Exchequer	—	—	—	2,000 — —	—	J. Robinson and H. Nevill (now Earl of Abergavenny) and the survivor.
EXCISE.—Register - - - - -	Ditto	25 February 1748	Thomas Ryder - - -	296 5 —	None.	
Auditor - - - - -	Ditto	2 November 1772	Richard Stonehewer -	561 5 —	None.	
SECRETARY of STATE—HOME DEPARTMENT.—						
Secretary and Clerk of the Inrolments - - In the Island of Jamaica	Ditto	4 May 1763	Cha. Wm. Wyndham, Esq.			
Register in Chancery - - - -	Ditto	4 May 1763	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.			
Receiver General - - - - -	Ditto	24 August 1776	Ts. Walley Partington, Esq. and his heirs and assigns during the life of George Germaine, Esq.			
Clerk of the Navy Office - - -	Ditto	8 March 1796	John King - - -	—	—	To John James King, 27 January 1798.
Provost Marshal - - - - -	Ditto	4 May 1763	Lord Braybrooke - -			
Clerk of the Markets - - - -	Ditto	16 January 1782	Geo. Sackville Sutherland, Esq.			
Secretary and Clerk of the Courts, Barbadoes	Ditto	4 May 1763	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.			
Provost Marshal - - - - -	Ditto	5 July 1765	Lord Ducie - - -			
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown, Leeward Islands	Ditto	24 October 1757	Ja. Townshend Oswald, Esq.	—	—	Thomas Carter, Esq. August 1801.
Provost Marshal - - - - -	Ditto	4 May 1771	J. Lillingston Pownall, Esq. and for the life of his brother Sir G. Pownall -			

N. B. The salaries or fees belonging to the above offices, are payable in the colonies to which they belong, and there is no account of them in this office.

Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
er of State Papers	Patent for life	29 July 1799	John Bruce, Esq.	500 — —	None.	
s of the Signet	Ditto	Dec. 1762	James Rivers, Esq.	—	273 — —	W. H. E. Bentinck, Esq. on the decease of either of the four clerks.
		Oct. 1767	John Tirrel Morin, Esq.	—	273 — —	
		Feb. 1782	William Frazer, Esq.	—	273 — —	
		Jan. 1801	Brook Taylor, Esq.	—	273 — —	
ARY of STATE, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.						
ctor and Transmitter of State Papers	Patent	31 Oct. 1795	Charles Goddard	500 — —	None.	
SEAL OFFICE.—1st Clerk	—	July 1758	Richard Grenville	200 — —		
to	—	May 1776	Jacob Reynardson	200 — —		
to	Patents for life —	Feb. 1787	James Macdonald	200 — —		
tto	—	April 1794	John Henry Carles	200 — —		
TEWARD's DEPARTMENT.—Knt. Marshal	Patent	17 Nov. 1795	Sir Ja. Bland Burgess, Bart.	500 — —	—	Charles Montolieu Burgess.
-Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of the Irons	Patent for life	18 March 1791	Hon. Spencer Perceval	119 — —		
RUITS OFFICE.—Comptroller	Patent	28 July 1768	Lord Walsingham	150 — —		
ver	Ditto	16 March 1782	John Bacon	120 — —		
he AUDITORS of Land Revenue	Patent for lives	14 July 1777	Wm. Henry Cooper and Fred. Grey Cooper, jointly and severally	2,115 9 5	including fees.	To the survivor.
FICE.—Court Post	Patent for life	24 March 1761	Henry Penton	1 0 0 per Day		
FICE.—Paymaster of Widows' Pensions	Ditto	24 March 1761	Hon. Lieut. General Fox	—	1,067 — —	To J. Pownall, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for the life of the Hon. C. J. Fox, by patent dated 10th February 1771.
of the Plantations	Ditto	Nov. 1751	Hon. Robert Cholmondeley	500 — —		
r's Remembrancer	Ditto	17 July 1754	Sir Richard Heron	66 15 5	141 8 4	
of his Majesty's Royal Courts of Delegates	Ditto	2 July 1764	Lord Arden	—	1,043 6 1	
eals in all Causes Ecclesiastical & Maritime of the High Court of Admiralty of England	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	—	7,796 18 8	
General of the Issues, &c. of all the Ho- Castles, &c. in the Counties of Glamorgan,						This office was granted to Lord Holland during the lives of his

Description of Offices.	Nature of Appointment.	Date of other Inſtruments.		Names of Patentees.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Conſtable and Keeper of Glouceſter Caſtle -	Patent for life	18 March	1765	Nicholas Hyett, Eſq.			
Clerk of the Houſe of Commons - -	Ditto	3 June	1768	John Hatſell - -	10 — —	8,000 — —	John Ley, by patent dated July 1797.
Writer and Compiler of the London Gazette -	Ditto	31 July	1770	Wm. Fraſer, Eſq. - -	300 — —		
Reader of Medicine at Oxford - - -	Ditto	4 Nov.	1772	William Vivian - - -	40 — —		
Recorder of the Borough of Leeds - -	Ditto	23 Aug.	1776	Samuel Buck, Eſq. -			
Clerk of the Parliaments - - -	Ditto	Feb.	1783	George Roſe, Eſq. - -	40 — —	3,300 — —	Geo. Henry Roſe, by patent, in October 1795.
Receiver General of all and ſingular the Iſſues, &c. of all the Honours, Caſtles, &c. within the Counties of Eſſex, Hertford, Middleſex, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and City of London	Ditto	5 June	1783	Walter King, Clerk - -	—	570 — —	
Clerk of the Pells - - - -	Ditto	13 Jan.	1784	Iſaac Barré - - -	3,000 — —		
Tellers of the Exchequer - - -	Ditto	2 May	1763	Marquis of Buckingham	298 — 9¼	—	One to W. F. E. Eden, by patent, dated 31 July 1790.
	Ditto	18 Aug.	1766	Earl Camden - - -	296 7 5¼	—	
	Ditto	5 Jan.	1784	Lord Thurlow - - -	2,700 — —	—	
	Ditto	22 Aug.	1786	Earl Bathurſt - -	2,700 — —	—	
Keeper of his Majeſty's Palace at Weſtminſter	Ditto	12 April	1789	Margaret Quarme - -	— — 6 per diem	94 8 —	
Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the Univerſity of Oxford - - - - - -	Ditto	20 June	1789	Tho. Francis Wenman, D.L	40 — —		
Chief Juſtice in Eyre, North of Trent - -	Ditto	2 Nov.	1790	John Charles Villiers -	2,450 — —		
Governor of the Iſle of Wight - - - -	Ditto	21 May	1791	Lord Bolton - - -	— 13 6 a day		
Sergeant Surgeon in Ordinary - - -	Ditto	7 March	1792	David Dundas, Eſq. -	396 13 4		
Chamberlains of the Exchequer - -	Ditto	13 Sept.	1779	Frederick North - - -	—	735 16 6	
	Ditto	17 July	1792	Montague Burgoyne - -	—	735 16 6	
Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports - - - - -	Ditto	11 Oct.	1792	William Pitt - -	4,100 — —		
Profeſſor of Botany at Cambridge - -	Ditto	13 Sept.	1793	Thomas Martyn - -	200 — —		
Keeper of the Little Park at Windſor - -	Ditto	27 Feb.	1794	Richard Grenville - -	600 — —		
Auditor of the Exchequer - - - -	Ditto	27 Feb.	1794	Lord Grenville - - -	4,000 — —		
Reader of Phyſic at Cambridge - - -	Ditto	9 Dec.	1794	Iſaac Pennington - -	40 — —		
Steward of Lordſhip and Manors of Bromfield and Yale - - - - - -	Ditto	Feb.	1796	Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	20 — —		
Reader of Civil Law at Cambridge - -	Ditto	2 July	1796	French Lawrence - -	40 — —		
Profeſſor of Botany at Oxford - - -	Ditto	28 Feb.	1797	George Williams - -	200 — —		
Knight Harbinger - - - - - -	Ditto	8 July	1797	Henry Rycroft, Eſq. -	195 16 8		
Maſter of the Temple - - - - -	Ditto	3 May	1798	Thomas Rennell - -	37 6 8		

Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Poſſeſſors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reverſion.
Maſter Keeper of Bolderwood Walk, in the New Foreſt, in the County of Southampton	Patent for life	19 June 1798	His Highneſs Prince William Frederick, ſon of his R. H. the Duke of Glouceſter.			
Principal or Head Keeper of Iron Hill Walk, in the New Foreſt, in the County of Southampton	Ditto	19 June 1798	Her Highneſs Princeſs Sophia Matilda, daughter of his R. H. the Duke of Glouceſter.			
Ranger of the New Lodge Walk, in the Foreſt of Windſor, in the County of Berks - -	Ditto	19 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Warden and Keeper of the New Foreſt, in the County of Southampton - - -	Ditto	20 June 1798	Duke of Glouceſter.			
Keeper and Lieutenant of Windſor Foreſt, in the County of Berks - - - -	Ditto	20 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Keeper of Bagſhot Park - - - - -	Ditto	9 Aug. 1798	His Highneſs Prince William Frederick, ſon of his R. H. ſaid Duke of Glouceſter	£. s. d. 5 6 8		
King's Remembrancer - - - - -	Ditto	7 Nov. 1798	Thomas Steele - -	—	£. s. d. 870 13 1	
Bailiff of the Franchiſe and Liberty of Richmond, in the County of York - -	Ditto	March 1799	Duke of Leeds - -	50 6 4		
Keeper of the original Seal for the Counties of Denbigh and Montgomery - -	Ditto	25 April 1800	Thomas Meredith - -	— 16 8		
Advocate General, Iſland of Jerſey - -	Ditto	18 June 1800	Joſhua Pyron, Eſq. - -			
Chief Juſtice in Eyre, South of Trent - -	Ditto	13 Aug. 1800	Thomas Grenville - - -	3,466 13 4		
Procurator General of the Iſland of Jerſey - -	Ditto	20 Jan. 1801	John Dumareſq, Eſq. - -			
Sealer to the Great Seal - - - - -	Ditto	13 Feb. 1801	Robert Hand - - - -	83 6 8	293 6 4½	
Keeper of Salcey Foreſt - - - - -	Ditto	Feb. 1801	Viſcount Ipſwich - -	40 — —		
Keeper of the Lions in the Tower - -	Ditto	23 May 1801	Joſeph Bullock - - -	— 12 6 per diem		
Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Oxford	Ditto	24 Aug. 1801	Sir Chriſtopher Pegge, Knight	40 — —		
Maſter of the Hawks - - -	—	—	Duke of Saint Albans - -	1,342 — —		
Warden of Waltham Foreſt - - -	Perpetuities	—	Sir Ja. Tilney Long, Bart.	270 — —		
Chancellor of the Order of the Garter -	—	—	Biſhop of Sarum - - -	570 5 —		

the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: and distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufacture exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value, and the declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.

Years.	Official Value of Imports from						Official Value of					
	East Indies and China.			All other Parts.			British Produce and Manufactures exported.			Foreign Merchandise exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1784 - -	2,996,652	2	11	12,276,224	18	—	11,255,057	—	6	3,846,434	8	1
1785 - -	2,703,940	14	1	13,575,478	7	5	11,081,810	16	5	5,035,357	17	10
1786 - -	3,156,687	—	7	12,629,385	6	10	11,830,372	18	11	4,475,493	9	3
1787 - -	3,430,868	—	6	14,373,146	15	7	12,053,900	3	5	4,815,889	3	1
1788 - -	3,453,897	3	5	14,573,272	17	10	12,724,719	17	9	4,747,518	10	6
1789 - -	3,362,545	4	10	14,458,557	5	9	13,779,506	2	6	5,561,042	15	1
1790 - -	3,149,870	14	4	15,981,015	10	11	14,921,084	9	7	5,199,037	7	7
1791 - -	3,698,713	13	—	15,971,069	—	7	16,810,018	16	4	5,921,976	10	11
1792 - -	2,701,547	9	4	16,957,810	17	3	18,336,851	6	11	6,568,348	16	6
1793 - -	3,499,023	12	10	15,757,693	16	10	13,892,268	17	7	6,497,911	9	3
1794 - -	4,458,475	1	5	17,830,418	19	—	16,725,402	16	2	10,022,680	12	8
1795 - -	5,760,810	8	3	16,976,079	1	8	16,338,213	2	2	10,785,125	15	2
1796 - -	3,372,689	—	6	19,814,630	17	11	19,102,220	3	11	11,416,693	11	10
1797 - -	3,942,384	5	1	17,071,572	12	4	16,903,103	6	1	12,013,907	2	—
1798 - -	7,626,930	6	9	20,230,959	1	11	19,672,503	—	9	13,919,274	13	11
1799 - -	4,284,805	9	10	22,552,626	16	5	24,084,213	—	10	11,907,116	3	11
1800 - -	4,942,275	10	9	25,628,329	15	7	24,304,283	13	6	18,847,735	12	—
1801 - -	—			27,374,757	6	4	25,719,979	18	6	16,523,480	5	1

An Account of the Number of Veſſels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and regiſtered in the ſeveral Ports of the Britiſh Empire, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th January 1802.

Years.	Veſſels.	Tonnage.	Years.	Veſſels.	Tonnage.
1789	827	71,090	1796	823	94,972
1790	725	68,695	1797	756	86,242
1791	766	68,940	1798	833	89,319
1792	821	78,120	1799	858	98,044
1793	800	75,085	1800	1,041	134,188
1794	714	66,021	1801	1,065	122,593
1795	719	72,181			

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Ireland, for eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1802; diſtinguiſhing each Year, and diſtinguiſhing the Value of Iriſh Produce and Manufactures exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value and the declared Value of Iriſh Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.

Years ending 25th March.	Official Value of Imports.			Official Value of Iriſh Produce and Manufactures.			Official Value of Foreign Merchandiſe exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1785	3,056,394	14	11	3,737,068	—	7½	42,502	—	8
1786	3,430,628	3	2	3,956,736	11	1½	54,174	16	8¼
1787	3,417,281	2	3¾	4,238,333	14	2½	62,314	—	4¾
1788	3,870,144	16	8¾	4,361,664	1	6	45,346	13	7
1789	3,790,602	3	—	4,103,339	12	6¾	41,663	9	9¼
1790	3,829,914	2	1¾	4,826,360	17	11¼	28,939	—	3¼
1791	4,071,794	4	2½	4,863,426	5	4	79,174	14	2¼
1792	4,338,012	4	7	5,321,290	2	7½	66,470	3	2¼
1793	4,085,149	17	9½	4,995,406	12	2	52,186	18	6¼
1794	3,216,405	8	2¾	4,639,301	1	2	25,861	17	6¼
1795	4,143,296	12	2	4,704,732	16	3¼	46,601	19	11
1796	4,656,608	5	3½	5,013,283	12	7¾	51,049	10	11
1797	4,436,943	—	7½	4,533,693	1	7¼	37,072	3	6½
1798	3,396,880	15	6¼	4,316,592	11	6¼	62,141	10	11
1799	4,393,015	1	3¼	4,455,339	11	7¾	138,575	16	9½
1800	6,183,457	—	5¼	3,903,841	9	—	175,430	1	9½
1801	5,584,596	10	5	3,570,338	2	8	248,724	5	4¼
1802									

Inſpector General's Office of Imports and Exports, Dublin, February 28th, 1802.

ROBERT MARSHALL,
Inſpector General of Imports and Exports of Ireland.

There is no declared value for Ireland; as the merchants exporters here are not obliged to declare the real value, as has been the practice in England, in conſequence of the convoy act. The Inſpector General has, however, made an account of the real value, by computing the quantity of each article exported, according to the price current in Ireland, on which rates the value of Iriſh produce and manufactures exported from Ireland to all parts of the united kingdom in the year 1800, to 5,634,365*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* and in the year 1801, 5,001,370*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

The account of the value up to 5th January laſt, is preparing with as much diſpatch as the nature of the ſtatement will admit of.

Account of the Number of Veſſels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and regiſtered in the ſeveral Ports of Ireland, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th of January 1802.

Years ending the 5th Jan.	Veſſels.	Tonnage.
1790	73	3,163
1791	50	2,334
1792	51	2,464
1793	42	1,629
1794	35	1,659
1795	32	1,441
1796	33	1,654
1797	32	1,802
1798	19	797
1799	20	1,072
1800	18	1,105
1801	22	1,680
1802	21	1,383

28th Feb. 1802. FRA. MORGAN,
Dep. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

Account of the Number of Veſſels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys uſually employed in navigating the ſame, which belonged to the ſeveral Ports of the Britiſh Empire, on the 30th of September in each Year reſpectively, during the Years 1799, 1800, and 1801: diſtinguiſhing Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Plantations in America, and the Weſt Indies.

	On the 30th Sept. 1799:			On the 30th Sept. 1800:			On the 30th Sept. 1801:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
gland	11,487	1,337,181	99,369	12,208	1,466,632	105,037	12,702	1,539,810	107,282
rſey -	61	4,611	694	53	4,244	631	31	2,544	714
ernſey	78	6,199	803	77	6,403	731	105	8,712	933
n	227	5,146	1,210	238	5,463	1,285	253	5,094	1,338
antations	2,996	201,743	15,982	2,161	157,364	12,047	3,219	240,786	13,310
otland	2,031	148,110	12,413	2,155	161,807	13,883	2,458	186,130	15,535
land	999	49,825	4,835	1,003	54,262	5,057	1,004	54,241	4,775
tal -	17,879	1,752,815	13,5237	17,895	1,856,175	138,721	19,772	2,037,317	143,887

The returns from many of the ports in the plantations being unreceived, and others which are eived ſtanding in need of correction, that part of this Account which relates to the year 1801, is n that cauſe unavoidably defective; but I conceive that the defect is not equal to the amount of ping belonging to thoſe ports, becauſe it always happens, that when the returns from all the s in the Britiſh empire are collected together and checked by each other, ſome alterations be- e neceſſary in moſt of them, owing to the circumſtance of veſſels being regiſtered de novo at s to which they did not formerly belong, without the knowledge of the officers at ſuch former s; I therefore do not preſume to lay this Account before the Houſe, as correct with reſpect to year.

May 15th, 1802. J. DALLEY,
Aſſiſt. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

An Account of the Quantity of Malt on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th of July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with an Average of the Whole.

		Bushels.
Years ended the 23d of June	1784	26,601,05 8
	1785	27,086,821
	1786	22,747,634
	1787	27,272,841
	1788	26,868,996
	1789	24,250,514
	1790	22,669,579
	1791	27,919,010
	1792	28,661,374
	1793	24,452,837
	1794	25,588,151
	1795	24,693,567
	1796	28,142,008
	1797	30,923,419
	1798	26,963,454
	1799	31,751,645
	1800	14,480,714
	1801	18,566,946
Total		459,640,568
Average		25,535,587

N. B. The duties on malt are made up to 23d of June, in conformity to the old malt acts of Parliament.

Excise Office, London 9th April 1802.
R. NICHOLAS.
W. LOWNDES.
I. OLMIUS.
T. CASWALL.
C. RIX, Accountant General.
A. PHIPPS.
W. JACKSON.
R. SPILLER.
G. SEYMOUR.

An Account of the Quantity of Hops on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with a general Average of the Whole.

		lbs. wt.
Years ending 5th July	1784	15,801,792
	1785	19,736,202
	1786	23,519,267
	1787	19,996,055
	1788	8,813,819
	1789	29,978,410
	1790	21,176,855
	1791	22,308,245
	1792	18,867,548
	1793	33,949,732
	1794	5,000,175
	1795	42,528,587
	1796	17,180,497
	1797	15,739,511
	1798	32,881,264
	1799	11,774,587
	1800	15,293,335
	1801	15,229,379
Total		369,775,260
Average lbs.		20,543,070

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.
R. NICHOLAS.
W. LOWNDES.
I. OLMIUS.
T. CASWALL.
C. RIX, Accountant General.
A. PHIPPS.
W. JACKSON.
R. SPILLER.
G. SEYMOUR.

An

An Account of the Number of Barrels of Strong Beer for which Duty has been paid, brewed from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year.

	Number of Barrels.
From 5th July 1783 to 5th July 1784	4,337,662 ½
5	4,328,750 ¾
6	4,146,512
7	4,426,482 ½
8	4,304,895 ¾
9	4,437,831 ¾
99	4,525,950 ½
1	4,754,588 ½
2	5,082,293 ¾
3	5,167,850 ½
4	5,011,320 ½
5	5,037,804 ¼
6	5,504,453
7	5,839,627
8	5,784,467
9	5,774,311 ½
1800	4,824,306
1	4,734,978 ½
Total	88,024,085 ¾

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.

NAT. PLANNER, Accountant General.

R. NICHOLAS.
W. LOWNDES.
I. OLMIUS.
T. CASWALL.
A. PHIPPS.
W. JACKSON.
R. SPILLER.
G. SEYMOUR.

An Account of all Bounties on Corn and Rice imported, from the 1st January 1801, to the latest Period at which the same can be made up.

	£.	s.	d.
The bounties paid on corn and rice imported into Great Britain, amounted between the 1st January 1801 and the 19th June 1802, to the sum of	1,912,486	7	7½

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1802.

NAVY, &c.

November 9, 1801.

THAT 130,000 Seamen be employed for Three Lunar Months, commencing 1st January, 1802, including 30,000 Marines.

	£.		
For Wages ditto	721,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	741,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	1,170,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service	97,500	0	0

November 12.

For the Ordinary of the Navy	210,604	0	0
For the Extraordinaries of ditto	233,633	0	0
For the Transport Service, and for Maintenance of Prisoners of War in Health	360,000	0	0
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	28,000	0	0

March 11, 1802.

THAT 130,000 Seamen be employed for Two Lunar Months, commencing 26th March, instant, including 30,000 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	481,000	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	490,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	780,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service	65,000	0	0

March 13.

For the Ordinary of the Navy	140,403	0	0
For the Extraordinary ditto	155,756	0	0
For the Transport Service, and the Maintenance of Prisoners of War in Health	240,000	0	0
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	15,000	0	0
	£. 5,933,393	0	0

May 11, 1802.

That 88,000 Seamen be employed for One Lunar Month, commencing 22 May instant, including 18,000 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	162,800	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	167,200	0	0

For

For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve	£.264,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service - -	22,000	0	0
May 20.			
For the Ordinary of the Navy - -	70,201	0	0
For Extraordinary of ditto - -	77,878	0	0
For the Tranſport Service, and for Maintenance of Priſoners of War in Health - -	109,000	0	0
For the Maintenance of Sick Priſoners of War	3,000	0	0
June 10.			
That 70,000 Seamen be employed for Seven Lunar Months, commencing the 18th inſtant, including 14,000 Marines.			
For Wages for ditto - -	906,500	0	0
Victuals for ditto - -	931,000	0	0
Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve	1470,000	0	0
Ordnance for Sea Service - -	122,500	0	0
June 15.			
For the Ordinary Eſtabliſhment of the Navy for Seven Months, commencing 18th inſtant	637,316	17	5
For the Extra ditto - -	306,233	0	0
For the Tranſport Service and the Maintenance of Priſoners of War - -	608,518	15	1
For the Maintenance of Sick Priſoners of War	12,000	0	0
For an Increaſe of Half-Pay to Commiſſioned Officers, and an additional Pay to warrant Officers of the Navy, for Six Months, commencing 1ſt July	30,000	0	0
	£. 11,838,570	0	0

ARMY.

November 14, 1801.

THAT 58,718 Men be employed for Land Service, in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids, from 25th December 1801, to 24th March 1802, both incluſive, being 90 Days.

That 13,660 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids, from 25th December 1801, to 24th of March 1802.

For 58,718 Men for Guards, Garriſons, ond other Land Forces, in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney - -	557,499	16	3
For 18,660 effective Men for Land Forces in Ireland	147,727	10	0
For Forces in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales - -	634,231	2	7
For Four Troops of Dragoons, and Seventeen Companies of Foot, ſtationed in Great Britain, for recruiting Regiments ſerving in the Eaſt Indies	9,370	14	3

For

For Contingencies for Land Forces, for Watch Coats for Infantry, and for extra Forage for Cavalry in Great Britain	£.95,000	0	0
For Contingencies for Land Forces in Ireland	3,964	6	4
For general and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney	21,000	6	8
For embodied Militia, and Fencible Infantry in Great Britain	379,178	19	8
For ditto, ditto, in Ireland	346,205	7	5
For Contingencies for ditto in Great Britain	12,500	0	0
For ditto, for ditto in Ireland	8,769	4	8
For full Pay to Supernumerary Officers	6,253	17	4
For Allowances to the Paymaster General, Commissary General of the Musters, Judge Advocate General, &c. in Great Britain	27,256	0	0
For Subsistence to Innkeepers, &c. on Quartering Soldiers, and Allowance to the Land Forces in Great Britain, for Small Beer	105,000	0	0
For Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britain, to One Private Gentleman of Reduced Horse Guards, and to One Superannuated Gentleman of the Horse Guards	34,273	19	5
For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers of British American Forces	14,794	10	4
For Reduced Officers of Scotch Brigade	246	11	6
For In and Out Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and Expences of Hospital	36,651	12	0
For Pensions to Widows of Officers of Land Forces in Great Britain	5,292	7	3
For Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain	180,000	0	0
For ditto in Ireland	108,366	9	3
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain	146,166	0	0
For Foreign Corps in the Service of Great Britain	117,969	19	6
December 1.			
To defray the extraordinary Services of the Army in Great Britain	600,000	0	0
Ditto.....ditto.....in Ireland	300,000	0	0
For extra Forage for Cavalry in Ireland	46,606	3	1
For Allowances to the Muster Master General and other principal Officers in Ireland	1,722	15	6
For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers and Retired Chaplains of the land Forces in Ireland	6,157	18	2
For Pensions to the Widows of Officers of the Land Forces in Ireland	1,267	11	11
For General and Staff Officers, including the permanent Allowances of the Medical Board in Ireland	13,868	9	1

For Medicines, Bedding, and Hoſpital Contingencies for the Forces in Ireland, and for the Royal Military Infirmary in Dublin -	£.5,555	19	2
For the In and Out-Penſioners and internal Expences of Kilmainham Hoſpital -	14,148	0	2
For the Barrack Department in Ireland -	88,892	6	2
For Allowance to Forces in Ireland for Small Beer	25,133	17	9
For ditto to ditto while on a March -	2,307	18	11

February 8, 1802.

For defraying the extraordinary Expences of the Army, not ſo provided for in 1801 -	1,847,174	0	0

March 4.

That 61,176 Men be employed for Land Service in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids, from 25th March to 24th May 1802, both inclusive

That 23,269 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids, from 25th March to 24th May 1802.

For Guards and Garriſons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney	398,577	9	4
For Land Forces in Ireland - -	120,423	10	2
For Forces in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales - -	386,657	11	11
For Four Troops of Dragoons and Seventeen Companies of Foot, ſtationed in Great Britain, for recruiting Regiments ſerving in Eaſt India	6,351	5	3
For Fencible Infantry in Great Britain	40,189	7	10
Ditto.....ditto.....Ireland - -	84,013	7	7
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain	99,064	0	0
Ditto in Ireland - -	59,307	13	11
For Foreign Corps in the Service of Great Britain	75,511	0	0

May 11.

That 61,176 Men be employed for Land Service in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids from 25th May inſtant to 24th June following, both Days inclusive.

That 23,269 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids for the ſame Time.

For Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces in Great Britain, &c. -	202,555	15	2
For Land Forces in Ireland -	61,198	16	8
Ditto in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	190,498	2	5
For Fencible Infantry in Great Britain -	24,424	2	4
Ditto in Ireland - -	42,695	6	5

June 10.

That 70,299 Men be employed for Land Service in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th inftant to December 24th following, both inclufive.

For Guards, Garrifons, and other Land Forces in Great Britain	£.764,391	3	0
For Land Forces in Ireland	439,035	16	1
For Ditto in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Ceylon, and New South Wales	352,844	1	1
For Four Troops of Dragoons and Seventeen Companies of Foot, in Great Britain, recruiting for Regiments ferving in Eaft India, from 25th March to 24th June	3,227	13	9
Ditto, from 25th June to 24th December	17,299	9	0
For Recruiting and Contingencies for Land Forces in Great Britain	77,500	0	0
Ditto.....and for Extra Forage for Cavalry in Ireland	174,000	0	0
For General and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hofpitals in Great Britain, from 25th March to 24th June	13,847	0	0
Ditto.....from 25th June to 24th December	17,232	16	10
Ditto.....in Ireland, from 25th March to 24th June	13,868	9	1
Ditto.....ditto.....from 24th June to 24th December	7,981	12	4
For Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers in Great Britain, from 25th March to 24th December	27,754	4	11
Ditto.....in Ireland, from 25th June to 24th December	1,200	0	0
For Allowances to the Paymafter General, Secretary at War, &c. &c. in Great Britain, from the 25th March to 24th December	100,855	3	10
Ditto.....to Muffter Maffter, &c. &c. in Ireland	5,191	18	4
For Subfiftence to Innkeepers and Others, on Quartering Soldiers in Great Britain	140,000	0	0
For Allowances to Forces in Ireland for Small Beer	60,313	16	11
To Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britrin, from 25th March to 26th June	35,035	12	3
For Half Pay to Reduced Officers of Land Forces in Ireland, from ditto to ditto	6,212	3	8
To Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britain, from 25th June to 24th December	144,500	0	0
For Half Pay of Reduced Officers of Land Forces in Ireland, from 25th June to 24th December	26,196	4	8
For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers of Britifh American Forces, from 25th March to 24th December	45,205	9	7

On Account of ſeveral Officers late in the Services of the States General, ditto to ditto	£.753	8	5
For In and Out Penſioners, and internal Expences of Chelſea Hoſpital, ditto to ditto	156,511	11	2
Ditto.....of Royal Hoſpital near Kilmainham, ditto to ditto	26,193	4	0
For Penſions to Widows of Officers of Land Forces in Great Britain, ditto to ditto	16,171	2	2
Ditto.....in Ireland, ditto to ditto	3,873	4	0
For defraying the Charge of Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain, from 25th March to 30th April	72,000	0	0
Ditto.....in Ireland, from ditto to 24th May	68,926	19	9
For Barrack Department in Great Britain from 25th May to 24th December	297,184	0	0
Ditto....in Ireland, from ditto to ditto	136,990	1	10
For Foreign Corps in Service of Great Britain from ditto to ditto	321,800	14	0
For Hoſpital Contingencies in Ireland, from ditto to ditto	16,191	14	10
June 15.			
For defraying the Extraordinary Services of the Army in Great Britain for 1802	1,000,000	0	0
	£.12,238,281	13	9

MILITIA.

March 25th, 1802.

For the Embodied Militia of Great Britain, from 25th March 1802, to 24th May, both incluſive	238,000	0	0
Ditto.....in Ireland	135,692	6	2
The defraying the Expences of the re-embodied Militia, from Auguſt 3, 1801, to December 24, 1801, incluſive	114,000	0	0
	£.487,692	6	2

ORDNANCE.

November 14, 1801.

For Ordnance for Land Service in Great Britain	400,000	0	0
For ditto in Ireland	75,000	0	0
March 18, 1802.			
For Ordnance for Land Service for April and May 1802, in Great Britain	266,666	13	4
Ditto.....in Ireland	50,000	0	0
May 11.			
For Ordnance for Land Service in Great Britain	133,336	6	8
Ditto.....in Ireland	25,000	0	0

June 10.

For Ordnance for Land Service for Six Months, from July 1 to December 31 -	£.272,266	9	7
Ditto....not provided for in 1800 -	17,088	3	4
Ditto.....ditto.....1801 - -	102,197	5	9
For ditto in Ireland for Six Months, from July 1 to December 31 - -	53,076	18	5
	£.1,395,351	17	1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

November 20, 1801.

For the Relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France, and American Loyalists -	69,000	0	0
For Foreign and other Secret Services	35,000	0	0
For defraying Expences of Convicts -	8,000	0	0
For Foreign and other Secret Services -	12,500	0	0

November 24.

To make good Money, issued for the Purchase of Buildings, for the Accommodation of Parliament	300	0	0
Ditto....for publishing the Price of Sugar and Rice	460	10	0
Ditto....for preparing Abstracts of Population	100	0	0
Ditto....for additional Allowances to Clerks in the Office for auditing the public Accounts	2,707	18	0
Ditto....to defray Expences of extending the Establishment of Thames Police Office	1,500	0	0
Ditto....for taking an Account of the Population	135	14	0
Ditto....towards carrying into Effect a Plan for enquiring into the Mendicity of the Metropolis	500	0	0
Ditto....for Expences at the Parliament Office	354	11	9
Ditto....to the Chairman of Committees of the House of Peers - - -	2,701	9	0
Ditto....to Mr. Thornton, for Attendance on Commissioners respecting Cold Bath Prison	99	11	6
Ditto....for Repairs of the Harbour of Port Patrick	471	14	0
Ditto....to pay Artificers at both Houses of Parliament - - -	5,000	0	0
Ditto....to pay the Expence of the Passage of Mr. Rudd and Family to Quebec - -	130	11	0
Ditto....pursuant to Addresses -	14,049	14	0

December 1.

For defraying the Expence of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin - - - (Sterling)	240	18	5¼
Ditto....of Civil Buildings in Ireland -	7,384	12	0
Ditto....of apprehending public Offenders in Ireland - - -	576	18	5¼
Ditto....likely to be incurred by the Solicitor of criminal Causes in Ireland - - -	5,769	4	4¾

Ditto

Ditto....the Expence of Proclamations and Advertiſements in the Dublin Gazette	£.1,620	18	4½
Ditto....of Printing certain Statutes in Ireland	869	12	3½
Ditto....the Expence of Printing, Stationary, and other Diſburſements, for the Public Offices in Ireland	4,541	10	7¼
Ditto....the incidental Expences of the Board of Treaſury in Ireland	461	10	9
Ditto....the Expence of Building further Offices for the Records of Ireland, and to diſcharge Sums due for building Courts of Juſtice	1,384	12	2
To be paid to the Truſtees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures in Ireland	4,984	12	1¼
Ditto....to the Board of Firſt Fruits in Ireland, for building and re-building Churches	1,153	16	10¼
Ditto....to the Dublin Society, for promoting Huſbandry and other uſeful Arts	1,269	4	6½
To be applied towards completing additional Buildings at the Repoſitory of the Dublin Society in Hawkins's-ſtreet, and Botanic Garden at Glaſs Nevin, with the Approbation of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant	1,038	9	2
Ditto....in promoting the Purpoſes of the Farming Societies in Ireland	461	10	9
To be paid to the Corporation for paving, cleanſing, and lighting the City of Dublin	2,307	13	9
Ditto....to the Commiſſioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	1,038	9	2
For defraying the Charge of the incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland	4,552	12	1½
Ditto....of the Foundling Hoſpital in Ireland	3,461	10	7½
Ditto....of the Hibernian Marine Nurſery for Sailor's Children	461	10	9
Ditto....of ſupporting the Weſtmoreland Lock Hoſpital in Dublin	1,545	4	6½
Ditto....of the Hibernian School for Soldier's Children in Dublin	913	16	10¾
Ditto....of the Roman Catholic Seminary in ditto	1,846	3	0
Ditto....of ſupporting the Houſe of Induſtry for Relief of the Poor in ditto	3,898	2	10¼
Ditto....of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Chriſtian Religion in ditto	69	4	7
Ditto of the Female Orphan Houſe, near Dublin, for deſerted Female Children	115	7	8
February 8, 1802.			
For diſcharging the Navy Debt	2,000,000	0	0

March 25.

To make good Money paid for Salaries of Officers, and incidental Expences of the Commiſſion for the Reduction of the national Debt	£.	2,860	15 0
Ditto····for the one third Part of the Annuity of 19,000*l.* payable to the Duke of Richmond, purſuant to an Act of 39th and 40th Geo. III.		144,611	2 0
Ditto····to the Officers of the Exchequer, for extra Trouble in making out Exchequer Bills		500	0 0
Ditto····to the Bank of England for Diſcounts on Prompt Payments to the Loan and Lottery for 1801		458,514	8 7
Ditto to Ditto for receiving the Contributions to the Loan, and Subſcriptions to the Lottery for 1801		23,562	3 4
Ditto····for the incidental Expences of the Lottery for 1801		1,500	0 0
To indemnify Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Grey, late Commanders in Chief in the Weſt Indies, on Account of Decrees againſt them in the High Court of Admiralty, for the Detention of American Ships at the Capture of Martinique, and other Places in the Weſt Indies		45,332	17 6
To make good the Deficiency of the Sum of 1,200,000*l.* granted out of the Duties on Goods imported and exported, and on Tonnage on Ships and Veſſels for 1801		410,000	0 0

March 29.

For defraying the Expences of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin, for nine Months	(Sterling)	726	0 2
Ditto····for apprehending public Offenders		1,730	15 4¾
Ditto····for criminal Proſecutions		17,307	14 1¾
Ditto····of Proclamations and Advertiſements in the Dublin Gazette		4,865	1 6¼
Ditto····of Printing and other Diſburſements in the Public Offices		13,625	1 2¾
Ditto····of the Treaſury		1,384	12 4
Ditto····of Building further Offices for the Records of Ireland, and for diſcharging Sums due for building Courts of Juſtice		4,153	17 0
Ditto····of Working the Gold Mine in Wicklow		1,846	3 1
Ditto····of cloathing the Battle-axe Guards		683	1 6
To be paid to the Dublin Society, for promoting Huſbandry and other uſeful Arts		3,807	13 11½
To be applied towards completing additional Buildings at the Repoſitory of the Dublin Society in Hawkins's Street, and Botanic Garden at Glaſs Nevis, &c.		3,115	7 9
For defraying the Charge to be incurred by the Farming Society		1,384	12 4
Ditto····of the Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland		13,505	7 9½

Ditto

For defraying the Charge of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin	£.12,692	6	3½
Ditto....of the Hibernian Marine Nursery for Sailor's Children	6,532	18	9½
Ditto....of the Hibernian School for Soldier's Children	3,240	0	0½
Ditto....of supporting the Westmoreland Lock-Hospital in Dublin	4,164	18	6½
Ditto....of the Roman Catholic Seminary in ditto	5,538	9	4
Ditto....of supporting the House of Industry, for the Relief of the Poor in ditto	13,167	3	0¼
Ditto....of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion in Ireland	553	16	11½
Ditto....of the Female Orphan House near Dublin, for deserted Female Children	346	3	1
Ditto....of fitting up and supporting a Penitentiary or House of Reform in Dublin, for young Criminals	1,896	4	7½
March 30.			
To discharge the Debts due and owing upon the Civil List on the fifth Day of January, 1802	990,053	0	0
April 5.			
To make good the Sum paid for Repairs at Port Patrick	471	14	0
Ditto....for preparing Abstracts of Population	500	0	0
Ditto....for continuing the Index to the Journal of the House of Lords	655	5	0
Ditto....to Commissioners for superintending the Arrangement for the Restitution of the Danish Colonies	278	7	0
Ditto....for Copies of the Abstracts of the Population of England and Wales	125	13	6
Ditto....for additional Allowance to the Clerks in Office for auditing the Public Accounts	2,040	10	6
Ditto....to Edward Colman, esq. Serjeant at Arms, attending the House of Commons, in reimbursement of the Expences attending his Removal from his late House in Exchequer-court, for the Accommodation of the Public	324	10	0
Ditto....to pay Bills drawn on Account of New South Wales, due in 1801, being the Excess of the Sum granted for that Purpose	10,539	4	3
Ditto....to pay a Bill drawn by the Consul at Algiers, for Expences incurred on Account of 223 Persons, including a Corsican Crew, taken under English Colours, previous to the English taking Corsica	1,121	0	0
Ditto....for publishing in the London Gazette,			weekly,

weekly, Returns of the Average of Muſcovado Sugar	£.439,14	0	0
Ditto....to the late Governor of New South Wales, for Expences providing neceſſary Supplies for the Conſumption on his Voyage home from that Colony	324	9	6
Ditto....To new Settlers on their Departure for the Colony of New South Wales	78	0	0
For defraying the Charge incurred for Proſecutions, &c. relating to the Coin	2,824	4	0
Ditto....of the Expences likely to be incurred for confining and maintaining the Convicts at Home	31,024	0	0
Ditto....of the Superintendance of Aliens	7,620	0	0
To make good to the conſolidated Fund the like Sum paid for Bounties on Corn and Grain imported to the 20th of March, 1802	1,620,218	19	6¾
PLANTATIONS. For the Civil Eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	7,950	0	0
Ditto....of Nova Scotia	7,515	8	2½
Ditto....of New Brunſwick	4,650	0	0
Ditto....of Prince Edward Iſland	2,194	4	11
Ditto....of Cape Breton	3,598	4	4½
Ditto....of Newfoundland	1,375	17	1½
Ditto....of the Bahama Iſlands	4,100	0	0
Ditto....of the Bermuda or Somers Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto....of the Iſland of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto....of New South Wales	5,908	0	0
April 10.			
For defraying the Charge of Civil Buildings in Ireland	15,692	6	6
Ditto....of the Office of Secretary to the Commiſſioners of charitable Donations in Ireland	276	18	6
To be paid to the Board of Firſt Fruits in Ireland for building and re-building Churches	3,461	10	10½
Ditto....to the Truſtees of the Linen and Hemp Manufacture	14,953	17	2
For defraying the Expence of the Fever Hoſpital in Dublin	1,384	12	3¾
To be paid to the Commiſſioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	3,115	7	8½
Ditto....to the Corporation for paving, cleanſing, and lighting the City of Dublin	6,923	1	6½
April 29.			
To the Duke of Suſſex	12,000	0	0
Ditto....Cambridge	12,000	0	0
May 27.			
For the Relief of the ſuffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulonese, and Corſican Emigrants, St. Domingo Sufferers, and American Loyaliſts	173,535	0	0

June

June 3.

To be paid to Dr. Jenner, as a Reward for promulgating his Discoveries of the Vaccine Inoculation	£. 10,000	0	0
Ditto....to Mr. Greathead, for his Invention of the Life Boat	1,200	0	0

June 10.

For defraying the Charge of the Royal Military College	6,369	0	0
For completing the Buildings of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea for the Reception of the Children of Soldiers	13,000	0	0
For paying off and discharging Treasury Bills within the Year (Sterling)...	372,138	9	3
For defraying the Expence of compiling, printing, and binding the eight Volumes of the Journals of the House of Lords, of Ireland, and Index thereto	2,324	4	7¼
For discharging the Sums remaining unpaid on Account of printing and binding 1500 Copies of the new Edition of the Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland	6,951	18	6½
Ditto....to the Persons employed in preparing a new Edition of the Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland, for making Indexes to the several Volumes, and a general Index to the whole Work	2,584	12	4
To be paid to the Accountant General for his Trouble in preparing and stating the public Accounts of Ireland	313	16	11
Ditto to the Deputy Accountant General for ditto, for one Year, ending January 5, 1802	221	10	9
Ditto....to the Paymaster of Corn Bounties in Ireland	738	9	3
Ditto....to Examinator of ditto	184	12	4
Ditto....to the Inspector General of Imports and Exports, for preparing Accounts of same in Ireland	230	15	5
Ditto....to the first Clerk in Office of ditto for ditto	184	12	4
Ditto....to Examinator of Excise, for preparing Accounts for Parliament	184	12	4
Ditto....to Clerk in the Office of Auditor of Exchequer for ditto	184	12	0

June 12.

To complete the sum of 3,100,000*l.* granted out of the Monies that should arise from the Surplus of the consolidated Fund, for the Year 1801	2,776,080	17	10¼
For defraying the probable Amount of Bills drawn and to be drawn from the Settlement of New			

South

South Wales, and which may become due in the Courſe of the Year - - - -	£.30,000	0	0
To make good the Sum paid for Bounties on Corn, &c. in Scotland, to the 5th of April -	22,082	9	8¾
For defraying the Charge of the Works and Repairs of Military Roads and Bridges in Scotland -	6,012	14	1
For the Board of Agriculture - -	3,000	0	0
For the Support of the Veterinary College -	1,500	0	0
To enable the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum to carry on the Truſts - - - -	3,000	0	0
To be advanced to the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading into the Levant Seas, to aſſiſt the ſaid Company in carrying on their Trade - -	5,000	0	0
To be paid to Mr. Edwards, for the like Sum advanced by him towards the Loan for the Year 1795, and which became forfeited to the Public by accidentally omitting to make the future Payments - - -	1,108	16	0
For the Civil Eſtabliſhment of Sierra Leone	10,000	0	0
For defraying the Expence of completing the Repairs of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter - -	4,500	0	0
Ditto....of Yeomanry in Ireland - -	30,000	0	0
June 14.			
To Lord Hutchinſon - - - - -	2,000	0	0
June 15.			
The Amount of the Valuation of the Dutch Ships which ſurrendered to his Majeſty's Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, at the Newdeep, on the 30th of Auguſt, 1799 - - - -	199,812	14	7
For repairing, &c. Britiſh Forts and Settlements on the Coaſts of Africa - - - -	20,000	0	0
For Foreign and other ſecret Services for nine Months from 1ſt April, 1802, to 1ſt January, 1803	90,000	0	0
Being the Exceſs in the Year ending 5th January, 1802, beyond the Sum limited by an Act of 32d Geo. III. as the annual Charge for the Expences of the Seven Police Offices - - -	1,290	4	0
For defraying the Expences of the Proſecution of Geo. Stratton, Eſq. and others, for depoſing Lord Pigot, and uſurping the Government of Fort St. George, in the Eaſt Indies - - -	1,184	10	7
Ditto....incurred by the Sierra Leone Company, for Maroons, which were ſent there from Halifax	5,903	19	8
For defraying the Expences of the Commiſſion under the 6th and 7th Articles of the American Treaty	11,948	7	0
For ditto....incurred in printing the 54th and			

55th

55th Volumes of the Journals of the House of Commons, with the Indexes thereto -	£.4,605	9	5
For ditto....likely to be incurred for printing the Journals, Votes, Bills, and other Papers of the House of Commons, including Two Volumes of Population Returns - -	12,000	0	0
For ditto....incurred under the Directions of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty for publishing the Records of the Kingdom -	4,727	18	4
For ditto....of taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain - -	612	19	8
Ditto....incurred in the Alterations and Repairs of both Houses of Parliament, and of the House of the Speaker of the House of Commons -	19,991	1	11
Ditto....incurred in the Alterations that were necessary on the Change of the Apartments allotted to the Office of the Duchy of Cornwell in Somerset Place - - -	698	12	5
Ditto....incurred in the Repairs of the Fleet Prison	302	13	$1\frac{1}{2}$
For defraying the Civil contingent Charges for the Service of Ireland for 1802, of which no Estimate can now be made - - -	50,000	0	0
	£.11,177,917	10	$9\frac{1}{4}$

NATIONAL DEBT.

April 5, 1802.

To the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the Account of the Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt - -	£.200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

November 14, 1801.

For paying of Exchequer Bills made out by Virtue of Act 39th and 40th Geo. III. for raising 3,500,000*l.* thereby - -	3,500,000	0	0
Ditto....by Virtue of an Act of same Session for raising 3,000,000*l.* - -	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto....by ditto for raising the Sum of 2,000,000*l.*	2,000,000	0	0
Ditto....by ditto....of ditto, for raising the Sum of 6,500,000 - - -	6,500,000	0	0

March

March 25, 1802.

For paying Intereſt on ſundry Exchequer Bills made out by Virtue of Seven Acts of the 39th and 40th, and the 41ſt Geo. III.	£.505,520	9	1
March 25.			
For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by Virtue of the Act of the laſt Seſſion for 3,000,000*l.*	3,000,000	0	0
June 12.			
For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by Virtue of an Act of 39th and 40th Geo. III. for the Year 1800, outſtanding and unprovided for	1,066,493	7	1½
	£.19,572,013	16	2¾

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	11,833,570	12	6
Army	12,238,282	13	9
Militia	487,692	6	2
Ordnance	1,395,351	17	1
Miſcellaneous Services	11,177,917	10	9¾
National Debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	19,572,013	16	2¾
Total of Supply	£.56,904,828	16	6¾

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

GRANTS.

December 1, 1801.

For raiſing the Sum of 5,000,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills	5,000,000	0	0
February 11, 1804			
For raiſing 2,100,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills	2,100,000	0	0
March 4.			
For raiſing 1,000,000*l.* by ditto	1,000,000	0	0
April 6.			
For raiſing 25,000,000*l.* by Annuities, whereof the Charges of 23,000,000*l.* are to be defrayed on the Part of Great Britain, and 2,000,000*l.* on the Part of Ireland	25,000,000	0	0
April 26.			
That the Charge of the Militia in England, for the Year, be defrayed out of the Monies ariſing by the Land Tax.			

That

That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Time of Peace, for the Year, be defrayed out of the ſame.			
For raiſing 555,000*l.* by Lottery - -	£.555,000	0	0
That the Allowances to Adjutants, &c. of the Militia, diſembodied in Purſuance of an Act 39 and 40 Geo. III. be defrayed out of the Monies ariſing by the Land Tax.			
May 21.			
That the Allowance to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland during Peace, for the Year, be defrayed out of the conſolidated Fund of Ireland.			
June 12.			
That there be iſſued out of the Monies that ſhall ariſe of the Surplus of the conſolidated Fund	4,500,000	0	0
To be raiſed by Loans or Exchequer Bills, to be charged on the firſt Aids to be granted in the next Seſſion - - - -	1,500,000	0	0
To be iſſued out of the Exchequer, remaining there of the Sum granted for the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of Portugal - -	99,886	4	8
June 15.			
For raiſing the further Sum of 5,000,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills - - - -	5,000,000	0	0
To be iſſued the Surplus of Grants for 1801	114,000	16	11
June 15.			
To be iſſued out of the Monies that ſhall ariſe of the Surplus of the conſolidated Fund of Ireland	650,000	0	0
To be iſſued, remaining in the Treaſury of Ireland of the Grants for 1795 (Iriſh currency)	39,329	18	8
Surplus Subcription on Exchequer Bills funded	180,874	0	0
Eſtimated, Duties, &c. - -	9,665,737	16	3
Total Ways and Means	£.56,904,828	16	6

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses, on opening the Second Session of the Imperial Parliament, on the 29th of October 1801.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the important negotiations, in which I was engaged at the close of the last Session of Parliament, are brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the Northern Powers have been adjusted by a Convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which we contended are thereby secured; and provision is made that the exercise of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties. Preliminaries of peace have also been ratified between me and the French Republick; and I trust that this important arrangement, whilst it manifests the justice and moderation of my views, will also be be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. Copies of these papers shall forthwith be laid before you; and I earnestly hope, that the transactions to which they refer will meet with the approbation of my Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed such estimates to be prepared of the various demands for the public service as appear to me to be best adapted to the situation in which we are now placed. It is painful to me to reflect, that provision cannot be made for defraying the expences which must unavoidably be continued, for a time, in different parts of the world, and for maintaining an adequate Peace establishment, without large additional supplies. You may, however, be assured, that all possible attention shall be paid to such œconomical arrangements as may not be inconsistent with the great object of effectually providing for the security of all my dominions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot sufficiently describe the gratification and comfort I derive from the relief, which the bounty of Divine Providence has afforded to my people, by the abundant produce

produce of the late harveſt. In contemplating the ſituation of the country at this important conjuncture, it is impoſſible for me to refrain from expreſſing the deep ſenſe I entertain of the temper and fortitude, which have been manifeſted by all deſcriptions of my faithful ſubjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend. The diſtinguiſhed valour and eminent ſervices of my forces by ſea and land, which, at no period, have been ſurpaſſed; the unprecedented exertions of the Militia and Fencibles, and the zeal and perſeverance of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry, are entitled to my warmeſt acknowledgements; and I am perſuaded, that you will join with me in reflecting, with peculiar ſatisfaction, on the naval and military operations of the laſt campaign; and on the ſucceſsful and glorious iſſue of the expedition to Egypt, which has been marked throughout by atchievements, tending, in their conſequences and by their example, to produce laſting advantage and honour to this country. It is my firſt wiſh, and moſt fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have ſo well merited, in a full enjoyment of the bleſſings of Peace, in a progreſſive increaſe of the national commerce, credit, and reſources; and, above all, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the ſafeguard and protection of that Conſtitution, which it has been the great object of all our efforts to preſerve, and which it is our moſt ſacred duty to tranſmit, unimpaired, to our deſcendants.

On Monday the 15th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer preſented a Meſſage from his Majeſty, which was as follows:

G. R.

HIS Majeſty feels great concern in acquainting the Houſe of Commons, that the proviſion made by Parliament for defraying the expenſes of his houſehold and civil eſtabliſhment, has been found inadequate for their ſupport, and that a conſiderable debt has been unavoidably incurred, an account of which his Majeſty has given directions to be laid before Parliament. His Majeſty relies with confidence on the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, to take the ſame into their early conſideration, and to adopt ſuch meaſures as the ſame may appear to them to require.

On Tueſday the 27th of April in the Houſe of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought down the following Meſſage from his Majeſty.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty being deſirous of making a competent proviſion for his beloved children the Duke of Suſſex and the Duke of Cambridge, and the ſums of money applicable to the ſupport of his Civil Government being inſufficient for that purpoſe, his Majeſty requeſts the aſſiſtance of Parliament on the preſent occaſion, and truſts that his faithful Commons will not fail to make ſuch proviſion as the circumſtances of the caſe may ſeem to require.

Meſſage

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, June 11.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty having taken into his royal conſideration the eminent ſervices performed by lieutenant general lord Hutchinſon, during the late glorious and ſucceſsful campaign in Egypt, and being deſirous of beſtowing upon the ſaid lord Hutchinſon a ſignal mark of his royal favour and approbation, and for this purpoſe to give and grant unto the ſaid lieutenant general lord Hutchinſon, and the two next ſucceeding heirs male of his body, to whom the title of baron Hutchinſon, of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, ſhall deſcend, a net annuity of 2,000l. recommends it to his faithful Commons to conſider of a proper method of enabling his Majeſty to grant the ſame, and of extending, ſecuring, and ſettling ſuch annuity upon the ſaid lieutenant general lord Hutchinſon, and the two next ſucceeding heirs on whom the title of baron Hutchinſon, of Alexandria and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, ſhall deſcend, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought more effectual for the benefit of the ſaid lord Hutchinſon and his family.

Lords Proteſt againſt the Paſſing of the Malt Bill.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE the conſtitutional argument which was urged for ſuſpending the grant of any ſupply, until the accuſtomed communication had been made from the crown to parliament, and from the very eſſence of the Britiſh conſtitution. Firſt, that no grant of ſupply can in any caſe be made to the crown, except in conſequence of a previous demand for aid; and, ſecondly, that ſuch demand muſt not only deſcribe the general ſervices for which the aid is aſked, but muſt alſo ſpecify whether thoſe ſervices are calculated on an expectation of peace, or of war, or of preparation for war. Theſe two propoſitions have been invariably adopted in the practice of our conſtitution. No inſtance has yet been alleged in which they have ever been violated, except in the preſent caſe, and their ſtate maintenance is eſſential to the diſcharge of all our moſt important duties. If parliament alone can decide upon the amount of the ſupply to be granted, it is obvious that parliament muſt be informed of the extent and nature of the ſervices which that ſupply is to defray; a queſtion which muſt always eſſentially depend on the probability or certainty of peace or war. For the ſolution of this queſtion we are now referred to public notoriety alone. We anſwer, that the conſtitution of our country intitles us to more authentic information; that ſuch is the courſe which the law and uſage of parliament have eſtabliſhed, and that, unleſs the uniform practice of our anceſtors be adhered to in this reſpect, we can neither ſatisfactorily regulate our own conduct, nor judge as we ought of the meaſures of government. But we deny that any notoriety as to the point in queſtion does in fact exiſt. The dangers of the country are indeed ſufficiently notorious, but parliament is yet to learn by what ſyſtem of conduct the

the king's government proposes to avert or encounter those dangers. The determinations of the ministers, as far as we know them, have been uncertain and fluctuating, their councils undecided, their measures inconsistent, and their language contradictory. We are called upon to provide for an establishment large beyond all former example; but we have not yet been distinctly told, not even in debate, much less in the constitutional way of communication from the throne, for what is the purpose for which it is intended to provide; whether this be a peace establishment calculated to last until the power of France be reduced, or her ambition satiated, or whether it be a measure of temporary preparation which is to apply to some actual pressure, or to support some depending negociation; or, lastly, whether it be intended to meet the imminent danger of immediate war, and to resist the continued growth of that power which hourly threatens our own destruction. In this situation, yielding to no men in duty, loyalty, and attachment to the crown, and feeling more anxious for the immediate adoption of all practicable means of defence, in proportion as our sense of the impending danger is greater, we are still desirous that some short interval and pause should take place before the final grant of any supply; though we desire that such interval should be no more than will be sufficient to enable his Majesty to show to us the same gracious confidence which his Majesty and his royal ancestors have reposed in all preceding parliaments, and to place us in a situation in which we may, without violating the constitution of our country, cheerfully concur in granting to his Majesty all such aids as the present exigency of affairs does, in our opinion peculiarly demand.

SPENCER.
GRENVILLE.
MINTO.
CARYSFORT.
CARLISLE.

Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on presenting for his Royal Sanction, certain Bills for completing the Supplies. 28th June, 1802.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IT is my duty to present to your Majesty the Bills for completing the Supplies, which your Majesty's faithful Commons have granted for the service of the year.

With heartfelt gratitude they acknowledge your Majesty's paternal goodness and wisdom, which have already enabled them to make a large reduction of the public burthens, by the termination of a long and eventful war; a war just and necessary in its origin, conducted with energy, sustained with fortitude, signalized by triumphs surpassing the fame of our ancestors, and obtained in countries unvisited by their arms; and concluded at length by a peace, which has added new conquests to your Crown, and given repose and safety to these its ancient dominions, whose Peers and Commons have now for the second year the happiness of being assembled in one United Parliament at the foot of your Throne.

Thus circumstanced, your Ma-

jeſty's faithful Commons not only look forward with a ſanguine hope that they may not ſoon be called to the hard neceſſity of augmenting the public debt by future burthens, but they have deemed it their duty to look back to the debt already incurred, and with the ſame characteriſtic ſpirit which firſt laid the foundation of an effectual ſyſtem for the extinction of the national debt, they have proceeded to arrange and ſettle a plan for accelerating that extinction, by pledging the future application of their growing means to the accompliſhment of the ſame great object.

At a time when their attention had been directed to theſe conſiderations, and when they have alſo found that taxes of unprecedented weight, though wiſely impoſed to meet the exigencies of ſuch a war, might nevertheleſs be now prudently repealed, it has given the higheſt ſatisfaction to your Majeſty's faithful Commons to relieve thoſe preſſing demands which the general difficulties of the times had caſt upon the proviſion aſſigned by Parliament, for the ſupport of your Majeſty's Houſehold and the honour and dignity of your Crown; for this country has not now to learn, that its Monarchy is the beſt and ſtrongeſt ſecurity for its liberties, and that the ſplendour of the throne reflects luſtre and dignity upon the whole nation.

Theſe, Sire, are amongſt the memorable events of a Seſſion thus far protracted; upon which we reflect with a conſcious ſatisfaction, that to the diſcharge of great duties we have brought proportionate exertions.

And we now indulge the flattering hope, that we may ſafely apply ourſelves to cultivate the arts of peace; arts long dear to your Majeſty, and congenial to the temper of your people, whoſe ſpirit of enterprize in foreign commerce, and internal improvement, unexampled in its exertions throughout the war, may now expand itſelf with redoubled activity; and by providing new ſources of ſtrength and wealth for this country, fix the ſtability of our own power, and at the ſame time promote the common intereſts of Europe, and of all the civilized nations of the world.

The King's Moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament at the Cloſe of the Seſſion. 28th June, 1802.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE public buſineſs being concluded, I think it proper to cloſe this Seſſion of Parliament.

During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifeſted the juſt ſenſe you entertain of the great truſt committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unuſually numerous and important; and I derive the utmoſt ſatisfaction from the conviction that the wiſdom of your proceeding will be fully proved by their effects in promoting the beſt intereſts of my people throughout every part of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The ample proviſion you have made for the various branches of the public ſervice demands my warmeſt

warmeſt acknowledgements; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have ſhewn in exonerating my Civil Government and Houſehold from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

Whilſt I regret the amount of the ſupplies which circumſtances have rendered neceſſary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the ſtate of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which affords the moſt deciſive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal reſources, and of the growing proſperity of the country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I think it expedient that the election of a new Parliament ſhould take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for diſſolving the preſent, and for calling a new Parliament.

In communicating to you this intention, I cannot ſuppreſs thoſe ſentiments of entire approbation with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct ſince I firſt met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our ſituation required the utmoſt efforts of that wiſdom and fortitude which you ſo eminently diſplayed in contending with them, and by which they have been ſo happily ſurmounted. From your judicious and ſalutary meaſures during the laſt year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the ſevereſt diſpenſations of Providence; and it was by the ſpirit and determination which uniformly animated your Councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operations of my people, that I was enabled to proſecute with ſucceſs, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous conteſt in which we have been engaged.

The ſame ſenſe of public duty, the ſame ſolicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

My endeavours will never be wanting to preſerve the bleſſings by which we are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, and to prove that the proſperity and happineſs of all claſſes of my faithful ſubjects are the objects which are always the neareſt to my heart.

Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majeſty, and the French Republic, His Catholic Majeſty, and the Batavian Republic. Signed at Amiens, the 27th Day of March, 1802.

HIS Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal deſire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of Peace in the Preliminary Articles ſigned at London, the 1ſt of October, 1801 (9th Vendemiaire, Year 10.)

And as by the fifteenth Article of the ſaid Preliminaries, it has been ſtipulated that Plenipotentiaries ſhould be named on each ſide, who ſhould proceed to Amiens for the purpoſe of concluding

cluding a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Powers;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his Plenipotentiary the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Garter, Privy Counsellor to his Majesty, General of his Armies, &c.; the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, the Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, Counsellor of State; His Majesty the King of Spain and of the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have named for their Plenipotentiaries, *videlicet*, His Catholic Majesty Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara, his Counsellor of State, Knight, Great Cross of the Order of Charles III. his said Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c. and the Government of the Batavian Republic Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part. The Contracting Parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their States a perfect harmony, and without allowing, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

Art. II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, and on paying the debts which they have contracted during their captivity. Each Contracting Party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the Contracting Parties for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the country where they have been detained. For this purpose, a Commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the Contracting Powers. The time and place where the Commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this Article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said Commissioners shall take into account the expences occasioned not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the

the pay, or at the diſpoſal of any of the Contracting Parties.

Art. III. His Britannic Majeſty reſtores to the French Republic, and her Allies namely, his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian Republic, all the poſſeſſions and colonies which belonged to them reſpectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the Britiſh forces in the courſe of the war, with the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, and the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Ceylon.

Art. IV. His Catholic Majeſty cedes and guarantees in full right and ſovereignty to his Britannic Majeſty the iſland of Trinidad.

Art. V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees in full right and ſovereignty to his Britannic Majeſty all the poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments in the iſland of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to their Eaſt India Company.

Art. VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full ſovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war.

The ſhips of every deſcription belonging to the other Contracting Parties ſhall have the right to put in there, and to purchaſe ſuch ſupplies as they may ſtand in need of as heretofore, without paying any other duties than thoſe to which the ſhips of the Batavian Republic are ſubjected.

Art. VII. The territories and poſſeſſions of her Moſt Faithful Majeſty are maintained in their integrity, ſuch as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheleſs, the limits of French and Portugueſe Guiana ſhall be determined by the River Arawari, which falls into the ocean below the North Cape, near the Iſle Neuve, and the Iſland of Penitence, about a degree and one third of North latitude. Theſe limits ſhall follow the courſe of the River Arawari, from that of its mouths, which is at the greateſt diſtance from the North Cape, to its ſource, and thence in a direct line from its ſource to the River Branco, towards the Weſt. The Northern Bank of the River Arawari, from its mouth to its ſource, and the lands which are ſituated to the North of the line of the limits above fixed, ſhall conſequently belong in full ſovereignty to the French Republic. The Southern Bank of the ſaid river from its ſource, and all the lands to the ſouthward of the ſaid line of demarkation, ſhall belong to her Moſt Faithful Majeſty. The navigation of the River Arawari ſhall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the Courts of Madrid and of Liſbon, for the ſettlement of their frontiers in Europe, ſhall, however, be executed conformably to the Treaty of Badajoz.

Art. VIII. The territories, poſſeſſions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, ſuch as they were previous to the war.

Art. IX. The Republic of the Seven Iſlands is hereby acknowledged.

Art. X. The Iſlands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, ſhall be reſtored to the order of Saint John of Jeruſalem, and ſhall be held by it upon the ſame conditions on which

the Order held them previous to the war, and under the following ſtipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whoſe Langues ſhall continue to ſubſiſt after the exchange of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, are invited to return to Malta as ſoon as that exchange ſhall have taken place. They ſhall there form a general Chapter, and ſhall proceed to the election of a Grand Maſter, to be choſen from amongſt the natives of thoſe nations which preſerve Langues, if no ſuch election ſhall have been already made ſince the exchange of the Ratifications of the Preliminary Articles of Peace. It is underſtood, that an election which ſhall have been made ſubſequent to that period, ſhall alone be conſidered as valid, to the excluſion of every other which ſhall have taken place at any time previous to the ſaid period.

2. The Governments of Great Britain and of the French Republic, being deſirous of placing the Order of Saint John and the Iſland of Malta, in a ſtate of entire independence on each of thoſe Powers, do agree, that there ſhall be henceforth no Engliſh nor French Langues; and that no individual belonging to either of the ſaid Powers ſhall be admiſſible into the Order.

3. A Malteſe Langue ſhall be eſtabliſhed, to be ſupported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the Iſland. There ſhall be dignities, with appointments, and an Auberge appropriated to this Langue; no proofs of Nobility ſhall be neceſſary for the admiſſion of Knights into the ſaid Langue; they ſhall be competent to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege in the like manner as the Knights of the other Langues. The municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the Iſland, ſhall be filled, at leaſt in the proportion of one-half, by native inhabitants of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall evacuate the Iſland and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the Ratifications, or ſooner if it can be done: at that period the Iſland ſhall be delivered up to the Order in the ſtate in which it now is—provided that the Grand Maſter, or Commiſſioners, fully empowered according to the ſtatutes of the Order, be upon the Iſland to receive poſſeſſion; and that the force to be furniſhed by his Sicilian Majeſty, as hereafter ſtipulated, be arrived there.

5. The garriſon of the Iſland ſhall, at all times, conſiſt at leaſt one half of native Malteſe; and the Order ſhall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garriſon from the natives of thoſe countries only that ſhall continue to poſſeſs Langues. The native Malteſe troops ſhall be officered by Malteſe, and the ſupreme command of the garriſon, as well as the appointment of the Officers, ſhall be veſted in the Grand Maſter of the Order; and he ſhall not be at liberty to diveſt himſelf of it, even for a time, except in favour of a Knight of the Order, and in conſequence of the opinion of the Council of the Order.

6. The Independence of the Iſlands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the preſent arrangement,

rangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the Order and of the Island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese Langue, in the manner specified in paragraph three, to that of the civil and military establishments of the Island, and to that of a lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary States are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the Contracting Parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary States, the Order of St. John, and the Powers possessing Langues, or taking part in the formation of them, shall be terminated.

10. The Order shall be governed, both in spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the Knights quitted the Island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present Treaty.

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner. And the Grand Master (or, if he should not be in the Island at the time of its restitution to the Order, his representative), as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the Island. This force shall remain there for one year from the period of the restitution of the Island to the Knights; after the expiration of which term, if the Order of St. John shall not, in the opinion of the guarantying Powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the Island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be relieved by another force, judged to be sufficient by the said Powers.

13. The several Powers specified in paragraph 6, *videlicet*, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

Art. XI. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory; the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

Art. XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present Treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in Europe within one month; in the Continent and Seas of America and of Africa within three months; and in the Continent and Seas of Asia within six months after the Ratification of the present Definitive Treaty.

Art. XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the

Treaty, the fortifications ſhall be delivered up in the ſtate in which they may have been at the time of the ſignature of the Preliminary Treaty; and all the works which ſhall have been conſtructed ſince the occupation, ſhall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the caſes of ceſſion ſtipulated, there ſhall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this preſent Treaty, for the purpoſe of diſpoſing of their property acquired and poſſeſſed either before or during the war, in which term of three years they may have the free exerciſe of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The ſame privilege is granted in the countries reſtored to all thoſe, whether inhabitants or others, who ſhall have made therein any eſtabliſhments whatſoever during the time when thoſe countries were in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain.

With reſpect to the inhabitants of the countries reſtored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them ſhall be proſecuted, diſturbed, or moleſted in their perſons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the Contracting Powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts poſterior to the preſent Treaty.

Art. XIV. All ſequeſtrations impoſed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of whatever deſcription, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their ſubjects or citizens, ſhall be taken off immediately after the ſignature of this Definitive Treaty. The deciſion of all claims brought forward by individuals, the ſubjects or citizens of any of the Contracting Powers reſpectively, againſt individuals, ſubjects or citizens of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects, whatſoever, which, according to received uſages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, ſhall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all caſes prompt and ample juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered in the countries where the claims are made.

Art. XV. The fiſheries on the coaſt of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent Iſlands, and of the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, are replaced on the ſame footing on which they were previous to the war; the French fiſhermen and the inhabitants of St. Pierre and Miquelon ſhall have the privilege of cutting ſuch wood as they may ſtand in need of in the Bays of Fortune and Deſpair, for the ſpace of one year from the date of the notification of the preſent Treaty.

Art. XVI. In order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute which may ariſe on account of prizes which may have been made at ſea, after the ſignature of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the veſſels and effects which may have been taken in the Britiſh Channel, and in the North Sea, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the Ratifications of the ſaid Preliminary Articles, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide; that the term ſhall be one month from the Britiſh Channel and

and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

Art. XVII. The Ambassadors, Ministers, and other Agents of the Contracting Powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the States of the said Powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public Agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

Art. XVIII. The Branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the republic formerly called the Republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian Republic, having suffered losses there, as well in private property as in consequence of the change of Constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said Branch of the House of Nassau for the said losses.

Art. XIX. The present Definitive Treaty of Peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto in the shortest delay possible.

Art. XX. It is agreed that the Contracting Parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their Ministers or Officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice, persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party; provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality shall be so authenticated as that the laws of the country where the person so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expences of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this Article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this Definitive Treaty.

Art. XXI. The Contracting Parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the Articles contained in the present Treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said Contracting Parties generally and reciprocally guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present Treaty.

Art. XXII. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties in thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802; the 6th Germinal, year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.
(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE.
(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.
(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

SEPARATE

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is agreed, that the omiſſion of ſome titles which may have taken place in the preſent Treaty ſhall not be prejudicial to the Powers or to the perſons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the Engliſh and French languages made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent Treaty ſhall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers whoſe languages have not been uſed; and that for the future what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of, Powers who are in the practice and poſſeſſion of giving and receiving copies of like Treaties in any other language, ſhall be conformed with; the preſent Treaty having nevertheleſs the ſame force and virtue as if the aforeſaid practice had been therein obſerved.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majeſty, and of the Batavian Republic, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate Article, and have cauſed our reſpective ſeals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802; the 6th Germinal, year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.
(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE.
(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.
(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America, touching the Difficulties ariſing in the Execution of the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794.

DIFFICULTIES having ariſen in the execution of the 6th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London, on the 4th day of Nov. 1794, between his Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America, and in conſequence thereof the proceedings of the commiſſioners under the 7th article of the ſame treaty having been ſuſpended, the parties to the ſaid treaty being equally deſirous, as far as may be, to obviate ſuch difficulties, have reſpectively named Plenipotentiaries to treat and agree, reſpecting the ſame: that is to ſay, his Britannic Majeſty has named for his Plenipotentiary the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinſon, commonly called Lord Hawkeſbury, one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate thereof, has named, for their Plenipotentiary, Rufus King, Eſq. Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the ſaid United States to his Britannic Majeſty, who have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

Art. I. In ſatisfaction and diſcharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay in purſuance of the proviſions of the ſaid ſixth article, which is hereby declared to be cancelled and annulled, except ſo far as the ſame may relate to the execution of the ſaid ſeventh article, the United States of America hereby engage to pay, and his Britannic Majeſty conſents to accept for the uſe of the perſons deſcribed in the ſaid ſixth article, the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable at the time and place, and in the manner following, that is to ſay,

say, the said sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling shall be paid at the city of Washington, in three annual instalments of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each, and to such person or persons as shall be authorized by his Britannic Majesty to receive the same; the first of the said instalments to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second instalment at the expiration of two years; and the third and last instalment at the expiration of three years, next following the exchange of the ratifications of this convention: and to prevent any disagreement concerning the rate of exchange, the said payments shall be made in the money of the said United States, reckoning four dollars and forty-four cents, to be equal to one pound sterling.

Art. II. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, that creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediments to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts theretofore contracted, it is hereby declared, that the said fourth article, so far as it respects its future operations, is hereby recognized, confirmed, and declared to be binding and obligatory upon his Britannic Majesty and the said United States, and the same shall be accordingly observed with punctuality and good faith.—And so as the said creditors shall hereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of their *bona fide* debts.

Art. III. It is furthermore agreed and concluded that the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the seventh article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and whose proceedings have been suspended as aforesaid, shall, immediately after the signature of this convention, reassemble and proceed in the execution of their duties according to the provisions of the said seventh article, except only that instead of the sums awarded by the said commissioners, being made payable at the time or times by them appointed, all sums of money by them awarded to be paid to American or British claimants, according to the provisions of the said seventh article, shall be made payable in three equal instalments, the first whereof to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second at the expiration of two years; and the third and last at the expiration of three years next after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention.

Art. IV. This convention, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the respective ratifications duly exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory upon his Majesty and the said United States. In faith whereof, we the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States of America, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed this present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, Jan. 8, 1802.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.
RUFUS KING.

COLLEGE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

His Majesty's Royal Charter for founding and incorporating King's College

College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia, dated 12th May, 42d George III. 1802.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all whom these presents shall come greeting:

WHEREAS we have declared our royal intention to establish, within our province of Nova Scotia, in North America, a College for the education of youth in the principles of true religion, and for their instruction in the different branches of science and literature, which are taught at our Universities in this Kingdom.

And whereas the sum of four thousand pounds granted by our Parliament in that part of our united kingdom, called Great-Britain, hath been applied in erecting a suitable building within the town of Windsor, in our said Province, on a piece of land which had been purchased by means of a grant of the General Assembly of our said Province for that purpose.

And whereas the said building hath been fitted for the residence of professors and students, and an endowment of four hundred pounds currency of that Province (equal to three hundred and sixty pounds British sterling) per annum, hath been granted for the support thereof, by the said General Assembly.

And whereas humble application hath been made to us by many of our loving subjects in our said Province, that we would be pleased to grant our Royal Charter for the more perfect establishment of the said College, and for incorporating the members thereof for the purposes aforesaid, and for such further endowment thereof as to us should seem meet.

We having taken the premises into our Royal Consideration, and duly weighing the great utility and importance of such an institution, are willing and desirous to condescend to their request: know ye, therefore, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have willed, ordained and granted, and do by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, will, ordain and grant, that upon the said land, and in the building, or buildings so erected, or to be erected thereon at our town of Windsor, in our said Province of Nova Scotia, there shall be established from this time one College, the mother of an University, for the education and instruction of youth and students, in arts and faculties, to continue for ever; and to be called King's College: and that our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province, or the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province for the time being; the Right Reverend Father in God, Charles Inglis, Bishop of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, or the Bishop of the said Diocese for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Salter Blowers, Chief Justice of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Chief Justice of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Alexander Croke, Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in Nova Scotia, or the Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of our House of Assembly, and

and Attorney-General of our ſaid Province of Nova Scotia, or the Speaker of our Aſſembly, and the Attorney-General for our ſaid Province ſeverally for the time being; our truſty and well-beloved James Stewart, Solicitor-General for our ſaid Province of Nova Scotia, or the Solicitor-General of our ſaid Province for the time being; our truſty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Secretary of our ſaid Province of Nova Scotia, or the Secretary of our ſaid Province for the time being, together with ſuch other perſon or perſons as ſhall be elected in manner hereinafter mentioned, ſhall be Governors of the ſaid College, and that the ſaid College ſhall conſiſt of one Preſident, three or more Fellows and Profeſſors, and twelve or more Scholars, at ſuch ſalaries, and ſubject to ſuch proviſions, regulations, limitations, rules, qualifications and reſtrictions as ſhall hereafter be appointed by the ſtatutes, rules and ordinances of the ſaid College, and until ſuch ſtatutes, rules and ordinances ſhall have been framed, ſubject, in all reſpects, to the orders and directions, and eligible and removable at the pleaſure of the ſaid Governors, or of the major part of them, and that the ſaid Governors, or the major part of them, ſhall have the power of electing the preſident of the ſaid College for the time being, to be a governor of the ſaid College, and alſo of electing any other perſon or perſons, not exceeding three in number (ſubject to ſuch regulations as ſhall be appointed by the ſtatutes, rules and ordinances of the ſaid College) to be a governor or governors of the ſaid College.

And we do by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, will, ordain and grant, that the ſaid governors, preſident, and fellows, and their ſucceſſors for ever, ſhall be one diſtinct and ſeparate body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name and ſtyle of the Governors, Preſident, and Fellows of King's College at Windſor, in the Province of Nova Scotia; and that by the ſame name, they ſhall have perpetual ſucceſſion, and a common ſeal, and that they and their ſucceſſors ſhall from time to time, have full power to break, alter, make new, or change, ſuch common ſeal, at their will and pleaſure, and as ſhall be found expedient; and that by the ſame name, the ſaid governors, preſident and fellows, and their ſucceſſors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter ſhall be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in law, and be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchaſe, acquire, hold, poſſeſs, enjoy, and retain; and we do hereby for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant full authority, and free licence to them and their ſucceſſors by the name aforeſaid, to have, take, receive, purchaſe, acquire, hold, poſſeſs, enjoy and retain, to and for the uſe of the ſaid College notwithſtanding any ſtatutes or ſtatute of mortmain, any manors, rectories, advowſons, meſſuages, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments of what kind, nature or quality ſoever, ſo as that the ſame do not exceed in yearly value the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds above all charges: and moreover, to take, purchaſe, acquire, have, hold, enjoy, receive, poſſeſs, and retain, notwithſtanding any ſuch ſtatute, or ſtatutes to the contrary, all or any goods, chattels, charitable

ble and other contributions, gifts and benefactions whatſoever: and that the ſaid governors, preſident and fellows, and their ſucceſſors, by the ſame name, ſhall and may be able and capable in law, to ſue and be ſued, implead and be impleaded, anſwer and be anſwered, in all or any court, or courts of record or places of judicature within our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and our ſaid Province of Nova Scotia, and other our dominions, and in all and ſingular actions, cauſes, pleas, ſuits, matters and demands whatſoever, of what kind and nature or ſort ſoever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form, as any other body politic and corporate, or any other our liege ſubjects, being perſons able and capable in law, may or can have, take, purchaſe, receive, hold, poſſeſs, enjoy, retain, ſue, implead or anſwer, or be ſued, impleaded, or anſwered in any manner whatſoever.

And we do by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, will, ordain and grant that the Governors of the ſaid College, or the major part of them, ſhall have power and authority to frame and make Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances, touching and concerning the good government of the ſaid College, the performance of divine ſervice therein, the ſtudies, lectures, exerciſes, degrees in arts and faculties, and all matters regarding the ſame; the election, qualification and reſidence of the preſident, fellows, and ſcholars, the management of the revenues and property of the ſaid College, the ſalaries, ſtipends and proviſion for the preſident, fellows, ſcholars and officers of the ſaid College, and alſo touching and concerning any other matter or thing which to them ſhall ſeem good, fit, uſeful, and agreeable to this our Charter: and alſo from time to time, to revoke, augment, or alter all, every or any of the ſaid ſtatutes, rules, and ordinances, as to them or the major part of them, ſhall ſeem meet and expedient. Provided, that the ſaid ſtatutes, rules and ordinances, or any of them, ſhall not be repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of this our realm, and of our ſaid Province of Nova Scotia; provided alſo, that the ſaid ſtatutes, rules, and ordinances, or any revocation, augmentation, or alteration thereof, be ſubject to the approbation of the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being, and ſhall be forthwith tranſmitted to the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop for that purpoſe; and that in caſe the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop ſhall ſignify, in writing, his diſapprobation thereof, within three years of the time of their being ſo made and framed, or of their being ſo revoked, augmented, or altered, the ſame or ſuch part thereof, as ſhall be ſo diſapproved by the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop, ſhall, from the time of ſuch diſapprobation being made known, be utterly void and of no effect, but otherwiſe ſhall be and remain in full force and virtue.

And we do hereby for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, charge and command that the ſtatutes, rules and ordinances aforeſaid, ſubject to the ſaid proviſions, ſhall be ſtrictly and inviolably obſerved, kept and performed, from time to time, ſo long as they ſhall reſpectively remain, in full vigour and effect, under the penalties to be thereby or therein inflicted or contained.

And we do by theſe preſents for us,

us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, will, order, direct, and appoint that the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being ſhall be Patron of the ſaid College, and the Biſhop of Nova Scotia for the time being, ſhall be Viſitor of the ſaid College.

And we do further will, ordain and grant that the ſaid College ſhall be deemed and taken to be an Univerſity, and ſhall have and enjoy all ſuch and the like Privileges as are enjoyed by our Univerſities in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as far as the ſame are capable of being had and enjoyed, by virtue of theſe our Letters Patent. And that the ſtudents in the ſaid College ſhall have liberty and faculty of taking the degrees of Bachelor, Maſter, and Doctor in the ſeveral arts and faculties at the appointed times: and ſhall have liberty within themſelves of performing all ſcholaſtic exerciſes for the conferring ſuch degrees in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed by the ſtatutes, rules, and ordinances of the ſaid College.

And We will, and by theſe preſents for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant and declare, that theſe our Letters Patent, or the enrolment or exemplications thereof, ſhall and may be, good, firm, valid, ſufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſame, and ſhall be taken, conſtrued and adjudged, in the moſt favourable and beneficial ſenſe for the beſt advantage of the ſaid governors, preſident and fellows of the ſaid College at Windſor aforeſaid, as well in all our Courts of record as elſewhere, and by all and ſingular judges, juſtices, officers, miniſters, and other ſubjects whatſoever, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, any miſrecital, non-recital, omiſſion, imperfection, defect, matter, cauſe, or thing whatſoever to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding; without fine or fee, great or ſmall, to be for the ſame in any manner rendered, done or paid to us in our Hanaper, or elſewhere to our uſe.

And laſtly, we do hereby promiſe and declare for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, that we and they ſhall and will, at all times hereafter, give and grant to the aforeſaid governors, preſident and fellows, and their ſucceſſors, ſuch other reaſonable powers and authorities, as may be neceſſary for the government of the ſaid College and the more effectual execution of the premiſes.

In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent.—Witneſs ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the twelfth day of May in the forty-ſecond year of our reign.

Formation of the Conſtitution of the Italian Republic.

LYONS, *Jan.* 27.—The Commiſſion of Thirty appointed by the Ciſalpine Conſulta preſented, on the 25th inſt. to the Firſt Conſul, a copy of the following report:—

Report of the Committee of Thirty.

"CITIZENS DEPUTIES,

"The Committee of Thirty, after the moſt mature conſideration of the duty preſcribed to it, of preparing a ſelection of materials proper to form a part of the Government of the Republic, have now to

to ſubmit to you the reſult of their reflections on the choice of a Firſt Magiſtrate.

"Having occupied ſix ſittings in conſidering this ſubject, which is the moſt important of all; and having in different diſcuſſions developed all the circumſtances aſſociated with this election, they ſtill arrived by different proceſſes at the ſame concluſion.

"If in general there are not many perſons in any State capable of occupying the firſt place in the Government, it muſt be admitted that our internal ſituation ſhould render them ſtill fewer among us.

"In fact, it may be eaſily conceived, that in the ſhort ſpace of time which has elapſed ſince the Ciſalpine Republic was compoſed by the union of different nations, theſe nations cannot have acquired a ſufficient knowledge of each other to enſure to the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages they may contain an equal degree of confidence from all. An election from among them would not be free from danger, if it be conſidered, that divided as we are in point of laws, cuſtoms, and manners, habituated to different opinions upon every ſubject, there can be but little hope of finding amongſt ourſelves the man who ſhall detach himſelf from particular ſyſtems, ſo as to conduct the entire maſs beyond the limits of ancient habits, and to generate that national ſpirit which is the moſt ſolid foundation of Republics.

"The hiſtory of the viciſſitudes experienced by the Ciſalpine Republic increaſed the difficulties attending the inquiry of the Committee. If the men of that period were not connected with office, it was not to be preſumed that they were ſufficiently converſant with the ſcience, at all times difficult, but particularly ſo with reſpect to us, of governing the Republic. If at that period they actually held the reins of Government, agitated as they were by oppoſite opinions, diſtracted by a thouſand conſiderations, and overawed by foreign influence, they could not raiſe themſelves to that conſideration which in times leſs unfortunate would have procured for them the confidence of the public.

"But on the ſuppoſition that, after ſurmounting theſe numerous obſtacles, it had been impoſſible to appoint a man capable of ſupporting ſo great a weight, many other difficulties of a ſtill more ſerious kind would ſoon prevent us from repoſing entire confidence in this choice.—The French troops cannot yet completely evacuate the Ciſalpine territory. A great number of political reaſons, and our own intereſt, do not permit it at the preſent moment, whilſt we are yet deſtitute of a national army.

"Beſides, the Ciſalpine Republic, though guaranteed by the Treaties of Tolentino and Luneville, cannot at once expect to obtain, of herſelf, from the old Governments of Europe, the conſideration neceſſary to her external and internal conſolidation. It is neceſſary to procure her recognition by ſeveral Powers which have not yet entered into any relations with her. She requires a man, who, by the importance of his name and power, may place her in a rank ſuitable to her greatneſs; but in vain would we ſeek among ourſelves for this name or this power.

"In order, therefore, to ſecure the dignity of the Government

from the influence of foreign troops, &c. and to give additional luſtre and grandeur to the foundations of the Ciſalpine Republic, the Committee conceived it of importance to the happineſs of this Republic, that in the firſt inſtance, it ſhould poſſeſs a ſanction ſuperior to every other in point of dignity and ſtrength.

"From conſiderations of ſuch importance the Committee is induced to conclude, that if, on the one hand, the Extraordinary Conſulta ſhould be deſirous of having the Conſtitution proclaimed, and of nominating the Members of the Colleges, Legiſlature and other authorities, from among ſuch as ſhall appear moſt entitled to its eſteem, in order to put an end to the Proviſional Syſtem: on the other hand, it ought earneſtly to deſire that General Bonaparte would pleaſe to honour the Ciſalpine Republic by retaining the ſupreme Magiſtracy, and not diſdaining, amidſt the direction of the affairs of France, to be the main ſpring of our Government, during the time which he may deem neceſſary for bringing all the parts of our country to a complete uniformity, and procuring the recognition of the Ciſalpine Republic by all the Powers of Europe."

The propoſal of the Committee was unanimouſly adopted by the Conſulta in its general meeting of the 25th; and it decreed, by acclamation, amidſt the loudeſt applauſe, that the preceding Report ſhould be preſented to the Firſt Conſul as the ſincere expreſſion of the ſentiments and opinions of the Extraordinary Conſulta.

The Firſt Conſul having gone to the meeting again on the 26th, he was met by a numerous deputation of the Ciſalpine Deputies, who conducted him into the hall, amidſt the general applauſe. Having then taken his ſeat, under a canopy, he delivered the following ſpeech in the Italian language:—

"The Ciſalpine Republic, recognized ever ſince the Treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced a number of viciſſitudes.

"The firſt efforts to give it a conſtitution had but little ſucceſs.

"Subſequently invaded by hoſtile armies, its exiſtence appeared no longer probable, when the French [illegible], a ſecond time, by the power of their arms, expelled your enemies from your territory.

"Since this period every attempt has been made to diſmember it.—The protection of France has triumphed.—You have been recogniſed at Luneville.

"Enlarged by a fifth part, you are more powerful, more conſolidated, and poſſeſſed of greater hopes!!!

"Compoſed of ſix different nations, you are about to be united under the rule of a conſtitution, better adapted than any other to your manners and your circumſtances.

"I have invited you to meet me at Lyons in the character of the principal Citizens of the Ciſalpine State. You have given me the neceſſary information for performing the auguſt taſk which my duty impoſes upon me as the Firſt Magiſtrate of the French People, and the man who has moſt contributed to your creation.

"The appointments which I have made to the firſt offices of State are totally unconnected with any local or party ſpirit.

" As to that of Preſident, I did not diſcover among you any individual who had yet ſufficient claims on public opinion, who was yet ſufficiently independent of local attachment, or, in ſhort, who had performed ſervices of ſufficient magnitude to his country, to induce me to entruſt it to him.

" The *proces verbal* which you have tranſmitted to me by your Committee of Thirty, and in which you have analyzed, with equal truth and preciſion, the external and internal ſituation of your country, have deeply impreſſed me—I comply with your requeſt—I will ſtill retain, as long as circumſtances ſhall require it, the chief direction of your affairs.

" Amidſt the conſtant meditations required by the ſituation which I hold, nothing connected with you, or which may conſolidate your exiſtence and proſperity, ſhall be foreign to the deareſt affections of my ſoul.

" You have hitherto laws for particular diſtricts.— You muſt henceforth have a general code.

" Your people have only local habits; it is neceſſary that they ſhould aſſume national habits.

" In a word, you have no army; the powers which may become your enemies have ſtrong armies; but you have what may produce one, a numerous population, fertile plains, and the example given you in every eſſential circumſtance by the firſt nation in Europe."

This Speech of the Firſt Conſul, every paſſage of which called forth repeated ſhouts of applauſe, was followed by the reading of the Conſtitution. Whilſt the title was reading, a general movement of the Aſſembly indicated a wiſh to ſubſtitute for the term Ciſalpine Republic that of Italian Republic, and the Firſt Conſul ſeemed to comply with this general wiſh.

Conſtitution of the Italian Republic.

Title I. *Of the Italian Republic.*

Art. 1. The Catholic Religion, Apoſtolic and Roman, is the Religion of the State.

2. The Sovereignty reſides in the whole of the Citizens.

3. The territory of the Republic is divided into Departments, Diſtricts, and Communes.

Title II. *Of the Rights of Citizenſhip.*

4. Every perſon born of a Ciſalpine father, and remaining on the territory of the Republic, acquires the rights of a Citizen as ſoon as he becomes of age.

The next three Articles regard Naturalization. — Strangers who have acquired property in the State, or who poſſeſs commercial or manufacturing eſtabliſhments, and who have reſided ſeven years in it, may be naturalized. Alſo perſons who poſſeſs great talents or expertneſs in any of the arts or ſciences, even in the mechanical ones, or who have rendered great ſervices to the State, may acquire the rights of Citizenſhip.

8. The law determines the ratio of minority, the quantum of property neceſſary to conſtitute a qualification, and the cauſes for which the exerciſe of the rights of Citizenſhip may be loſt or ſuſpended.

9. Alſo regulates the formation of a civic regiſter. Thoſe Citizens only whoſe names are inſerted in this liſt ſhall be eligible to offices under the State.

Title

Title III. *Of the Colleges.*

10. The three Electoral Colleges, namely, the College of the Poſſidenti, that of the Dotti, and that of the Commercanti, are the primitive organ of the national ſovereignty. Next three Articles regulate the forms of their meetings. They are to meet once in two years, at leaſt, on the invitation of the Government, to complete their number, to appoint the Members of the Conſulta, of the Legiſlative Body, and of the Tribunals of Reviſion and Appeal, and the Commiſſaries of Finance. Their ſittings are to continue a fortnight. They are to deliberate, but not diſcuſs, and that by ſecret ballot, and a third of the Members muſt be preſent to make a Houſe.

14. At every ordinary ſitting of the Colleges, the Government is to preſent to each of them a liſt of the places vacant, and the inſtructions neceſſary for the nomination to them, and the Colleges may receive the claims of the candidates.

15, 16, 17. They are to approve or reject denunciations, give their deciſion on the alterations in the Conſtitution that may be propoſed to them. No perſon under thirty years of years is eligible to any of the Colleges, and the election is for life.

18. A Member of any of the Colleges forfeits it—1ſt, by fraudulent bankruptcy; 2d, by abſence without good cauſe during three following Seſſions; 3d, by accepting an employment under a Foreign Power, without conſent of the Government; 4th, by remaining without the State for ſix months after being recalled, or for any of thoſe cauſes which induce forfeiture of Citizenſhip.

19. Every College on adjourning ſhall ſend to the next Cenſorial Aſſembly the minutes of its ſitting.

Title IV. *Of the College of the Poſſidenti.*

20. The College of the Poſſidenti is compoſed of three hundred Citizens, choſen from ſuch landed proprietors as poſſeſs a revenue of 6000 livres at leaſt. The place of its meeting, for the firſt ten years, ſhall be at Milan.

21. Every department may ſend a member to this College, in the proportion of one for every 30,000 inhabitants.

22. If there be not a ſufficient number of inhabitants in a department poſſeſſed of the qualification required by the 20th Article, the number ſhall be completed from a quadruple liſt of the moſt conſiderable proprietors of the ſame department.

23. At every Seſſion, the College is to complete its numbers according to the liſts of landed property which it is authoriſed to require of the Government.

24. It is to elect nine members from its own body, who are to conſtitute the cenſorial power.

25. It is to make out a triple liſt according to the relative majority of votes, for the election of the Public Functionaries, indicated in the 11th Article, and preſent it to the Cenſors.

Title V. *Of the College of the Dotti.*

26. The College of the Dotti is compoſed of two hundred Citizens, choſen from among perſons who are celebrated for their knowledge in the ſciences, or the liberal or mechanical arts, or from among thoſe

who are distinguished for their acquaintance with ecclesiastical learning, or their researches in morality, legislation, political or administrative information. It shall reside for the first ten years at Bologna.

27. At every meeting the Session transmits to the Censurate a triple list of those Citizens duly qualified, according to which it is to fill up the vacancies in office.

28. It is to select from its body six Members, who are to constitute part of the Censurate.

29. It is to form a double list, according to the majority of suffrages, for the election of Public Functionaries, mentioned in the 11th Article, and present it to the Censurate.

Title VI. *Of the College of the Commercianti.*

30. The College of the Commercianti is composed of two hundred Citizens, chosen from among the most considerable merchants and manufacturers. It is to reside at Brescia for the first ten years. It is to complete itself at every Session, according to the information that it has a right to demand of the Government.

The Articles 28 and 29 are common to all the Colleges.

Title VII. *Of the Censurate.*

33. The Censurate is a Committee of 21 Members, nominated by the Colleges in the form and proportion expressed in the 24th and 28th Articles. It shall reside for the first ten years at Cremona.

34. It shall assemble always on the fifth day after the sittings of the three Colleges.

35. The sitting shall continue for only ten days, and seventeen Members are necessary to constitute a meeting.

36. It is to nominate to all vacant offices from the lists transmitted by the three Colleges, and by the greatest number of votes.

37. It is to declare the election of the Functionaries nominated by the majority of the three Colleges.

38. It is to nominate to the vacancies in the College of the Dotti, agreeable to the 27th Article.

39. It is to terminate its nominations within the time fixed for its meetings.

40. It is to exercise its functions according to the Articles 109, 111, 114.

41. The Censurate is to renew itself at every meeting, ordinary or extraordinary, of the Electoral Colleges.

42. The Acts of the Censurate are to be presented to the Colleges at their first meeting.

Title VIII. *Of the Government.*

43. The Government is entrusted to a President, a Vice President, a Consulta of State, to Ministers, and to a Legislative Body, in conformity to their respective privileges.

44. The President is to exercise his functions for ten years, and to be indefinitely re-eligible.

45. The President has the originating of all the laws, conformably to Article the 79th.

46. He has also the originating of all the diplomatic negociations.

47. He is exclusively invested with the executive power, which he is to exercise by the medium of the Ministers.

48. He appoints the Ministers, the Civil and Diplomatic Agents, the Chiefs of the Army, and the Generals.

Generals. The law provides for the nomination of Officers of inferior rank.

49. He names the Vice President, who, in his abſence, takes his place in the Conſulta of State, and repreſents him in all the capacities which he may chuſe to confide to him. Once appointed, he cannot be diſmiſſed during the Preſidence of him by whom he was elected.

50. In every caſe where the office of Preſident may be vacant, he ſhall poſſeſs all the privileges of the Preſident, until the election of his ſucceſſor.

Next follow ſeveral regulations reſpecting the tranſaction of the public buſineſs between the Preſident and the Secretary of State.

53. The ſalary of the Preſident is fixed at 500,000 livres of Milan, and that of the Vice-Preſident at 100,000.

Title IX. *Of the Conſulta of State.*

54. The Conſulta of State conſiſts of eight Citizens, of forty years of age at leaſt, elected for life by the Colleges, and diſtinguiſhed for eminent ſervices done to the Republic.

55. The Preſident preſides in the Conſulta of State, and one of its Members is to be appointed Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

56. The Conſulta of State is ſpecially charged with the conſideration of diplomatic treaties, and every object which relates to the foreign affairs of the State.

57. The inſtructions relative to negociations are diſcuſſed in the Conſulta, and treaties ſhall be definitive only when ſanctioned by the abſolute majority of its members.

[The 58th, 59th, 60th, 61ſt, and 62d ſections, are not of much importance.]

63. The Preſident excluſively poſſeſſes the initiative in all affairs propoſed in the Conſulta, and in all deciſions his vote is to preponderate.

64. In caſe of the ceſſation, reſignation, or death of the Preſident, the Conſulta of State elects his ſucceſſor by an abſolute majority of votes within the ſpace of forty-eight hours; and it cannot ſeparate until the accompliſhment of that object.

65. The ſalary of the Members of the Conſulta of State is fixed at 30,000 livres.

Title X. *Of the Miniſters.*

Under this head are comprehended a Grand National Judge, or Miniſter of Juſtice, a Miniſter for the Adminiſtration of the Public Treaſury, and a Secretary to the National Judge, who is occaſionally to be his ſubſtitute.

74. No act of the Government can be voted, unleſs ſigned by a Miniſter.

Title XI. *Of the Legiſlative Council.*

75. The Legiſlative Council cannot be compoſed of leſs than ten Citizens of the age of thirty years at leaſt, appointed by the Preſident, but who may be diſmiſſed by him at the end of three years.

76, 77, 78, 79. The Members of the Legiſlative Council have deliberative voices on the projects propoſed by the Preſident, which cannot be paſſed but by an abſolute majority of votes. They are ſpecially charged with the drawing up of projects of law, and explaining the motives for ſanctioning them.

The salary of each Councillor is fixed at 20,000 livres.

Title XII. *Of the Legislative Body.*

81. The Legislative Body is composed of seventy-five members, of thirty years of age at least, chosen by each department according to its population. One half of them are to be taken from the College.

82. It is to be renewed by thirds every two years.—The going out of the first and second third is to be determined by lot.

83. The Government convokes the Legislative Body, and prorogues its sitting. They cannot, however, be shorter than two months annually.

84. In order to entitle it to deliberate, more than one half of the Members must be present, not including the orators.

The regulations which follow merely relate to the forms of appointing the orators, and promulgating or denouncing laws as unconstitutional.

The salary of the Members of the Legislative Body is fixed at 6000 livres of Milan, and that of the Orators at 9000.

Title XIII. *Of the Tribunals.*

This head embraces the appointment of the different Tribunals, Civil and Military, which are formed after the model of the French Republic.

The Judges are all appointed for life, and cannot be deprived of their situations but in consequence of improper conduct.

Title XIV. *Of the Responsibility of the Public Functionaries.*

105. The functions of the Members of the Colleges, and of the Censurate, of the President and Vice President of the Government, of the Members of the Consulta of State, of the Legislative Council, of the Legislative Body, of the Chamber of Orators, and of the Tribunals of Revision and Cassation, are not subject to any responsibility.

107. The Ministers are responsible;—1. for the Acts of the Government signed by them; 2. for neglect in executing the laws and the rules of public administration; 3. for particular orders given by them contrary to the Constitution, and to the regulations by which it is supported; 4. for peculation.

The other sections of this head relate to the powers of the Tribunal of Cassation, for trying the Ministers accused, and to the share taken by the Colleges and the Censurate in that transaction.

Title XV. *General Dispositions.*

116. The Constitution acknowledges no other civil distinction than that which is derived from the exercise of public functions.

117, 118, 119. Every inhabitant of the Cisalpine territory is free with respect to the particular exercise of his religion. The Republic recognises no privileges for, or impediments to, industry and commerce, both externally and internally, but those founded in law.

120. There is throughout the Republic an uniformity of weights, measures, coin, of civil and criminal laws, and the elementary system of instruction.

121. A National Institute is charged with collecting discoveries, and

and bringing to perfection the sciences and the arts.

122. A National Exchequer is to regulate and ascertain the accounts of the revenues and expences of the Republic. It is to consist of five Members appointed by the Colleges, one of whom is to resign in every two years, but is to be re-eligible.

123. The troops who receive pay to obey the orders of the Administration. The National Guards are subject only to the laws.

124. The Public Force, by its very nature, must obey. No armed body can deliberate.

125. All the debts and credits of the ancient provinces now the Cisalpine, are recognized by the Republic.

126. Every purchaser of national property, at a legal sale, cannot be disturbed in the possession of it; but any lawful claimant is to be indemnified by the treasury of the State.

127. The law assigns, on the national property not sold, a sufficient revenue to all Bishops, Chapters, Seminaries, Curates, and for Church repairs. This revenue cannot be otherwise applied.

128. The Consulta may at the end of three years propose any alterations in the Constitution it deems necessary.

After the Constitution was read, Mariani developed the spirit and the advantages of it, and read the first organic law of the Constitution relative to the Clergy.

The Bishops are to be elected by the Government, and instituted by the Holy See. The Cures are chosen by the Bishop; the limits of the dioceses are not to suffer any innovations; each diocese has its chapter. The Bishop may order any Ecclesiastical delinquent to a retreat of penitence in the seminaries, or in some convent. If the offence be heinous, he interdicts him from his functions. The Clergy are relieved from all military service.

After this law was read, the Archbishop of Revenna expressed the assent of all the Cisalpine Clergy, and invited all the Ministers of Worship to inculcate obedience to the Constitution.

The First Consul confirmed the wish expressed by the Archbishop.

The lists of all the Members of the Colleges, Government, &c. were then read.

The Members of the Government are,

BONAPARTE, President.
MELZI, Vice President.
GUICCIARDI, Secretary of State.
SPANOCCHI, Grand Judge.

The following Extract of a Dispatch from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Chargé-d'Affaires Bacher, has been communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon:

"*Paris, Feb.* 14, 1802.

"CITIZEN, I think it incumbent upon me to inform you officially, of the results of an extraordinary Consulta of the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic, held at Lyons.

"The treaty of Luneville had consecrated the existence of that republic; but it was there spoke of rather as about to exist, than as actually established.

"The Cisalpine Republic, successively occupied by French and Imperial troops, had not the power of governing herself. It was the

duty of the French government, after having enſured the freedom of that country by arms; after having cauſed her independence to be acknowledged by all the powers of the Continent, to call upon her to fulfil the firſt duties neceſſary to the enjoyment of theſe advantages.

"The public voice of Italy, and the formal requeſt of the proviſory authorities, had on various occaſions expreſſed the general confidence which that nation placed in him, and their wiſh to receive from him both a definitive conſtitution, and the firſt choice of her magiſtrates. The Firſt Conſul was anxious that this general wiſh of that nation ſhould be accompliſhed agreeably to the principles of her independence. He convoked the principal citizens; he collected their opinions and ſuffrages. It is by theſe opinions, and theſe ſuffrages that her conſtitution and magiſtrates have been choſen.

"The government of the republic feels that the tranquillity of Europe depends upon the tranquillity of each ſtate which forms a part of it.—After having made the greateſt efforts to terminate a war which for ſo long a time deſolated Europe, it hopes that the influence of cool wiſdom in all thoſe nations within the ſphere of its alliance, will deſtroy all uncertainty and agitation. The wiſeſt citizens of the Italian Republic, reflecting on the diverſity of elements of which they were compoſed, became convinced, that to prevent the injurious effects which might ariſe from the rivalſhip, the pretenſions, and the enmities of their fellow-citizens, it was neceſſary to call in the aid of the aſcendancy of a foreigner, who ſhould be ſuperior to thoſe paſſions, and who would not by his conduct give riſe to diſorders which might not only diſturb the tranquillity of the Italian Republic, but trouble the repoſe of Europe.

"It was from a deep impreſſion of theſe circumſtances, that they felt themſelves bound to repreſent to the Firſt Conſul, that their country ought, in the firſt moments of its political exiſtence, to be ſecured in its independence, guarded againſt the dangers with which it might be threatened, and wiſely directed in the choice of means for its future preſervation.

"Such, citizen, are the reſult of the convocation of the Italian Conſulta at Lyons. I beg you will communicate to the government where you reſide, the notification which I have the honour of making to you. I have no doubt but that it will ſee in this event, a new proof of the deſire which animates the government of the republic to conſolidate, by every means in its power, the general tranquillity of Europe, and to guarantee permanently the relations which unite the different ſtates.

(Signed)

"C. M. TALLEYRAND."

Decree reſpecting Emigrants, publiſhed at Paris, April 27.

TITLE I. *Diſpoſitions relative to the Perſons of Emigrants.*

ART. I. AN amneſty is granted for emigration, to every individual who is not definitively eraſed.

II. Thoſe

II. Thoſe individuals who are not in France, ſhall be bound to return before the 23d of September next.

III. Immediately on their return, they ſhall declare before the Commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe, in the cities of Calais, Bruſſels, Mayence, Straſburg, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan, and Bourdeaux, that they return to the Territory of the Republic by virtue of the Amneſty.

IV. This declaration ſhall be followed by an oath of fidelity to the government eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution; and that they will not entertain, either directly or indirectly, any connexion or correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate.

V. Thoſe who have received from foreign powers, places, titles, decorations, gratuities, or penſions, ſhall be bound to declare it before the ſame commiſſaries, and formally to renounce the ſame.

VI. Thoſe who ſhall not return to France before the 23d of September, and have fulfilled the conditions preſcribed by the preceding articles ſhall remain excluded out of the preſent Amneſty, and definitively placed upon the liſt of Emigrants, unleſs they prove, in due form, that it was impoſſible for them to return to the territory of the Republic within the time fixed, and that they have before the expiration of that time fulfilled before the Agents of the Republic, in the countries where they reſide, the other conditions above expreſſed.

VII. Thoſe who are at preſent on the French territory, ſhall be bound under the ſame penalty and definitive eſtabliſhment on the liſt of Emigrants, to make within one month from the date of the preſent Act, before the prefect of the department where they reſide, ſitting in the council of prefecture, the ſame declaration, oath, and renunciation.

VIII. The Commiſſaries and Prefects charged with receiving ſuch declarations, oaths, and renunciations, ſhall without delay tranſmit to the miniſter of the interior, in the form of a diſpatch, the proces-verbal of their proceedings, on ſight of which the miniſter ſhall make out a certificate of Amneſty, which ſhall be ſent to the miniſter of juſtice, by whom it ſhall be ſigned, and delivered to the individual concerned.

IX. Such individual ſhall, until the delivery of ſuch certificate of Amneſty, reſide in the commune in which he made the declaration of his return to the territory of the Republic.

X. The following perſons are exempted out of the preſent Amneſty. 1ſt, Thoſe individuals who have commanded armies aſſembled in hoſtility to the Republic. 2d, Thoſe who have had rank in the Enemies' Armies. 3d, Thoſe who ſince the foundation of the Republic have held places in the houſeholds of the ci-devant French Princes. 4th, Thoſe who are known to have been, or were actually movers or agents of the civil or foreign war. 5th, Thoſe who commanded by land or ſea, as well as the repreſentatives of the people, who have been found guilty of Treaſon againſt the Republic, and the archbiſhops and biſhops who, deſpiſing legitimate authority, have refuſed to give in their reſignation.

XI. The individuals denominated

nated in the preceding article, are definitively placed on the liſt of Emigrants; but the number ſo definitively placed on the liſt of Emigrants, ſhall not exceed 1000, of whom 500 ſhall be named previous to the 23d of September next.

XII. The Emigrants to whom the Amneſty is extended, as well as thoſe who have been definitively eraſed from the liſt of Emigrants, according to the decree of the conſuls of the 28th Vendemiaire (October 20,) 1801, ſhall for the ſpace of ten years from the date of the Eraſure, or certificate of Amneſty, be under the ſpecial inſpection of government.

XIII. The government, if it judges expedient, ſhall have the power to oblige the individuals placed under the ſaid inſpection, to remove to the diſtance of 20 leagues from the ordinary place of reſidence. They may alſo be removed to a greater diſtance, if circumſtances ſhould require it; but in that caſe, the order of removal muſt firſt have been committed to the council of ſtate.

XIV. After the expiration of the ten years of inſpection, all the individuals againſt whom the government ſhall not have been obliged to put the above-mentioned meaſures in execution, ſhall ceaſe to be ſubject to the ſaid inſpection; it may be extended to the whole duration of the lives of thoſe againſt whom theſe meaſures have been put in execution.

XV. The individuals ſubjected to the inſpection of government ſhall enjoy, in other reſpects, all their rights as citizens.

Title II, *Arrangement relative to Goods.*

XVI. The individuals included in the Amneſty, ſhall not be entitled, under any pretext, or in any caſe, to interfere with the arrangements reſpecting property, which have been entered into between the Republic and individuals before the preſent Amneſty.

XVII. Thoſe of their goods which are ſtill in the hands of the nation (with the exception of woods and foreſts, which have been declared unalienable by law, immovables applied to public ſervice, the rights of property real or pretended to impoſitions on the grand canals, claims which they may have on the Public Treaſury, and the extinction of which took place in the moment of confuſion, when the Republic ſeized on their goods and debts), ſhall be reſtored to them without any of the fruits, which in conformity to a law paſſed, pertain to the Republic, down to the day on which they obtain their Certificate of Amneſty.

The preſent *Senatus-Conſulta* ſhall be tranſmitted by a meſſage to the Conſuls of the Republic.

(Signed)

TRONCHET, Preſident;
Chapel and *Serrurier*, Secretaries.

By the Conſervative Senate,
Cauchy, Secretary-General.

Let the preſent Senatus-Conſulte be confirmed by the Seal of State, inſerted in the Bulletin of the Laws, inſcribed in the Regiſters of the Judiciary and Adminiſtrative Authorities, and let the Miniſter of Juſtice be charged with ſuperintending its publication.

Paris, April 26, 1802.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE, Firſt Conſul.
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

Addreſs

Addreſs to the Legiſlative Body of France, on the 6th of May, 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was communicated to them.

" Citizens Legiſlators,

" THE government addreſſes to you the treaty which has put a final period to the diſſenſions of Europe, and completed the great work of peace.

" The Republic combated for its independence—its independence is recognized: the acknowledgment of every power conſecrates thoſe rights which ſhe had held from nature, and thoſe limits which ſhe derived from her victories.

" Another Republic has been eſtabliſhed in her boſom, founded on the ſame principles, and drawing from the ſame ſource the ancient ſpirit of the Gauls. Attached to France by the remembrance of a common origin, by common inſtitutions, and above all, by the tie of benefits conferred, the *Italian Republic* takes rank amongſt the powers of Europe, and amongſt our allies, ſupported by courage and diſtinguiſhed by virtue.

" The *Batavian Republic* is reſtored to a unity of intereſt: freed from that double influence which perplexed its councils, and diſtracted its politics, it has regained its independence, and finds in the nation which had conquered it, the moſt faithful guarantee of its exiſtence and its rights. The wiſdom of its adminiſtration will preſerve its ſplendour, and the active economy of its citizens will reſtore proſperity.

" The *Helvetic Republic*, recognized without, is continually agitated within by factions, who diſpute for power. Government, faithful to its principles, will not exerciſe over an independent nation any other influence than that of its councils: its councils have, however, hitherto been unheeded, but it ſtill hopes that the voice of wiſdom and moderation will be liſtened to, and that the neighbouring powers of Helvetia will not be compelled to interfere to put a ſtop to troubles which menace their own tranquillity.

" It was due from the Republic to her engagements, and the fidelity of Spain, to make every effort to preſerve the integrity of the territory of that kingdom. This duty ſhe fulfilled throughout the negotiation, with all the energy which circumſtances would allow. The King of Spain acknowledges the fidelity of his allies, and his generoſity has made that ſacrifice to peace which they endeavoured to ſpare him. He has acquired by this, new claims to the attachment of France, and a ſacred title to the gratitude of Europe. Already the return of commerce conſoles his ſtates for the calamities of war, and ſoon a vivifying ſpirit will infuſe into his vaſt poſſeſſions a new activity and a new induſtry.

" Rome, Naples, and Etruria, are reſtored to tranquillity, and the arts of peace.—Lucca has found reſt and independence under a conſtitution which has deſtroyed all animoſities, and united all hearts. Liguria has founded, on the conſent of all parties, the principles of its organization; and Genoa again ſees riches and commerce enter her ports. The Republic of the Seven Iſlands is ſtill, as well as Helvetia, the prey of anarchy; but the Emperor of Ruſſia, in concert with France, has ordered ſome troops which

which he had in Naples, to be tranſported thither, which will reſtore to thoſe happy countries the only bleſſing which they want, viz. tranquillity, the deſtruction of faction, and the enforcement of the laws. Thus, from one extremity to the other, Europe ſees peace reſtored upon the continent and upon the ocean, and its happineſs founded upon the union of the great powers, and upon the faith of treaties.

"In America, the known principles of government have afforded to Martinico, Tobago, and St. Lucia the moſt perfect ſecurity; they no longer dread thoſe imprudent laws, which would ſpread devaſtation and death throughout the colonies. Their only wiſh is to be united to the mother-country, and they will bring back to it, with their attachment and confidence, a degree of proſperity at leaſt equal to that which they have before enjoyed. At St. Domingo great calamities have happened; great evils are to be repaired; but the inſurrection grows leſs formidable every day: Touſſaint, without fortreſſes, without treaſure, without army, is no more than a chief of banditti, wandering from mountain to mountain, whom our light troops are conſtantly purſuing, and will ſoon deſtroy.

"The peace is known in the Iſle of France and in India; the firſt cares of government have already brought back their love of the Republic, their confidence in its laws, and afforded every hope of proſperity.

"Many years will paſs over us without victories, without triumphs, without thoſe ſplendid negotiations which fix the deſtiny of ſtates; but another ſpecies of ſucceſs ought to mark the exiſtence of nations, and, above all, that of the Republic. Induſtry is every where re-animated, and commerce and the arts every where unite to efface the calamities of war. Labour of every kind calls for the attention of government. It will perform this new taſk with ſucceſs, as it ſhall poſſeſs the confidence of the French people. The years which are to come, will be, it is true, leſs celebrated; but the happineſs of France will increaſe, inſtead of her obtaining that glory which ſhe would now deſpiſe.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE,
"Firſt Conſul.
"H. B. MARET,
"Sec. of State."

Deliberation, containing the Re-election of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic. Extracted from the Regiſters of the Deliberations of the Conſervative Senate, the 18th Floréal (May 8.)

THE Senate, aſſembled to the number preſcribed by the 60th article of the Conſtitutional Act;

Having ſeen the meſſage of the Conſuls of the Republic, tranſmitted by three Orators of the Government, relative to the peace between France and England;

After having heard its ſpecial commiſſion, charged by its decree of the 16th of this month, to preſent its views reſpecting that expreſſion of national gratitude, which the Senate is of opinion it ought to teſtify to the Firſt Conſul of the Republic;

Conſidering, that in the preſent ſituation of the Republic, it is the duty of the Conſervative Senate to employ

employ all the means that the conſtitution has placed in its power, to give to the government that ſtability which alone increaſes its reſources, inſpires confidence abroad, and eſtabliſhes credit at home; encourages allies, and diſcourages ſecret enemies; baniſhes the evils of war, permits the fruits of peace to be enjoyed, and leaves wiſdom time to execute all ſhe can conceive for the happineſs of a free people;

Conſidering, beſides, that the Supreme Magiſtrate, who, after having ſo often conducted the Republican legions to victory, having delivered Italy, triumphed in Europe, Africa, and Aſia, and filled the world with his renown, has preſerved France from the horrors of anarchy which threatened her, has broken the revolutionary ſcythe, diſperſed factions, extinguiſhed civil diſcords and religious troubles, added order and ſecurity to the bleſſings of liberty, haſtened the progreſs of the human mind, conſoled mankind, and given peace both to the land and ſeas, has the greateſt right to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, as well as to the admiration of poſterity;

That the wiſh of the Tribunal, which the Senate has received in this day's ſitting, may, in this caſe, be conſidered as that of the French nation;

That the Senate cannot expreſs, in a more ſolemn way, to the Firſt Conſul, the gratitude of the nation, than by giving a marked proof of the confidence which the French people repoſes in him;

Conſidering alſo, that the Second and Third Conſuls have worthily ſeconded the glorious labours of the Firſt Conſul of the Republic;

From theſe conſiderations, and after the ſuffrages had been collected by ballot,

The Senate decrees as follows:

Art. I. The Conſervative Senate, in the name of the French people, expreſſes its gratitude to the Conſuls of the Republic.

II. The Conſervative Senate re-elects Citizen Napoleon Buonaparté, Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, for the ten years which ſhall immediately follow the expiration of the ten years for which he has been named by the 39th article of the conſtitution.

III. The preſent *Senatus Conſulte* ſhall be tranſmitted by a meſſage to the Legiſlative Body, to the Tribunate, and to the Conſuls of the Republic.

(Signed)

TRONCHET, Preſident.

CHASSET and SERRURIER, } Secretaries.

Paris, 19th Floréal (May 9.)

Buonaparté, Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to the Conſervative Senate.

Senators,

THE honourable proof of eſteem marked in your deliberation of the 18th (May 8th), will be always engraved on my heart.

It was the ſuffrage of the people which inveſted me with the Chief Magiſtracy. I ſhould not conſider myſelf ſure of poſſeſſing their confidence, if the act which was to retain me in that ſituation was not alſo ſanctioned by the ſuffrages of the people.

In the three years which have laſt paſſed, fortune has ſmiled on the Republic; but fortune is inconſtant,

conſtant, and how many men has ſhe loaded with her favours, who have afterwards lived too long!

The intereſt of my glory and that of my happineſs would appear to mark as the termination of my public life the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed. But the glory and happineſs of an individual citizen muſt be ſilent, when the intereſt of the ſtate and the opinion of the public call upon him.

In your judgment, I ought to make a freſh ſacrifice for the good of the people; I ſhall do, if the wiſh of the people commands, what your ſuffrage authorizes me to do.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

By order of the Firſt Conſul,

H. B. MARET.

Decree of the 20th Floréal (May 10th) for ſubmitting to the People the Queſtion, whether Bonaparte ſhall be Conſul for Life.

THE Conſuls of the Republic, upon the reports of the miniſters; having heard the Council of State; having ſeen the act of the Conſervative Senate, of the 18th (8th May); and the meſſage of the Firſt Conſul to the Conſervative Senate, dated the 19th (May 9th); conſidering that the reſolution of the Firſt Conſul is a diſtinguiſhed homage paid to the ſovereignty of the people; that the people, when conſulted on their deareſt intereſts, ſhould know no other limits but thoſe intereſts, decree what follows:

Art. I. The French people ſhall be conſulted on this queſtion; "Shall Napoleon Buonaparté be Conſul for life?"

II. There ſhall be open in each commune, regiſters, in which the citizens ſhall be invited to mark their wiſh upon this queſtion.

III. Thoſe regiſters ſhall be open at the Secretary's Office in all the adminiſtrations, at the Clerks of all the Tribunals, and with all the Mayors and Notaries.

IV. The delay for voting in each department ſhall be three weeks, counting from the day that this decree ſhall arrive at the prefecture, and ſeven days from the day it ſhall be delivered to each commune.

V. The miniſters are charged with the execution of the preſent decree, which is to be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed)

CAMBACERES, 2d Conſul.

By order of the 2d Conſul,

H. B. MARET.

Proceedings with reſpect to the Appointment of Bonaparte to be Firſt Conſul for Life.

Meſſage, July 29, 1802, of the Conſuls of the Republic to the Conſervative Senate.

"Senators,

ON the 6th of May laſt, the Tribunate expreſſed a wiſh that a ſtriking pledge of national gratitude might be given to the Firſt Conſul. That wiſh was applauded by the Legiſlative Body, and repeated by a ſpontaneous movement of the citizens.

"The Senate raiſed its thoughts ſtill higher; and in the accompliſhment of that wiſh, it hoped to find the ſure means of giving to the government that ſtability which

which alone can multiply the resources of the nation, eſtabliſh confidence without and credit within, inſpirit allies, diſcourage enemies, extinguiſh the flames of war, permit the enjoyment of the fruits of peace, and leave to future wiſdom the taſk of executing every thing that can be conceived as contributing to the happineſs of a free people.

"The First Conſul was of opinion that the circumſtances of his firſt nomination prevented him from accepting the propoſed re-election, unleſs it ſhould be ſpecifically conferred by the French people, thereby giving a proof of their attachment to, and permanent confidence in, the magiſtrate who had been the object of their firſt choice.

"In this manner we have thought it our duty to carry into execution the ideas of the Senate.

"The French people have given their anſwer; the government has received from almoſt all the Departments, the acts which contain the expreſſion of the will of the people. It is to the Senate we have thought in this new caſe, that it belongs to collect and to promulgate the wiſhes of the people. We have therefore ordered the Miniſter of the Interior to place at the diſpoſal of the Senate, the Regiſters in which thoſe votes are contained.

"We invite the Senate to take thoſe meaſures which ſhall ſeem to its wiſdom the moſt proper, for the purpoſe of ſtating the reſult.

"The Second Conſul, *Cambaceres.*

"By the Second Conſul,

"The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET."

The Audience of the Corps Diplomatique was interrupted on the 3d of Auguſt by the Introduction of the Conſervative Senate.—Citizen Barthelemy, the Preſident, ſpoke as follows:

"CITIZEN Firſt Conſul.—The French, grateful for the immenſe ſervices you have rendered to them, wiſh that the Firſt Magiſtracy of the State ſhould be irrevocably placed in your hands. In thus conferring it upon you for life, they only expreſs the opinion of the Senate, as ſtated in its *Senatus Conſultum* of the 8th of May. The nation, by this ſolemn act of gratitude, confides to you the taſk of conſolidating our inſtitutions.

"A new career commences for the Firſt Conſul: after prodigies of valour and military talents, he has terminated the war, and obtained every where the moſt honourable conditions of peace. The French people under his auſpices have aſſumed the attitude and character of true greatneſs.—He is the Pacificator of Nations, and the Reſtorer of France. His name alone is a tower of ſtrength.

"Already an adminiſtration of leſs than three years has almoſt made us forget that epoch of anarchy and calamities which ſeemed to have dried up the ſources of public proſperity.

"But evils yet remain to be healed, and inquietudes to be diſſipated. The French people, after having aſtoniſhed the world by warlike exploits, expect of you, Citizen Firſt Conſul, all the benefits of that peace which you have procured for them.

"If

" If ſeeds of diſcord ſtill exiſt, the Proclamation of the Perpetual Conſulate of Bonaparté will diſſipate them. Every one will now rally round him. His powerful genius will ſupport and preſerve all. He exiſts only for the proſperity and the happineſs of the French people. His conſtant efforts will be directed to increaſe the national glory and national greatneſs. What nation, in fact, better deſerves happineſs, and of what people more enlightened, or more ſenſible, can he deſire the eſteem and attachment?

" The Conſervative Senate will aſſociate itſelf with all the generous maxims of Government. It will ſecond, by all the means in its power, every amelioration which ſhall have for its end the prevention of the return of thoſe evils by which we have been ſo long afflicted, and the extenſion and conſolidation of thoſe benefits which you have conferred upon us. It is its duty alſo to contribute to the accompliſhment of the wiſhes of the people, which have been manifeſted in a manner ſo honourable to their zeal and their diſcernment.

" The *Senatus Conſultum* which the Senate in a body now preſent to you, Citizen Firſt Conſul, contains the expreſſion of its own gratitude. The organ of the ſovereign will, it was of opinion, could not better fulfil the intentions of the French people, than by calling in the aid of the arts to perpetuate the remembrance of this memorable event."

After this Addreſs, Citizen Barthelemy, the Preſident, read the Act, of which the following is the tenor.

Senatus Conſultum. Extract from the Regiſters of the Conſervative Senate of the 2d of Auguſt, 1802.

THE Conſervative Senate, conſiſting of the number of members preſcribed by the 90th article of the Conſtitution; deliberating upon the meſſage of the Conſuls of the Republic, of the 29th ult.; after having heard the report of the ſpecial Committee, charged with the verification of the Regiſters of the Votes given by the French people; ſeeing the *Procès-Verbal* prepared by the ſpecial Committee, and which ſtates, that 3,577,259 citizens have given their ſuffrages, and that 3,568,885 citizens have voted, that Napoleon Bonaparté ſhould be appointed Conſul for Life; conſidering that the Senate, eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution as the organ of the people, in every thing in which the ſocial compact is intereſted, ought to manifeſt in a ſplendid manner the national gratitude towards the conquering and pacificating hero, and to proclaim ſolemnly that it is the will of the French people to give to the government every neceſſary ſtability and independence, in order to enſure the proſperity and glory of the Republic, decrees as follows:

Art. I. The French people do appoint, and the Senate do proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparté Firſt Conſul for life.

II. A ſtatue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the Senate, ſhall atteſt to poſterity the gratitude of the nation.

III. The Senate ſhall convey to the Firſt Conſul the expreſſion of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, Preſident.
Vaubois

Vaubois and *Fargues*, Secretaries.

By the Conservative Senate, the Secretary General,

(Signed) *Cauchy*.

The First Consul replied as follows:

" Senators,

THE life of a citizen belongs to his country. The people of France wish that the whole of mine should be consecrated to their service, and I obey.—In giving me this new, this permanent pledge of their confidence, they have imposed upon me the duty of maintaining the system of the laws and institutions of the Republic. By my efforts, by your co-operation, Citizen Senators, and that of the Constituted Authorities, and by the confidence and will of this immense people, the liberty, equality, and prosperity of the people of France will be secured from all the accidents which arise from the uncertainty of futurity. The best people shall, as they deserve, be the most happy, and their happiness shall contribute to that of all Europe.

" Content with having been called by the order of him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without any uneasiness about the opinion of future generations.

" Senators, receive my thanks for this solemn proceeding. The desire of the Senate has expressed the wish of the people of France, and is thereby more strongly connected with whatever remains to be done for the happiness of the people of France. It is very gratifying to me, to be assured of this by the speech of so distinguished a president."

The Members of the Senate then retired.

Circular Letter of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects of the different Departments, dated Paris, 4th August.

" I SEND you, Citizen Prefect, the *Senatus Consultum*, which proclaims the will of the French people. You will cause it to be proclaimed throughout the whole of your Department on the 15th of August. That day shall hereafter be consecrated by the recollection of great events. It will recall to our posterity the recollection of the memorable epocha of public happiness, when the consciences of the people were set at peace, and when the people of France exercised the greatest act of sovereignty ever exercised by any nation.

" The 15th of August is at once the anniversary of the birth-day of the Chief Consul, of the signature of the Concordat, and the day on which the people of France, wishing to secure and perpetuate their happiness, have connected its duration with that of the glorious career of Napoleon Bonaparte.

" What pleasing recollections to excite the enthusiasm of the French people! What a concurrence of great events to awaken in every heart those generous sentiments which characterize the French nation!

" Let this great day be celebrated by acts of benevolence. I invite you, Citizen Prefect, to consecrate the whole of it to happiness,

by uniting in marriage thoſe individuals who are moſt eminent for their virtue.

(Signed) "CHAPTAL."

Paris, Auguſt 5.—Extract of the Regiſters of the Deliberations of the Council of State, of the Sitting of Auguſt 4.—Project of a Senatus Conſultum for organizing the Conſtitution.

TITLE I.

Art. I. Each juriſdiction of a Juſtice of the Peace has a Cantonal Aſſembly.

1. Each communal circuit or diſtrict of Sub-prefecture, has an Electoral College for the circuit.

3. Each department has an Electoral College for the department.

Title II. *Of the Cantonal Aſſemblies.*

4. The Aſſembly of the Canton is compoſed of all the citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and inſcribed on the commune liſt of the circuit.

From the epoch when the communal liſts ought to be renewed in the terms of the Conſtitution, the Aſſembly of the Canton ſhall be compoſed of all the citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and enjoying the rights of citizenſhip.

5. The Firſt Conſul nominates the Preſident of the Canton Aſſembly.

His functions continue for five years, and he may be re-appointed indefinitely.

He is aſſiſted by four Inſpectors; two of them being the oldeſt, and the other two the perſons paying moſt taxes among the citizens having a right to vote in the Cantonal Aſſembly.

The Preſident and four Inſpectors appoint the Secretary.

6. The Aſſembly of the Canton, divides itſelf into Sections for performing the operations belonging to it.

At the firſt convocation of each Aſſembly, its organization and forms of proceeding ſhall be determined by a regulation iſſued by the Government.

7. The Preſident of the Cantonal Aſſembly appoints the Preſidents of the Sections.

Their functions terminate with each Sectionary Aſſembly.

They are, each of them, aſſiſted by two Inſpectors, the one being the eldeſt, and the other the moſt heavily taxed, of the citizens having a right to vote in the ſection.

8. The Cantonal Aſſembly returns two citizens out of whom the Firſt Conſul chooſes the Juſtice of the Peace for the Canton.

It, in like manner returns two citizens for each vacant place of *ſuppleant* to the Juſtices of Peace.

9. The Juſtices of the Peace and their *ſuppleants* are appointed for ten years.

10. In cities containing 5000 perſons, the Cantonal Aſſembly preſents two citizens for each ſeat in the Municipal Council. In cities where there may be ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace, or ſeveral Cantonal Aſſemblies, each aſſembly will, in like manner, preſent two citizens for each ſeat in the Municipal Council.

11. The Members of the Municipal Council are taken by each Cantonal Aſſembly, from a liſt of a hundred of the perſons paying moſt taxes in the Canton. This liſt

liſt ſhall be executed and printed by order of the Prefect.

12. The Municipal Councils are renewed in the proportion of one half every ten years.

13. The Firſt Conſul chooſes the Mayors and Aſſiſtants in the Municipal Councils. They are to be five years in office, and may be re-appointed.

14. The Cantonal Aſſembly nominates to the Electoral College of the Circuit the number of members aſſigned to it, in proportion to the number of citizens of which it is compoſed.

15. It nominates to the Electoral College of the Department, from a liſt hereinafter referred to, the number of members aſſigned to it.

16. The members of the Electoral Colleges muſt be domiciliated in the reſpective circuits and departments.

17. The Government convokes the Cantonal Aſſemblies, fixes the time of their ſitting, and the object of their meeting.

Title III. *Electoral Colleges.*

18. The Electoral Colleges of the circuits have one member for every 500 domiciliated inhabitants of the circuit.—The number of members cannot, however, exceed 200, nor fall below 120.

19. The Department Electoral Colleges have one member for every 1000 domiciliated inhabitants in the department; but notwithſtanding, theſe members cannot be more than 300, nor fewer than 200.

20. The members of the Electoral Colleges are appointed for life.

21. If a member of an Electoral College is denounced to the Government as having permitted any act contrary to the dictates of honour or the intereſts of the country, the Government invites the College to manifeſt its opinion thereon. Three-fourths of the votes are neceſſary to make a denounced member loſe his place in the College.

22. A Member loſes his ſeat in the Electoral Colleges for the ſame cauſe which would deprive him of the rights of citizenſhip.

He alſo loſes when, without any legitimate obſtruction, he abſents himſelf from three ſucceſſive meetings.

23. The Firſt Conſul appoints the Preſidents of the Electoral Colleges on each ſeſſion.—The Police of the Electoral College when aſſembled is excluſively under the direction of the Preſident.

24. The Electoral Colleges appoint, at the commencement of each ſeſſion, two Inſpectors and a Secretary.

25. In order to the formation of the Electoral Colleges of department, there ſhall be drawn up in each department, under the orders of the Miniſter of Finance, a liſt of 600 citizens, who are moſt heavily aſſeſſed to the land tax, the tax on moveables, the tax on luxury, and the tax on licences.

To the amount of the contribution muſt be added in the departmental domicile, ſuch ſum as may be proved to be paid in other parts of the territory of France or the colonies. This liſt ſhall be printed.

26. The Cantonal Aſſembly will ſelect from this liſt the Members to be appointed to the Electoral College of the department.

27. The Firſt Conſul may add to the Electoral Colleges of Circuit,

ten Members chosen from among the citizens belonging to the Legion of Honour, or who have performed public services.

He may add to each Electoral College of department twenty citizens, ten of whom to be taken from the thirty most heavily taxed in the department; and ten others, either from the Members of the Legion of Honour, or citizens who have performed public services.

He is not limited to precise periods in making these nominations.

28. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present to the First Consul two citizens domiciliated in the circuit for each vacant seat in the Council of the circuit.—Of those citizens, one at least must, of necessity, be chosen from among the members of the Electoral College which appoints him.

The Councils of circuit are removed by thirds, once in five years.

29. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present at each meeting two citizens to form part of the list, from which are to be chosen the Members of the Tribunate.

Of these citizens, one, at least, must necessarily belong to the College which presents him.

Both of them may be chosen from persons not residing in the department.

30. The Electorate Colleges of the Departments present to the First Consul two citizens domiciliated in each Department for every place vacant in the Council-General of the Department.

One of these citizens, at least, must necessarily be taken from the Electoral College which presents him.

The renovation of the Councils General of the Departments taken place by thirds every five years.

31. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments present at each meeting two citizens to form the list from which the Members of the Senate are named.

One of them, at least, must necessarily be taken from the College which presents him, and they both may be taken from the Department.

They are to have the age and the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution.

32. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits present each two citizens domiciliated in the department, in order to form a list from which the Members of the Deputation to the Legislative Body are to be named.

One of these citizens is necessarily to be taken from the college which presents him.

There must be three times as many different candidates on the list formed by the combination of the presentations of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits as there are vacant places.

33. The same person may be a Member of a Council of Commune and of an Electoral College of Circuit or Department.

The same person cannot, however, be at the same time Member of a College of Circuit and College of Department.

34. The members of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate cannot attend the Sittings of the Electoral College to which they belong.

All the other public functionaries have a right to attend and to vote.

35. No Cantonal Assembly shall proceed to nominate to the places that

that belong to it in an Electoral College, until these places are reduced to two-thirds.

36. The Electoral Colleges can assemble only in consequence of an act of convocation emanating from the government, and in the places assigned to them.

They can take cognizance of the subjects only for which they are assembled, nor can they prolong their sittings beyond the time fixed by the act of Convocation.—If they exceed these limits, the government possesses the right of dissolving them.

37. The Electorate Colleges can neither directly or indirectly, nor under any pretext whatsoever, hold any intercourse with each other.

38. The dissolution of an Electoral Body necessarily leads to the renewal of all its Members.

Title IV. *Of the Consuls.*

39. The Consuls are for life. They are members of the Senate, and act as Presidents.

40. The Second and Third Consuls are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First.

41. For this purpose when any of the two places become vacant, the First Consul presents to the Senate a first person. If he is not appointed, he presents a second, and if the second is not accepted, he presents a third, who is of necessity appointed.

42. When the First Consul thinks proper, he appoints a citizen to succeed him after his death, according to the forms prescribed in the preceding article.

43. The citizen appointed to succeed the First Consul takes an oath to the Republic, to be administered by the First Consul, assisted by the Second and Third Consuls, in the presence of the Senate, the Ministers, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, the Tribunal of Cassation, the Archbishops, Bishops, Presidents of the Tribunals of Appeal, the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges, the Presidents of the Cantonal Assemblies, the Grand Officers of the Legion of Honour, and the Mayors of the 24 principal Cities of the Republic.

The Secretary of State draws up the Procès-Verbal of the administration of the oath.

44. The oath is in these terms, —"I swear to maintain the Constitution, to respect the liberty of conscience, to oppose the return of feudal institutions; never to make war but for the defence and glory of the Republic; and not to employ the power wherewith I shall be invested, but for the happiness of the people, from whom and for whom I shall have received it."

45. Having taken this oath, he takes his seat in the Senate immediately after the Third Consul.

46. The First Consul may deposit, among the archives of Government, his wish as to the nomination of a successor, to be presented to the Senate after his death.

47. In this case, he summonses the attendance of the Second and Third Consuls, the Ministers and Presidents of the sections of the the Council of State. In their presence he delivers to the Secretary of State the paper sealed with his seal, and in which his wish is recorded. This paper is subscribed by all those who are present at the transaction. The Secretary of

State depoſits it among the archives of Government in the preſence of the Miniſters and Preſidents of the Sections of the Council of State.

48. The Firſt Conſul may withdraw this depoſit, obſerving the formalities preſcribed in the preceding article.

49. After the death of the Firſt Conſul, if his choice has remained in depoſit, the paper containing it is withdrawn from the archives of Government by the Secretary of State, in the preſence of the Miniſters and Preſidents of the Sections of the Council of State; their authenticity and identity being aſcertained in the preſence of the Second and Third Conſuls. It is addreſſed to the Senate by a meſſage from the Government, with a copy of the Procès-Verbal, certifying the depoſit, the identity, and authenticity.

50. If the perſon, preſented by the Firſt Conſul, is not appointed, the Second and the Third Conſuls preſent one each; in caſe of neither of theſe being nominated, they each make another preſentation, and one of the two muſt of neceſſity be appointed.

51. If the Firſt Conſul leaves no preſentation, the Second and Third Conſuls make their preſentations ſeparate, one firſt, one ſecond, and if neither obtains the nomination, they make a third, from which the Senate muſt of neceſſity nominate.

52. In every caſe, the preſentations and nominations muſt be completed within twenty-four hours after the death of the Firſt Conſul.

53. The law determines for the life of each Firſt Conſul the ſtate of the expenditure of Government.

Title V.—*Of the Senate.*

54. The Senate regulates, by an Organic Senatus Conſultum.

1ſt, The Conſtitution of the Colonies.

2d, Every thing not provided for by the Conſtitution, and which may yet be neceſſary to its operation.

3d, It explains thoſe Articles of the Conſtitution which admit of different interpretations.

55. The Senate by Acts, entitled Senatus Conſulta,

1ſt. Suſpends for five years the functions of Juries in the Departments where that meaſure may be neceſſary.

2d. Proclaims, when circumſtances require it, certain Departments out of the protection of the Conſtitution.

3d. Determines the time when the individuals arreſted in virtue of the 46th Article of the Conſtitution, are to be brought before the Tribunals, in ſuch caſes where they are not brought to trial in ten days from the period of their arreſt.

4th. Annuls the judgments of the civil and criminal tribunals, when dangerous to the ſafety of the State.

5th. Diſſolves the Legiſlative Body and Tribunate.

6th. Appoints the Conſuls.

56. The Organic Senatus Conſulta and Ordinary Senatus Conſulta are deliberated upon by the Senate, on the initiative of the Government.

A ſimple majority ſuffices for a Senatus Conſulta. Two thirds of the votes of the Members preſent are neceſſary for an organic Senatus Conſultum.

57. The projects of the Senatus Con-

Conſultum, adopted in conſequence of articles 54 and 55, are diſcuſſed in a Privy Council, compoſed of the Conſuls, two Miniſters, two Senators, two Counſellors of State, and two grand Officers of the Legion of Honour.

At each meeting the Firſt Conſul appoints the Members who are to compoſe the Privy Council.

58. The Firſt Conſul ratifies the Treaties of Peace and Alliance, after taking the advice of the Privy Council. Before he promulgates them, he communicates them to the Senate.

59. The act of the nomination of a Member of the Legiſlative Body, of the Tribunate, and of the Tribunal of Caſſation, is entitled Arrêté.

60. The acts of the Senate, relative to its police and internal adminiſtration, are entitled Deliberation.

61. In the courſe of the year eleven, he will proceed to the nomination of fourteen citizens, to complete the number of eighty Senators, fixed by the 15th article of the Conſtitution.—This nomination ſhall be made by the Senate, on the preſentation of the Firſt Conſul, who ſhall, for that purpoſe, ſelect three perſons from the liſt of citizens choſen by the Electorate Colleges.

62. The Members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour are Members of the Senate, whatever may be their age.

63. The Firſt Conſul may beſides nominate to the Senate, without the previous preſentation of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments, citizens diſtinguiſhed for their ſervices and their talents, on theſe conditions, however, that they ſhall be of the age required by the Conſtitution, and that the number of Senators ſhall not exceed 120.

64. The Senators may be Conſuls, Miniſters, Members of the Legion of Honour, Inſpectors of Public Inſtruction, or employed on extraordinary and temporary Miſſions.

65. The Senate appoints each year two of its Members to perform the duty of Secretaries.

66. The Miniſters have ſeats in the Senate, but no deliberative voice, unleſs they are Senators.

Title VI.—*Of the Counſellors of State.*

67. The Counſellors of State ſhall never exceed the number of fifty.

68. The Council of State is divided into ſections.

69. The Miniſters have rank, ſeats, and votes in the Council of State.

Title VII.—*Of the Legiſlative Body.*

70. Each department ſhall have a number of Members proportioned to the extent of its population, conformable to the annexed table.

71. All the Members of the Legiſlative Body, belonging to the ſame deputation, are to be nominated at once.

72. The departments of the Republic are divided into five ſeries, conformable to the annexed table.

73. The preſent Deputies are claſſed according to theſe five ſeries.

74. They ſhall be renewed in the year to which the ſeries, including the department to which they are attached, ſhall be referred.

75. The Deputies nominated in the year ten, shall, however, complete their five years.

76. The Government convokes, adjourns, and prorogues, the Legislative Body.

Title VIII.—*Of the Tribunate.*

77. From and after the year 13, the Tribunate shall be reduced to 50 Members.

One half of the 50 shall go out every three years. Until this reduction be completed, the Members who go out shall not be replaced.

The Tribunate is divided into Sections.

78. The Legislative Body and the Tribunate are to be wholly renewed, immediately on their dissolution by the Senate.

Title IX.—*Of Justice and the Tribunate.*

79. There shall be a Grand Judge, Minister of Justice.

80. He has a distinguished place in the Senate and the Council of State.

81. He presides in the Tribunal of Cassation and the Tribunals of Appeal, when the Government judges it proper.

82. He has the right of vigilance and superintendance over the Tribunals and Justices of Peace.

83. The Tribunal of Cassation, when he sits as President, has the right of censure and discipline over the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals. He may, on serious complaints, suspend the Judges from their functions, and send them before a Judge, to give an account of their conduct.

84. The Tribunals of Appeal have the right of superintendance over the Civil Tribunals within their jurisdiction, and the Civil Tribunals over the Justices of Peace of their District.

85. The Commissioners of Government to the Tribunal of Cassation, superintends the Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals.—The Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal superintend the Commissioners to the Inferior Tribunals.

86. The Members of the Tribunal of Legation are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First Consul.

The First Consul presents three Candidates for each vacant place.

Title X.—*Right of Pardoning.*

87. The First Consul has the right of pardoning.

He exercises it after the deliberation of a Privy Council, composed of the Grand Judge, two Ministers, two Councils, and two Members of the Tribunal of Cassation.

The Council of State having, on the reference of the Consuls, discussed the above project, approve of it, and agree that it shall be presented to the Consuls in due form.

(A true copy,)

J. G. Locre, Secretary General of the Council of State.

Approved, Bonaparte, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,

H. B. Maret, Secretary of State.

The project of the Organic Senatus Consultum was carried to the Conservative Senate by the Counsellors of State, Regnier, Portalis, and Desfolles, Orators of the Government, and adopted by the Senate in its sitting of this day.

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Bonaparté, First Conſul, in the name of the French people, proclaims as a Law of the Republic, the Senatus Conſulte, of which the following is the tenor:

Senatus Conſulte for organizing the Conſtitution. Extract from the Regiſters of the Conſervative Senate of the 4th of Auguſt, 1802.

THE Conſervative Senate, conſiſting of the number of members preſcribed by the 90th Article of the Conſtitution; having ſeen the meſſage of the Conſuls of the Republic dated this day, announcing the ſending of three orators of government, charged to preſent to the Senate a project of a *Senatus Conſulte* for organizing the Conſtitution; having ſeen the ſaid project of *Senatus Conſulte*, preſented to the Senate by Citizens Regnier, Portalis, and Deſſolles, Councillors of State, appointed for that purpoſe by an Arrêté of the Firſt Conſul of the Republic, of the ſame date; after having heard the orators of government reſpecting the motives of the ſaid project; deliberating on the report of its ſpecial Committee appointed in the ſitting of the 30th ult. decrees as follows: the preſent *Senatus Conſulte* ſhall be tranſmitted by a Meſſage to the Conſuls of the Republic.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, Preſident.
Vaubois and *Fargues*, Secretaires.

By the Conſervative Senate,
The Secretary-General, *Cauchy*.

[Then follows a table of the number of deputies to be choſen by each department to the legiſlative body, amounting in the whole to 300. Alſo a table of the departments of the Republic, divided into five ſeries.]

Let the preſent *Senatus Conſulte*, ſealed with the Seal of State, be inſerted in the bulletin of laws, and inſcribed in the Regiſters of the Judiciary and Adminiſtrative Authorities, and the Miniſter of Juſtice is charged with the ſuperintendance of its publication.

Paris, Auguſt 5, 1802.
(Signed) *Bonaparté.*
(Signed) *H. B. Maret.*

Pius VII. *To the Five Emigrant French Biſhops reſident in London, who gave in their Reſignations conformably with the Requeſt of his Holineſs.*

"Venerable Brother—Health and Apoſtolic Benediction!

"THE new and illuſtrious teſtimony you have afforded us, Venerable Brother, of your ardent wiſhes and conſtant diſpoſitions to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the unity of the Church in France, and tranquillity in the Catholic Religion, when, on the receipt of our apoſtolical letters, you ſpontaneouſly reſigned your Archbiſhopric or Biſhopric, and freely depoſited your dignity in my hands, you not only crowned your diſtinguiſhed merits, but have alſo ſhed more luſtre, in the eyes of the univerſal church, on the *eclat* of your virtues, and deſerved on the part of the Supreme Remunerator, thoſe munificent recompences reſerved for ſuch as regard not their private intereſts, but thoſe of God. You, then, who have without any delay yielded to our paternal inſtances, who have preferred the good of the Church to your perſonal advantages; who, in order to enable us to relieve its neceſſities

neceſſities without the oppoſition of any difficulties, have broken thoſe bonds which attached you to your flock, receive from us the expreſſion of our gratitude, bleſſing, and eternal praiſe, hoping that you will alſo receive every mercy and all kind of conſolation from God, who has been pleaſed, by this new proof of your eminent virtue in theſe trying ſituations, from which the miſerable ſituation of mortals cannot be exempted, to afford this ſubject of conſolation and ſolace in our ſolicitudes, and who by his grace has deigned to give our venerable brethren to offer him up this memorable ſacrifice, ſo glorious to themſelves and ſo uſeful to the Church. We pray God to grant you, Venerable Brother, all the humanly and earthly good which your admirable virtue deſerves: we henceforth aſſure you of our gratitude, and, as a pledge of our tenderneſs and paternal love, give you our apoſtolical benediction.

"Done at Rome, at St. Marie Majeuro, the 4th of November, and the 2d Year of our Pontificate."

PIUS VII. *To thoſe French Emigrant Biſhops and Archbiſhops, reſident in England, who have refuſed to give in their Reſignation.—(circular.)*

"Venerable Brother—Health and Apoſtolic Benediction!

"THE conſolation given to us by the anſwer of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops reſident in London, to our brief of the 15th of Auguſt laſt, by which we requeſted their voluntary reſignations, which the intereſts of religion called for under the exiſting circumſtances, was accompanied with affliction on account of the refuſal, which we read with infinite ſorrow, in the letter addreſſed by yourſelf and your colleagues, on the 26th of September 1801. We cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you our ſurprize and our pain on ſeeing that the part which you have ſo *ineffectually* taken to impede, in the preſent circumſtances, the meaſures which (we call God to witneſs) the good of religion alone has induced us to adopt in this important criſis, the circumſtances of which render it impoſſible to deprive you and your colleagues of the great merit of compleating, by this laſt ſacrifice, all thoſe which you have already made, in ſuch great numbers, for the intereſt of our holy religion, and to deprive ourſelves of the comfort and ſupport of your co-operation in ſo great an object, without, in the midſt of our ſolicitude, overwhelming us with the moſt ſenſible affliction. We have thought proper to write this letter to you with our own hand, in order to manifeſt to you our ſentiments, and excite your virtue to renewed conſiderations of the powerful motives which we have explained to you in our brief. In gaining to them the moſt tender ſolicitations dictated by the ſentiments of our heart, in uniſon with the public teſtimony which we thought proper to give to your merit, and to the opinion we entertain of you and your colleagues; we cannot doubt but this freſh aſſurance of our eſteem and affection will determine you to agree, without further delay, to our repeated ſolicitations, after the example of

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ſo many of your brethren who poſſeſs your eſteem, rather than lay us under the bitter misfortune of ſeeing ourſelf forced by irreſiſtible circumſtances, to go on no longer with your concurrence towards that ſacred end which the duties of our miniſtry imperiouſly preſcribe to us; and, again aſſuring you that we will carefully watch over all your intereſts in the beſt poſſible manner, and according to your real merits, we ſhall conclude this letter by giving you, from all our heart, the paternal and apoſtolic benediction.

"*Rome, Nov.* 9, 1801."

[Theſe Briefs were tranſmitted to the different Prelates by Mr. Douglas, the Titular Biſhop of London.]

Arrêté of the 20th Auguſt, 1802, declaring Talleyrand a Layman.

THE Conſuls of the Republic, having ſeen the Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802.

Upon the Report of the Counſellor of State, charged with all the affairs relative to worſhip, the Council of State having been heard, decree.

The Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's, at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802, by which Citizen Maurice Talleyrand, miniſter of foreign affairs is reſtored to the ſecular and lay life, ſhall have its full and intire effect.

The Firſt Conſul,

(Signed) *Bonaparte.*

Decree of Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint Mery, iſſued at Parma, October 23, 1802.

IN the name of the French Republic, Mederic Louis, Elie Moreau de Saint Mary, Counſellor of State, Adminiſtrator General of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guaſtalla, &c. A convention concluded between France and Spain, the 21ſt March 1801 *, places at the diſpoſal of France, the ſtates of the infant Duke of Parma, and death having carried off that prince upon the 9th of October, 1802, the Firſt Conſul has decided that from this moment, the exerciſe of the ſovereignty is transferred by juſt right to the French Republic, and he has in conſequence caſt his eyes upon us, and declared us Adminiſtrator General of theſe States. We have in conſequence, decreed as follows.

I. Reckoning from the 9th October all the rights and powers attached to the Sovereignty in the ſaid States of Parma, Piacenza, Guaſtalla, &c. belong and remain to the French Republic.

II. The Proviſional Regency eſtabliſhed the ſame day that his Royal Highneſs the Infant Duke of Parma died is ſuppreſſed.

III. All the Functionaries of the old Government ſhall continue proviſionally, and until a new order expreſs their functions.

IV. The public acts of whatever nature, ſhall be made out in the name of the French Republic, and ſhall bear a double date, viz. that of the calendar of this Republic, and that of the old calendar.

* See A. R. Vol XLIII. or I. of New Series, p. * 302.

V. No

V. No act of public administration or legislation, shall have any validity, unless it emanates directly from us, or is clothed with our approbation.

VI. We enjoin all the public functionaries, without exception, under their responsibility to increase their zeal and activity, to labour conjointly with us to maintain good order, and public tranquillity, to secure the triumph of justice, without which there is no society, and to preserve among a people, worthy of all our cares, the respect which it owes to its Magistrates, as also the sentiment of happiness to be governed by France.

VII. The present decree shall be printed, published, and posted up in the usual places, and enregistered in the different offices through the whole extent of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. in order that it may be known by every body, and that all may conform to it in every respect, &c.

(Signed)

MOREAU SAINT MERY.

Parma, Oct. 23.

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate, of the 11th of September, 1802.

THE Conservative Senate, the number of members being present prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution. Having seen the project of an *Organic Senatus Consulte*, prepared in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte* of the 4th of August; after having heard respecting the motives of the said project, the orators of Government, and the reports of its special committee, appointed in the sitting of the 7th instant. The adoption having been agreed to by the number of votes prescribed by the 56th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte*, decrees as follows;

Art. 1. The department of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, are united to the territory of the French Republic.

2. The department of Po, shall send four deputies to the legislative body.—The department of Marengo three deputies.—The department of Doire two; of Sezia, two; of Stura three; and Tanaro three; making the number of the legislative body 318.

3. These deputies shall be appointed in the year 1802,3, and shall be renewed in the year to which the series belongs, in which the department to which they are attached shall be placed, with the exception of the department of Stura, who shall not go out till the 6th year.

4. The department of Po, shall be classed in the first series, Marengo in the second; Davie and Sezia in the third, Stura in the fourth; and Tanaro in the fifth.

5. The city of Turin shall be comprized amongst the principal cities of the Republic, of which the mayors shall be present at the taking the oath by the citizen appointed to succeed the First Consul, making the number of those cities twenty-five.

6. The present *Organic Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a message to the Consuls of the Republic. (Signed)

Cambaceres, Second Consul, President.

Farques and Vaubois, Secretaries.

Treaty

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Regency of Tunis.

THE Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, wiſhing to renew the articles of peace anciently agreed upon between France and Tunis, and to add thereto new articles, has appointed for this purpoſe Jacques Devoize, who by virtue of full powers given to him as the repreſentative of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, has agreed with his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey and the Divan of Tunis, upon the following additional articles:

1. The Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey, and the Divan of Tunis, do confirm and renew all preceding treaties, particularly that of 1742.

2. The French nation ſhall be maintained in the enjoyment of all thoſe privileges and exemptions which it enjoyed before the war; and being more diſtinguiſhed and more uſeful than other natives eſtabliſhed at Tunis, it ſhall alſo be the moſt favoured.

3. Whenever any French ſhip of war ſhall ſtop at the Goulette, the commiſſary of the Republic, or ſome one for him, ſhall be allowed to go on board without moleſtation.

4. The commiſſary of the French Republic ſhall appoint, and change at his pleaſure, the Dragomans and the Janiſſaries in the ſervice of the Commiſſariat.

5. The merchandizes coming from France in French veſſels, either to Tunis or any other ports dependent upon it, ſhall only pay as heretofore, a cuſtom duty of 3 per cent. which ſhall not be collected on merchandize, but in the current coin of the country. The Tuniſian ſubjects ſhall enjoy in France the ſame privilege.

6. All merchandize coming from countries at war with the regency, and which ſhall be imported into Tunis by French merchants, ſhall continue to pay a cuſtom duty of three per cent.; and in caſe of a war between the French Republic and any other power, the merchandizes belonging to and laden in France on account of the French merchants, in veſſels belonging to neutral powers, friends of the regency, ſhall only pay the duty of three per cent. until the ceſſation of hoſtilities. Reciprocal regulations ſhall be made in France, with reſpect to the Tuniſians.

7. The Jewiſh brokers and other ſtrangers reſident at Tunis, in the ſervice of the French merchants, ſhall be under the protection of the Republic; but if they import merchandize into the kingdom, they ſhall pay the impoſt uſually paid by the ſubjects of the country to which they belong; and if any difference ariſe between them and the Chriſtians or Moors of the country, they ſhall come with their antagoniſts before the commiſſary of the French Republic, where they ſhall chooſe, at their own option, two French and two Mooriſh merchants of the firſt rank, to decide their diſputes.

8. Every individual of any country, which, by conqueſt or by treaty, ſhall have been re-united to the ſtates of the French Republic, who ſhall be found in a ſtate of captivity in the kingdom of Tunis, ſhall be ſet at liberty on the firſt requeſt of the commiſſary of

of the Republic; but if that individual ſhall have been taken in the ſervice and pay of a power at war with the regency, he ſhall not be releaſed, but remain a priſoner.

9. In the event of a rupture between the two powers, the French reſidents at Tunis ſhall not be any ways moleſted; they ſhall be allowed the ſpace of three months, during which they ſhall enjoy all manner of liberty and protection; and upon the expiration of that term, they ſhall be at liberty to retire unmoleſted with their effects, to wherever they may think proper.

Done at Tunis the 23d of February, 1802, or the 21ſt of the month Chewal, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſix of the Hegira.

(Signed) *Devoize*,
Commiſſary-General of the French Republic with the Bey of Tunis.

Hamouda,
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

Letter of Hamouda, Pacha Bey of Tunis, to the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic.

TO the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the followers of the Meſſiah, the greateſt of thoſe who profeſs the religion of Jeſus, the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, our highly honoured and ſincere friend Bonaparté, may whoſe end be happineſs and the ſummit of proſperity!

The preſent friendly letter is to remind you that heretofore (by the permiſſion of the Supreme Being), a ſlight coolneſs took place between us; in conſequence of which, Citizen Devoize, your commiſſary here, was obliged to return to you. Now that happy days have ſucceeded, and that this coolneſs has been changed into ſincere friendſhip, by the return hither of our friend the Commiſſary Devoize, who has reſumed his functions, and put an end to this indifference by re-eſtabliſhing the ancient union and amity, for which you have again eſtabliſhed and confirmed him in his poſt, as you inform me in your friendly letter, which he delivered in your name, the contents of which I have underſtood, and am ſatisfied with—Be pleaſed to know that, after conferring with the ſaid commiſſary, we have agreed that the ancient treaties, dated according to our Hegira 1155 (or of the Chriſtian æra 1742) ſhall be on both ſides renewed, and though it was not neceſſary to add others, yet in conſideration of your ſincere friendſhip, to which I ought to make a ſuitable return, I have amicably conſented with your commiſſary to add to the ancient treaties nine new articles, and ſtill more to unite and cement our ſincere and unalterable friendſhip, our Divan, according to ancient uſage, aſſiſted at the inſtalment of the flag of the French Republic, which was hoiſted at the houſe of the ſaid commiſſary; and in conſequence of the ſame friendſhip which prevails between us, I have conſigned and delivered into the hands of the ſaid commiſſary thirty-five Chriſtians, ſubjects of countries which were before enemies to our regency, and which at preſent are under your dominion; and to give you a more ſtriking proof of our ſincere friendſhip,

ſhip, though the ſame Chriſtians were ſubjects of the ſaid countries, I have ſet them at liberty, in order that the ſaid commiſſary may ſend them to you along with this amicable letter, by which I deſire to give you an authentic proof of the lively and ſincere friendſhip, which reigns between us, and which will always increaſe.

Tunis, the 5th day of the moon Zilkaade, of the Hegira 1216 (Ventôſe 17th, 10th year of the French Republic,) March 8.

(Signed) *Hamouda*,
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

Definitive Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

THE Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and the Sublime Ottoman Emperor, being deſirous to reſtore the relations of peace and amity which have of old ſubſiſted between France and the Sublime Porte, have for that purpoſe appointed Miniſters Plenipotentiaries, viz. the Firſt Conſul, in the name of the French people, Citizen C. M. Talleyrand, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to the French Republic; and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, Eſſeid Mahomed Said Ghalib Effendi, Private Secretary and Director of Foreign Affairs; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There ſhall hereafter be peace and friendſhip between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte: hoſtilities ſhall for the future, and for ever, ceaſe between the two ſtates.

II. The treaties or capitulations which, before the war, defined the reſpective relations of every kind, exiſting between the two powers, ſhall be renewed in all their particulars.

In conſequence of this renewal, and in fulfilment of the ancient capitulation, according to which the French have a right to enjoy, in the ſtates of the Sublime Porte, all the advantages granted to other nations, the Sublime Porte conſents that the French merchant ſhips bearing the French flag, ſhall for the future poſſeſs the undiſputed right to navigate and paſs freely in the Black Sea. The Sublime Porte likewiſe conſents, that the ſaid French merchant ſhips, on their paſſage into and out of this ſea, ſhall, with reſpect to every thing that can favour the free navigation of it, be placed preciſely on the ſame footing with the merchant ſhips of thoſe nations which now navigate it.

The Sublime Porte and the Government of the French Republic, will with common conſent take vigorous meaſures to cleanſe the ſeas, which the ſhips of both ſtates navigate, from all kinds of pirates.

The Sublime Porte promiſes to protect the French trading-ſhips in the Black Sea againſt all kinds of pirates.

It is hereby underſtood, that the advantages ſecured by the preſent article to the French in the Ottoman Empire, ſhall in like manner extend to the ſubjects and flag of the Sublime Porte in the ſeas and territory of the French Republic.

III. The French Republic ſhall, in the Ottoman countries which lie on, or in the vicinity of, the Black Sea, both with reſpect to their

their trade and the agents and commiſſaries which that trade may render it neceſſary to appoint in ſuch places, enjoy the ſame rights and privileges which France, before the war, enjoyed by virtue of the old capitulations, in any other parts of the ſtates of the Sublime Porte.

IV. The Sublime Porte aſſents to all that was ſtipulated with reſpect to it in the treaty concluded at Amiens between France and England, on the 4th Germinal of the year ten (25th of March, 1801), or the 22d of Zillides, of the year of the Hegira 1216. All the articles of this treaty, which have relation to the Sublime Porte, are by the preſent treaty formally renewed.

V. The French Republic and the Sublime Porte mutually guarantee the integrity of their poſſeſſions.

VI. The reſtorations and indemnifications which are due to the agents of the two powers, or to their citizens and ſubjects, whoſe effects have been confiſcated or ſequeſtrated during the war, ſhall be regulated in an equitable manner, by a particular agreement to be concluded between the two governments at Conſtantinople.

VII. Until by common conſent new regulations ſhall be agreed on, with reſpect to the tolls or cuſtoms on which diſputes may have ariſen, theſe ſhall in both countries continue to be regulated by the old capitulations.

VIII. Should any priſoners be found in the two countries, who are detained in conſequence of the war, they ſhall immediately be ſet at liberty, without ranſom.

IX. As the French Republic and the Sublime Porte, by the preſent treaty, wiſh to place their ſtates reciprocally in the ſituation of the moſt favoured powers, it is expreſsly underſtood that each ſtate grants to the other, all the advantages which have been or ſhall be granted to any other powers, in the ſame manner as if they were expreſsly ſtipulated in the preſent treaty.

X. The ratifications of the preſent treaty ſhall be exchanged within eighty days, or ſooner if poſſible, at Paris.

Done at Paris, the 6th of Meſſidor, of the year ten (June 25, 1802, or the 24th of Safernair, the year of the Hegira 1217.

(Signed) *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*
Eſſeid Mohamed Said Ghalib Effendi.

Report made to the Firſt Conſul of France (in Senate), Sept. 7, 1802, relative to the Treaty with Turkey.

THE diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of that period in the policy of nations which has ended in the general peace, was a ſtriking oppoſition of their ſentiments and conduct to their true intereſts. States and kingdoms were betrayed into wars and alliances by a ſort of blind fatality. Some made common cauſe with one another without ſuppreſſing their mutual hatred; others, amid mutual hoſtilities, ſtill continued to wiſh one another well. In that diſſolution of the mutual relations of the ſtates and kingdoms of Europe, which had been long approaching, the accuſtomed diplomatic law loſt all force and truth. Its traditions, its maxims, its local regulations, became vain; and,

and, amidſt the confuſion of the change, more than one government quite loſt ſight of the deareſt intereſts, and are themſelves menaced with danger, from thoſe habits of policy which they had been accuſtomed to think the ſafeſt, and abandoned itſelf in this diſtribution of juſt counſels, to the vaineſt terrors, and the moſt imprudent projects. Such, in particular, were the condition and conduct of the Sublime Porte, at that period of the war when Europe, with aſtoniſhment, ſaw this government take part with the enemies of France. The Sublime Porte ſoon ſaw its error; indeed, both at home and abroad, it could diſcern nothing but what was adapted to make it regret the part it had taken. It ſaw the conqueror, faithful to his declarations, when he occupied a province of the Ottoman Empire, rule over it with wiſdom, make proviſion for its future proſperity, and even when, by an unprovoked declaration of war, it became a lawful conqueſt, ſtill to evince by his reſpect for the manners and the religion of the vanquiſhed, that his primary intentions were unchanged. France, inſtead of deſiring to hurt the proſperity or diminiſh the ſtrength of Turkey, *had, at that time, no view* but *to render it happier and more powerful*, by introducing into it new elements of civilization, and by opening through its provinces *a grand channel* for the commerce of the world. But the Ottoman government had entered into engagements of which it could not clearly foreſee the effects: it was the laſt to enter into a war by which it had nothing to gain; and was, of courſe, the laſt to renounce hoſtilities. It was not till after peace had been concluded among the powers of Europe, that the Ottoman government found itſelf perfectly free to negotiate. But from the firſt moment of its being at liberty to treat with France, the two Empires have been mutually at peace. By the treaty of the 25th of June, that peace is complete. That treaty entirely reſtores the relations which formerly ſubſiſts between the two powers. It makes full proviſion for the intereſts and wants of the Ottoman Empire, for the intereſts and the glory of France. The public joy at Conſtantinople, when this treaty was proclaimed, was ſuch as to prove how highly the friendſhip of France was there valued. Great errors, great dangers had diſtinguiſhed the conduct and condition of the Ottoman government, while it was at war with France. *That government now truſts to find the difficulties of its ſituation conſtantly alleviated by the friendly counſels of a power that takes a ſincere concern in its welfare.* By the treaty, due proviſion is happily made for the intereſt *of French commerce*. French citizens engaged in the Turkiſh trade will now recover their ſequeſtered property, their wonted privileges, and their *wonted aſcendency among* the other merchants of Europe trading to the ſame countries. The compenſations due to them are ſecured by an expreſs ſtipulation. The *honour of France, and the dignity of its government*, demanded an abolition of certain reſtrictions, to which its navigation had been hitherto ſubject. They are aboliſhed, and the navigation of the Black Sea, now free to France, opens to us a communication with the Southern provinces

of Ruſſia. The Sovereign of that country, more enlightened than to ſtoop to the prejudices of vulgar jealouſy, knows that whatever opens new channels to the induſtry of any one nation, is in fact uſeful to the induſtry of all. The Sublime Porte wanted only the friendſhip of France. By the peace which has been concluded, it acquires of that all the benefits. Before it opens a new æra of quiet and ſecurity. It can reſume its ancient maxims. And in the multiplied communications of our trade, with its dominions in Europe, Africa, and Aſia; and in the return of mutual confidence between the two governments; it will find all that it wants, to enable it long to maintain the ſafe and honourable condition to which it has been reſtored.

(Signed)
C. M. TALLEYRAND.

Official Note delivered by the Reis Effendi to Alexander Stratton, Eſq. at a Conference in his Excellency's houſe on the Canal, the 29th July, 1802.

IT behoves the character of true friendſhip and ſincere regard to promote with cheerfulneſs all ſuch affairs and objects as may be reciprocally uſeful, and may have a rank among the ſalutary fruits of thoſe ſteady bonds of alliance and perfect good harmony which happily ſubſiſt between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Great Britain; and as permiſſion has heretofore been granted for the Engliſh merchant ſhips to navigate in the Black Sea for the purpoſes of trade, the ſame having been a voluntary trait of his Imperial Majeſty's own gracious heart, as more amply appears by an official note preſented to our friend the Engliſh miniſter reſiding at the Sublime Porte, dated 3 Gemaziel Ahir 1214—This preſent "Takrir" (official note) is iſſued; the Imperial Ottoman Court, hereby engaging that the ſame treatment ſhall be obſerved towards the Engliſh merchant ſhips coming to that Sea, as is offered to ſhips of powers moſt favoured by the Sublime Porte, on the ſcore of that navigation.

The 23 Rebiul Evvel 1217 (23d July, 1802.)

Report made to the Firſt Conſul of France in Senate, by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

THE Firſt Conſul having ordered me to render an account to him, in ſenate, of the differences ſubſiſting between the republic of France and the regency of Algiers, and of the ſucceſs of the meaſures which have been adopted to terminate them.—I ſhall firſt advert to the previous ſituation of affairs.—From the frontiers of Egypt to the Streight of Gibraltar, the North of Africa, is poſſeſſed by men ignorant of the public law of Europe. The principles and the manners, which in a great degree, have formed Europeans into one great ſociety, and not only forbid the oppreſſion of, but enjoin them to protect and aſſiſt, when in danger, the navigation and commerce of pacific nations—which reprobate all unjuſt aggreſſion; and require that the rights of humanity be preſerved ſacred: theſe are ſtill unknown to the people of thoſe countries. They acknowledge no other law of nations, than thoſe dictated

dictated by their own police, which permits amongſt them individual violence, authorizes it with reſpect to foreigners, and conſecrates even acts of barbarity and outrage with regard to enemies—they are ignorant that the law of nations, proceeding upon general principles, aboliſhes thoſe chimerical rights, which a people too much impreſſed with their local importance, derive from the licentiouſneſs of their particular cuſtoms. It is, however, to the honour of Europe, that in thoſe reſpects, the ſupremacy of its public law aſſigns juſt limits to the tolerance of particular ſyſtems of legiſlation, and which hereafter ſhall not be unknown, but in Africa. The regency of Algiers is particularly remarkable for an audacity, which ſome events have tended to ſtrengthen. Charles the Fifth turned his victorious arms againſt Africa—he wiſhed to free Europe from the incurſions of Barbarians, by reducing their power; but the ſucceſs was not commenſurate to the greatneſs of the deſign, and fell far ſhort of the magnitude of his preparations. In ſucceeding times, Louis XIV. aſſerted at Algiers, the honour of the French flag, and in the interval of ſix years, that city was three times bombarded by his orders. But the affairs of Europe claiming his attention at the time, ſet bounds to his vengeance. However, ſince that period, the Algerines have appeared to reſpect France, and the peace which was concluded in 1689, ſubſiſted more than a century, when, in the courſe of the year 7, it was infringed at the inſtance of the Sublime Porte. Of all the enemies which were oppoſed to France, when the Firſt Conſul took the reins of government, the regency of Algiers was the leaſt formidable. But the Firſt Conſul, deſirous that the calamities of war ſhould every where terminate, and learning that the Dey was inclined to pacification, diſpatched a negotiator to Algiers. Being preceded by the renown of thoſe exploits of which Italy, Germany, Syria, and Egypt had been the witneſſes, the conſular envoy was properly received. Peace was determined upon, and even notified to the Divan: but a freſh interference of the Sublime Porte prevented the ſignature. War appeared to be renewed, but no actual hoſtilities took place. The French were permitted freely to retire from Algiers, and to diſpoſe of their properties, and the French agent waited at Alicant until the moment when the negotiations ſhould be reſumed. In ſhort, a definitive treaty which aſſures to France all the advantages ſtipulated by the antient treaties, and which by new articles guaranteed more explicitly and more favourably to France the freedom of commerce and navigation to Algiers, was ſigned the 2d of December. General peace being concluded, commerce began to take all its accuſtomed courſes. But we ſoon learned that the armed ſhips of Algiers ſcoured the Mediterranean—deſolated the French commerce, and infeſted the coaſts. Neither the flag nor even the territory of the republic were reſpected by Corſairs of the regency. They conducted to Algiers, tranſports which had ſailed from Toulon for St. Domingo. They ſeized a Neapolitan veſſel cloſe to the coaſts of France. An Algerine officer dared to make a French trading captain undergo a moſt in-

famous treatment in the road of Tunis. The barques of the coral company, which were, by the terms of the treaty free to diſpoſe of their fiſh, were violently repulſed from the coaſts. The Chargé-d'Affaires called in vain for ſatisfaction—they even dared to make propoſitions injurious to the dignity of the French people—they even propoſed—that France ſhould pay for the execution of the treaty! The Firſt Conſul on being informed of thoſe circumſtances, ordered that a naval diviſion ſhould be ſtationed before Algiers. I tranſmitted by his orders, the inſtructions by which the Chargé-d'Affaires, citizen Dubois Thainville is to regulate his conduct, agreeably to the dictates of prudence, but at the ſame time with energy and dignity. The diviſion commanded by Rear-Admiral Leiſſeques, appeared before Algiers, the 5th of Auguſt, and carrying on board an officer of the palace, the adjutant Hullin, charged with a letter from the Firſt Conſul to the Dey. On the 6th of Auguſt this officer landed—he was received with diſtinction, and he preſented the letter of the Firſt Conſul which is conceived in the following terms:

"Bonaparte, Firſt Conſul of the "French Republic, to the Moſt "High and Moſt Magnificent "the Dey of Algiers, whom "God preſerve in proſperity "and glory.

"I write this letter directly to "you, becauſe I know there are "among your miniſters ſome who "deceive you, and who induce "you to conduct yourſelf in a "manner which may bring on you "great misfortunes. This letter "will be given into your own "hand by an adjutant of my pa-"lace. The object of it is to de-"mand a prompt reparation, ſuch "as I have a right to expect, from "the ſentiments which you have "always ſhewn for me. A French "officer has been beaten in the "road of Tunis, by one of your "captains, Rais. The agent of "the republic has demanded ſa-"tisfaction, and has been unable "to obtain it. Two armed brigs "have been taken by your cor-"ſairs, who carried them into "Algiers, and retarded them in "their voyage. A Neapolitan "veſſel has been taken by your "corſairs, in the road of Hieres, "and by this they have violated "the French territory. Finally, "I ſtill want 150 men of the crew "of the veſſel that was wrecked "on your coaſt laſt winter, who "are in the hands of the barba-"rians. I demand of you re-"dreſs for all theſe grievances; "and having no doubt of your "taking all the meaſures which I "would in ſimilar circumſtances, "I ſend a veſſel to bring home the "150 men that I want. I pray "you alſo to look with diſtruſt on "thoſe of your miniſters who are "enemies to France; you cannot "have greater enemies, and if I "deſire to live in peace with you, "it is no leſs neceſſary for you to "preſerve this good underſtanding "which has been re-eſtabliſhed, "and which alone can maintain "you in the rank and proſperity "in which you are, *for God has "decreed that all thoſe who are un-"juſt towards me ſhould be puniſhed.* "If you wiſh to live in good "friendſhip with me, you muſt "not treat me as a feeble power, "you muſt cauſe the French flag

"to

" to be respected as well as that " of the Italian Republic, which " has appointed me it its Chief, " and you must give me redress " for all the outrages which have " been done to me. This letter, " having no other object, I pray " you to read it with attention, " and to inform, by return of the " officer whom I send to you, what " you may think proper to do."

Whatever may have been the internal sentiments of the Dey, he shewed only the most lively desire to live in good understanding with the French Republic. " I wish," said he, " to be always the friend " of Bonaparte." He promised, and actually gave, all the satisfaction required. In order to shew a particular respect for the First Consul in the person of his envoy, he wished even to deviate from the usual forms, and, contrary to the immemorial custom of the regents, he received in the most magnificent kiosck in his gardens the officer of the palace, the Charge des Affaires of the republic, Rear-Admiral Leissèques, and his numerous staff. It was there that he gave to General Hullin the answer which he had prepared for the First Consul, and of which the tenor is as follows:

" In the name of God alone, of " the man of God, master of us, " illustrious and magnificent Lord " Mustapha Pacha, Dey of Algiers, whom God preserve in " glory,—To our friend Bonaparte, First Consul of the French " republic, President of the Italian " Republic. I salute you; the " peace of God be with you. " Hereinafter, my friend, I notify " to you, that I have received " your letter, dated the 29th " Messidor (18th July); I have " read it, it was presented to me " by the general of your palace " and your vekil, Dubois Thainville. I answer you article by " article. I. You complain of " the Rais Ali Tatur. Though " he is one of my *jol daches*, I arrested him in order to put him " to death. At the moment of " execution, your vekil demanded " his pardon in your name, and for " your sake I have set him free. " II. You demand of me the Neapolitan polacre taken, you say, " under the cannon of France. " The details that have been laid " before you on this head, are not " exact; but according to your " desire, I have set at liberty " eighteen christians, forming her " crew, and I have given them up " to your vekil. III. You demand a Neapolitan vessel, which " is said to have sailed from Corfu " with French property. No " French papers were found; but, " according to your desire, I have " given liberty to the crew, and " I have given them up to your " vekil. IV. You require of me " the punishment of the Rais who " brought in here two vessels belonging to the French Republic. " According to your desire, I " have deprived him of his command; but I must inform you, " that my Rais do not know how " to read European characters, they " know nothing but the accustomed passport; and for this reason " it is proper that the ships of war " of the Republic should make " some signal, in order to be " known by my corsairs. V. " You demand 150 men, who, you " say, are in my dominions: God " has willed that these men should " be lost, and I am sorry for it.

" VI. You say there are men who " give me advice, tending to pro- " duce a misunderstanding with " you. Our friendship is antient " and solid; and all who strive to " make us quarrel, shall fail. " VII. You require me to enter " into terms of amity with the Ita- " lian Republic. At your request " I shall respect its flag equally as " your own. To the same request " from any other person, I would " not, for a million of piastres, " have agreed. VIII. You have " refused the 200,000 piastres " which I asked in compensation " for the losses I had sustained on " your account; whether you give " or with-hold them we shall " equally remain in friendship. " IX. I have settled with your " agent, my friend Dubois Thain- " ville, every thing respecting " Calle, and your people are at li- " berty to come to the coral fishery " as soon as they please. Your " African company shall enjoy its " old privileges. I have directed " the Bey of Constantine to grant " it, in all cases, his protection. " X. I have satisfied you to your " own wishes, I expect from you " the like satisfaction. XI. I " therefore request you to give " particular orders that no nations " which are at enmity with me, " may sail under your flag, or un- " der that of the Italian Republic; " and this to prevent all future " disputes between us that our mu- " tual friendship may be perma- " nent. XII. I have given or- " ders to all my commanders at " sea to respect the French flag. " The first that brings a French " prize into any of my ports shall " be punished. Should any future " difference arise, write to me " directly; and it shall be settled " to your wishes. May God pre- " serve you in health and glory! " Algiers, the 13th day of the lu- " nar month Rabiad Ewel, the " year of the Hegira, 1217."

I cannot conclude this report to the First Consul without adding, that Adjutant Commandant Hullen, and Rear-Admiral Lessieques, have executed their commission with dignity, firmness, and moderation.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

MANIFESTO *addressed to all the States, Friends, or Allies of the French Republic, to all Governors and Commanders in Chief of the Sea and Land Forces in the West Indies, to the Captains and Commanders of the different Ships of War belonging to the said States, stationed for the Protection of their respective Colonies, or navigating in these Seas, by the three under-written Magistrates, nominated by the First Consul of the French Republic, to establish and constitute the Government of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies:*

" A MONTH has elapsed since a few factious men, enemies to all social order, have found the means to usurp the Government in the Island of Guadaloupe. To succeed in their plans, they have calumniated the legal authority of the Captain-General, Rear-Adm. La Crosse, who was then solely and provisionally charged by the First Consul, Bonaparte, with the civil and military powers; they have seduced and led astray the armed forces, incarcerated the Officers who remained faithful to the Mother Country, and finally, they have

have audaciously dared to lay criminal hands on the Captain General, and banish him from his government, after having detained him several days a prisoner.

"The Captain General having been put on board a Danish vessel, with imperative instructions to land him at Copenhagen, was fortunately met by his Britannic Majesty's frigate the Tamer, Captain Western, Commander, his claimed protection was granted, and he found an asylum at the Government House at Dominica.

"At this juncture, the news of a general Peace arrived in these Islands, with the official account of the Preliminary Articles having been concluded, ratified, and exchanged between France and England. It was supposed that the communication of this intelligence, by demonstrating to the rebels the speedy punishment awaiting their misdemeanours, would be sufficient to recal them to their duty, but it was in vain. A British flag of truce went to Guadaloupe the 13th of November, 1801, and notified to them, the 14th, the official account of Peace, to which no credit was given, and the Officer of the flag was insulted.

"It was necessary for them to act in this manner to be enabled to fit out privateers, and to allow those actually cruising to continue their depredations, and receive their prizes. The legal Magistrates have now in their possession a Commission of Letter of Marque, dated the 15th of November, (the day after the notification of Peace was communicated by a flag of truce) information has been received that they have authorised the capture of several vessels belonging to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, which have been carried into the ports of Guadaloupe, a conduct absolutely piratical.

"The First Consul having given orders to dispatch from Brest the Pensee frigate, Capt. Valteau, with the official account of Peace, sent out likewise the Colonial Prefect, and the Commissary of Justice, in order to form and complete, in concert with the Captain General, the government of Guadaloupe and its dependencies: on their making the land of Desead, they were informed of the rebellious state of Guadaloupe, and on the 24th of November they joined the Captain General in the town of Roseau, of his Britannic Majesty's Island of Dominica, with the permission of his Excellency the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone.

"In consequence of which, and of the two annexed Papers, one being an Act of the Government of the French Republic, regulating and constituting the different Authorities, military, civil, and judiciary, for the Island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies; and the other the Address of the three Magistrates composing the Government, to the Citizens of that Island;

"The three aforesaid Magistrates, composing solely the legal government of that Colony, are earnestly prompted to fulfil an essential duty, by denouncing to all nations, friends and allies of the French Republic, the state of rebellion of Guadaloupe against the Mother Country, caused by some subaltern factious individuals and others, without any title, who have usurped the reins of Government, and all civil and military authority; in consequence of which

they hereby declare, that no act of the said rebellious usurpers will be approved of, or have any effect; that the privateers of Guadaloupe, continuing to cruise after the official account of Peace, or attempting to make prizes, will be looked upon as pirates, and treated accordingly with all the severity pointed out by law.

"They request the different Governments of their Allies, the Governors and Commanders of their fleets and ships of war, to prevent the exportation of arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions of any kind, for the use of the rebels, the importation of which into Guadaloupe will be prohibited under the severest penalties.

"They declare and announce, that no naval expedition or commercial clearance from the said island or its dependencies can be legal without the Captain General's signature for ships of war or armed vessels, and that of the Colonial Prefect for merchantmen and other vessels of that description, and they in consequence request all those who are authorised to act in the different parts where such vessels from Guadaloupe, and its dependencies should anchor, without the proper papers heretofore mentioned, to seize and sequestrate them and their respective cargoes, arrest their crews and passengers, and likewise all passengers leaving Gaudaloupe in neutral bottoms, without the Captain General's passport; the aforesaid seizures and individuals to be at the disposal of the Magistrates composing the Government of Guadaloupe, or of the Commissaries for the commercial intercourse of the French Republic, wherever such establishments should exist. They declare, that the *Saints* is the place fixed upon for vessels intended for Guadaloupe, that it has been granted for that purpose by the British Government until further orders, and that means will be there found to communicate with the legal Government of the said Island, and assistance, if required, obtained.

"The aforesaid dispositions will take place provisionally until the French Government sends out to these islands sufficient means to put a stop to plunder and rebellion, and re-establish order, which, when it takes place, will be published in the same manner, being of essential importance for the tranquillity of all Governments.

Given at Roseau, in his Britannic Majesty's Island of Dominica, the 3d day of December, 1801.

(Signed)

"La Crosse, Capt. Gen.
"Lescallier, Colonial Prefect.
"Coster, Commiss. of Justice."

Letter from Toussaint, to his General Domage.

Toussaint Louverture, Governor of Saint Domingo, to Citizen Domage, General of Brigade, commanding in chief the district of Jeremie. From headquarters at St. Marc, Feb. 9, 1802.

I SEND to you, my dear General, my aid de camp, Clianey. He is the bearer of the present, and will communicate to you, on my part, the business with which I have charged him. The whites of France, and of the colony, united together,

together, wish to take away liberty. A great many ships of war and troops have arrived and taken possession of the Cape, of Port Republicain, and of Fort Liberty. The Cape after a vigorous resistance, has fallen; but the enemy have found there nothing but a town, and a plain of ashes. The forts have been blown up and every thing is burned. The town of Fort Republicain has been delivered up to them by the traitor general of brigade Age; as also the Fort Bizoten, which surrendered without firing a shot, through the cowardice and treason of the chief of battalion, Bardet, formerly officer of the south.

The general of division, Desfalines, supports at this moment a Cordon at Croix des Bouquets; and all our other places are upon the defensive. As the place of Jeremie is very strong, from its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself there, and defend it with the courage which I know you possess. Put no confidence in the whites. They will betray you if they can. Their manifest wish is the return of slavery. In consequence I give you a *carte blanche*. Every thing you do will be done well: raise the cultivators *en masse*, and make them fully sensible of this truth, that they must put no confidence in those active persons, who may have secretly received proclamations from the whites of France, and who would circulate them privately, for the purpose of seducing the friends of liberty. I have given orders to the general of brigade La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns and all the plains, in case they should not be able to resist the force of the enemy, and then all the troops of the different garrisons and all the cultivators would go to increase your numbers at Jeremie. You will come to a perfect understanding with general La Plume that you may execute your plans well; you will employ all the female cultivators in planting provisions in great quantities. Endeavour to inform me as well as you can of your position. I depend entirely upon you, and leave you absolute master to do every thing to withdraw us from the most horrible yoke. I wish you good health.

Health and friendship,

(Signed)

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

PROCLAMATION.

The First Consul, to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Paris, Nov. 8, 1801.

"Inhabitants of St. Domingo,

"WHATEVER may be your origin and colour, you are all Frenchmen, all free, all equal before God, and the Republic.

"France, like St. Domingo, has been the prey of factions, and torn by civil and foreign war. But now, all is changed. All nations have embraced the French, and sworn to them peace and friendship. All the French are likewise reconciled to one another, and have sworn to be friends and brothers. Come you also to embrace the French, and to gratify yourselves with a sight of your friends and brethren of Europe.

"Government sends you Captain General Le Clerc; he leads a great force with him to protect you against

againſt your enemies, and againſt the enemies of the Republic.

" If it be ſaid to you, '*theſe forces are deſtined to deprive you of your liberty*,' do you reply, '*The Republic will not ſuffer it to be taken from us!*'

" Rally around your Captain General. He brings you abundance and peace—rally around him. He that dares to ſeparate himſelf from the Captain General, is a traitor to his country, and the wrath of the Republic ſhall devour him, as the fire devours your dry canes.

(Signed)

" BONAPARTE, Firſt Conſul.

" H. B. MARET, Sec. of State."

The Firſt Conſul of France to Citizen Touſſaint Louverture, General in Chief of the Army of Saint Domingo.

" Citizen General,

" PEACE with England, and the other powers of Europe, which has raiſed the Republic to the firſt degree of power and grandeur, has alſo induced the Republic to take poſſeſſion of St. Domingo. We have ſent thither Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, with the rank of Captain General, as firſt magiſtrate of the colony. He is attended by a force ſuch as is proper to make the ſovereignty of the people reſpected.

" In theſe circumſtances, we flatter ourſelves that you will prove to us, and France in general, the ſincerity of the ſentiments which you have conſtantly expreſſed in the different letters which you have written to us. We have conceived an eſteem for you, and we feel a pleaſure in acknowledging and proclaiming the great ſervices which you have rendered to the French people. If its colours wave in St. Domingo, it is owing to you and your brave Blacks.

" Called by your talents and the face of circumſtances, to the chief command, you have extinguiſhed civil war, impoſed a reſtraint on the perſecution of ſome ferocious men, reſtored to its proper rank, religion, and the worſhip of a God from whom all things emanate. The conſtitution you have made, includes many good things, but contains alſo others contrary to the dignity and ſovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo is only a portion.

" The circumſtances in which you have been placed, ſurrounded by enemies, without being able to derive any aſſiſtance from the mother country, have legitimated the articles of this conſtitution, which otherwiſe would be improper. But now, that things have happily changed their appearance, you will, no doubt, be the firſt to pay homage to the ſovereignty of the nation, which numbers you among its moſt illuſtrious citizens, by the ſervices which you have rendered to it, both by the talents and intrepid character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary line of conduct will not be reconcileable to the ſentiments we entertain of you. It will make you forfeit your numerous claims to the gratitude and to the rewards of the Republic, and contribute to the miſery of thoſe generous blacks, whoſe courage we admire, and whoſe rebellion with pain we ſhould be obliged to puniſh.

" We have made known to your children and their tutor the

ſentiments by which we are governed. We return them to you.

" Aſſiſt the Captain General with your advice, your influence, and your talents. Do you wiſh for the freedom of the blacks? You know well, that in every country where we have been, we have conferred it on thoſe people who before were not in poſſeſſion of it. Do you wiſh for rank, honours, and fortune? After the ſervices you have rendered, and which it is now in your power, in the preſent conjuncture, to effect, and with the perſonal eſtimation which we entertain for you, you need not doubt of the conſideration, the fortune, and the honours which attend you.

" Let the people of St. Domingo know, that the ſolicitude which France has ever felt for their happineſs, has often been inefficient, from the imperious circumſtances of the war: that the men who have arrived from the continent to agitate the colony, and foment diviſions, were the ſpawn of factions which were tearing in pieces the mother country herſelf, but now, that peace and the power of the Government ſecure their proſperity and freedom, tell them that if liberty be their chief good, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French citizens, and that every action contrary to the intereſts of the country, to the obedience which they owe to the government, and to the commander in chief, who is the depoſitary of it, will be a crime againſt the national ſovereignty, which will eclipſe their ſervices, and render St. Domingo the theatre of an unhappy war, in which fathers and children will ultimately deſtroy each other.

" And you, General! reflect, that you are the firſt of your colour who have arrived at ſo high a degree of power, and who have been ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed by valour and military talents, you are alſo to God and us, the principle reſponſible agent for your own conduct.

" If there be any evil deſigning perſon who ſay to thoſe who have taken the lead in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we come to inveſtigate what they have been doing during the days of anarchy, aſſure them that we ſhall look only to their preſent conduct, that we ſhall make no enquiries into the paſt, except to learn thoſe exploits by which they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war which they ſuſtained againſt the Spaniards and Engliſh, then our enemies.

" Rely upon our eſteem, and conduct yourſelf as becomes one of the principal citizens of the greateſt nation in the world.

" The Firſt Conſul, BONAPARTE.

" *Paris, Nov.* 18, 1801."

Letter to General Chriſtophe, from General Le Clere, Commander in Chief.

" *On board the Ocean.*

" I LEARN with indignation, Citizen General, that you refuſe to receive the French ſquadron and army which I command, under pretence that you have received no orders from the Governor General.

" France has made peace with England, and the Government has ſent to Saint Domingo a force ſufficiently ſtrong to cruſh rebels, if there be any found there. With reſpect to yourſelf, Citizen General, I confeſs to you, that it will be

be painful to me to consider you among the rebels.

"I give you notice, that if you do not this day deliver into my possession the Forts Piccolet and Belait, and all the batteries on the coast at day break, 15,000 men shall be disembarked. Four thousand men are now disembarking at Fort-Liberté, (Fort Dauphin); 8000 at Port-Republicain, (Port-au-Prince).

"Annexed to this letter, you will find my proclamation; it expresses the intention of the French Government. But, remember, that whatever personal good opinion I may entertain of your conduct in the colony, I consider you as responsible for whatever may happen.

"LE CLERC."

Proclamation by General Leclerc, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, dated Head-Quarters at the Cape, 28th Pluviose, (Feb. 16.)

I AM come here in the name of the French government, bearing to you peace and happiness. I feared to be encountered by obstacles arising from the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony, and I am not deceived. They, who announced their devotion to France in their proclamations, thought of nothing less than acting as Frenchmen. If they sometimes spoke of France it was because their plans were not sufficiently matured openly to disavow it.

To-day their perfidious intentions were unmasked. General Toussaint sent me his children, with a letter, in which he assures me that there was nothing he so much desired as the prosperity of the colony, and that he was ready to obey all the orders that I should give him. I ordered him to come before me, and gave him my word that I would employ him as my Lieutenant-General: he did not reply to this order, further than by phrases, which were only designed to gain time. My orders are from the French government, that I promptly restore prosperity and abundance. If I suffer myself to be amused by crafty and perfidious artifices, the colony will be the theatre of a long civil war.

I advance into the country, and am about to manifest to this rebel the force of the French government. It can be no longer necessary to prove to all good Frenchmen, inhabiting St. Domingo, what a frantic monster he is. I promise liberty to the people of this island. I have the means of making them enjoy it; and I will respect their persons and property.

I order as follows:

Art. I. The General Toussaint and the General Christophe are put out of the protection of the law—all citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as rebels to the French republic.

II. From the day on which the French army shall occupy a position, all officers, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

III. The cultivators who, seduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel generals, may have taken arms, shall be regarded as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not seek to excite insurrection.

IV.

IV. The ſoldiers of the demi-brigades, who ſhall abandon the army of Touſſaint, ſhall be received into the French army.

V. The general Aguſtin Clervaux, who commanded in the department of Cibao, having acknowledged the French government, and the authority of the captain general, is continued in his rank, and in his command.

VI. The General, Chief of the Staff, ſhall print and publiſh this Proclamation.

(Signed) LECLERC.
General of Diviſion, and Chief of the Staff.

DUGA.

Notice iſſued by the French Chargé-d'Affaires in the United States of America.

"THE Commiſſary-General and Chargé-d'Affaires of the French Republic, gives information to all perſons whom it may concern, that in conſequence of the revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, all manner of intercourſe is, by order of the Commander in Chief of the French Republic in the iſland, prohibited to foreigners, with any other part of the iſland but the two ports of Cape François and Port Républicain. Cruiſers will arreſt all foreign veſſels attempting to enter any other port, and to communicate with the revolted negroes, to carry either ammunition or proviſions to them: ſuch veſſels ſhall be confiſcated, and their commanders ſeverely puniſhed, as violating the rights of the French Republic, and the law of nations. Fair and regular traders will meet with encouragement and protection at the above-mentioned places from the General in Chief and ſubordinate authorities. The intercourſe between the United States and thoſe two ports is left open to the American trade. It will be adviſable for merchants who make ſhipments to the colony, and who wiſh to meet with no interruption by incurring ſuſpicion of improper conduct, to take certificates from the commiſſaries, or commiſſarial agents of the French Republic in the United States, who are inſtructed to deliver them to the applicants.

"Given at George Town, Columbia Diſtrict, the 27th Ventôſe, 10th year of the French Republic (18th March, 1802.)

"L. A. PICHON."

Proclamation of General Leclerc to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

In the Name of the French Government,

A PROCLAMATION.

The General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Citizens,

THE time is arrived, when order will ſucceed to that chaos which has been the neceſſary conſequence of the oppoſition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army at St. Domingo.

The rapid operations and progreſs of the army, and the neceſſity of providing for its ſubſiſtence and its eſtabliſhment, have, hitherto, prevented my attending to the definitive organization of the colony.

I could

I could not, moreover, have any fixed or certain ideas of a country with which I was totally unacquainted, and consequently could not, without mature deliberation, form an opinion of a people who have been, for ten years, a prey to revolutions.

The basis of the provisionary organization which I shall give the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French Government, is Liberty and Equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, *without regard to colour*.—This organization comprizes,

1. The Administration of Justice.

2. The Interior Administration of the Colony combined with those measures which its interior and exterior defence require.

3. The imposition of Duties—the means of raising them and their application.

4. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Agriculture.

5. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Commerce.

6. The Administration of the National Domains, and the means of making them most beneficial to the State, so as to be less burthensome to Agriculture and Commerce.

As it is of infinite interest to you, citizens, that every institution should, in an equal degree, protect agriculture and commerce, I have not determined upon this important work, without having first had recourse to, and consulted with the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

I have, in consequence, given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions to select for each of these departments, seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without regard to colour) who, with eight more which I shall myself choose for the department of the north, are to assemble at the Cape in the course of the present month, to impart their observations to me on the plans I shall then submit to their consideration.

It is not a deliberative assembly I establish. I am sufficiently acquainted with the evils which meetings of this nature have brought upon the colony, to have that idea. The citizens who are thus chosen, being honest and enlightened men, to them will I communicate my views; they will make their observations upon them, and will be able to impress on the minds of their fellow-citizens, the liberal ideas with which government is animated.

Let those, then, who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that, for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately fall upon themselves. Let them consider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations.

Done at head quarters at the Cape, 25th April, year 10th of the French Republic,

The General in Chief,

(Signed) LECLERC.

(a true copy)

The Deputy Adjutant General,

(Signed) *D'Aoust.*

Proclamation made by Richepanse, General in Chief of the Army of Guadaloupe, to the Inhabitants of that Colony.

Citizens,

Citizens,

I HASTEN to announce to you, that the French revolution has at length reached its ultimate degree of power and ſtability. The definitive peace has juſt reconciled all the nations of Europe; and, you ſee, by the articles of that ſolemn compact, how advantageous the ſtipulations have been in favour of the mother country. Know further, that the government which has ſent me, actuated by its profound wiſdom, has nearly brought to perfection, in the courſe of two years, the work of public felicity. Its power is not to be ſhaken, becauſe it reſides in a well founded confidence in the regard of good citizens, and, in the affection and energy of the armies, which is reſpected by the cabinet of every ſovereign, and bleſſed by all the children of the Republic. The warriors whom I have introduced among you, are part of thoſe on whoſe victories were raiſed, on the 18th Brumaire, the new conſtitutional edifice. Go, ſaid the French government, to them, elevate your glory to the higheſt pitch, by triumphing over the laſt oppoſition, to its authority in diſtant countries. There you will have leſs enemies to conquer than errors to correct—your preſence will diſſipate them. The inhabitants of Guadaloupe have offered their tribute of courage, by preventing the deſtruction of their country. There is in the profeſſion of arms, a happy ſympathy, which unites by the ties of honour all the defenders of their country. They deſire to become the aſſociates of your reputation; they hope to find in you brothers, and ſoon the ancient bonds which attached them to the common centre, will be confirmed by you. It is my duty, citizens, to realize this hope; it is alſo the wiſh of my heart to do ſo. Thoſe brave ſoldiers who have ſo many times confronted death againſt the enemies of France, are only here as the protectors of your homes, and as models of virtuous warriors and frenchmen like yourſelves. The act of authority of their chief, will be aſſurances of your happineſs. You will anticipate their effects by your voluntary return to good order, by an intire ſubmiſſion to the government which I repreſent, and by the oblivion of animoſity; but if the important miniſtry I am come to fulfil among you, ſhould fail in producing univerſal conviction, and if there ſhould any remain who are ſo ſenſeleſs as to diſregard the legitimate power of the government, the natural vengeance, which has been ſo long reſtrained, will overwhelm. —Diſgrace and death will be their portion. The preſent proclamation ſhall be printed, publiſhed, affixed, and ſent to the communes.

Done at Point à Pitre, the 17th Floréal, 10th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

Richepanſe.

The General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to the Miniſter of Marine. Head quarters, the Cape, Prairial, 22 (May 12.)

Citizen Miniſter,

I INFORMED you, by one of my laſt diſpatches, of the pardon which I had granted to general Touſſaint. That ambitious man, from the moment I pardoned him, has

has never ceased to conspire secretly. If he surrendered, it was because general Christophe and Dessalines had signified to him, that they saw they had been deceived, and that they were resolved to make war no longer; but seeing himself abandoned by them, he endeavoured to organize, among the cultivators an insurrection, to make them rise *en masse*; the reports that have been sent to me by all the generals, even from general Dessalines, upon the conduct which he has adopted since his submission, do not leave me any doubt upon the subject. I have intercepted the letters he wrote to a person named Fontaine, who was his agent at the Cape. These letters prove incontestibly that he was conspiring, and that he wished to resume his former influence in the colony. He waited for the effect of diseases upon the army.

Under these circumstances, I did not think it proper to leave him time to consummate his criminal projects; I ordered him to be arrested; the affair was not easy, yet it succeeded by the good dispositions of the general of division Brunet, whom I charged with it, and by the zeal and devotion of citizen Ferrari, my aid de camp, chief of Squadron.

I send to France with all his family this man so deeply perfidious, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much mischief. Government will see what it ought to do.

The arrest of general Toussaint has produced some assemblages, two insurgent chiefs are already arrested. I ordered them to be shot; a hundred of his principal confidential persons have been taken up. I have sent a part of them on board the frigate Mucron, which has orders to proceed to the Mediterranean; the rest have been distributed on board the different ships.

I am employed incessantly in reorganizing the colony with as little evil as possible; but the excessive heat, and the disorders that afflict us, render the work extremely painful. I wait with impatience for the month of September, when the season will restore us all our activity.

The departure of Toussaint has caused a general joy at the Cape.

The commissary of justice, Montperon, is dead; the colonial prefect, Beuezech, is at the last gasp; adjutant commandant Dampierre, is dead: he was a young officer of much promise.

I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) LECLERC.

Leclerc to the inhabitants of St. Domingo. Head Quarters at the Cape, June 11, 1802.

Citizens,

THAT Toussaint conspired, you will be able to judge by the annexed letter to citizen Fontaine. I could not compromise the tranquillity of the colony. I arrested him, made him embark, and sent him to France, where he must render an account of his conduct to the French government. In another letter addressed to citizen Fontaine, he loads general Christophe with invective, and complains that general Dessalines has abandoned him. He had prohibited Sylla from laying down his arms, and forbid the cultivators to labour in any other plantations than those adapted to their own subsistence. He had sent

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one of his accomplices to General Deſſalines to engage him to break his good faith; General Deſſalines declared it to me. He relied much at St. Marc, on Maniſſet. He is arreſted. I have proceeded with ſeverity againſt this great criminal; and I ordered the General of Diviſion of the army to compel by force all the cultivators, who are yet in arms in the mountains, to return. The cultivators are not ſo culpable as thoſe who lead them aſtray. In conſequence, every commandant of the National Guard, every officer, every manager or proprietor, who ſhall be found aſſembled in arms, ſhall be immediately ſhot. As to the commune of Ennery, I order it to be diſarmed immediately, for having been ſo tardy in ſubmitting. General Brunet will ſee this order executed. The chief of the Etat Major will print, publiſh, and poſt up the preſent order, with the letter of Gen. Touſſaint, and circulate it throughout the army and the colony.

LECLERC.

Copy of a Letter of the Ex-General Touſſaint Louverture, to Citizen Fontaine.—Quarter of Louverture, May 27, 1802.

YOU ſend me no news, Citizen. Remain at the Cape as long as you can. It is ſaid General Le Clerc is ill at Tortue; be particular in informing me relative to that ſubject. We ſhall ſee . . . For the a . . . , of the news. As to the corn, which we muſt have as before, it cannot be ſent till they have paſſed the Saona, in order to know the point where it can be placed in ſafety. If you ſee the General in Chief, be ſure to tell them that the cultivators will no longer obey me. They wiſh to labour at Hericourt, which the manager ought not to ſuffer. Try if you can gain ſome perſon near the General in Chief, in order to render D——— free: —he will be very uſeful to me by his credit, as to news and otherwiſe. Tell Gangambre that he muſt not quit Le Borgue, where the cultivators muſt not labour.—Direct to the habitation Najac.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

An exact copy, collated with the original.

The General of Diviſion, Chief of the Etat Major of the Army.

DUGUA.

The Deputies of all the Communes in the Cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, to Citizen Verninac, Miniſter of the French Republic in Switzerland.

Schwitz, July 13.

"WE have uſeleſsly endeavoured, for four years paſt, to tear from us a conſtitution, which, from its origin, and ſtill more from the violence with which it was eſtabliſhed, could not fail to be odious and inſupportable. It is in vain that we have conſtantly hoped that the Helvetic Government, inſtructed by the ſorrowful events of four unfortunate years would at length find, that our ſeparation from the Republic was that which was moſt wiſe and ſuitable for both parties, and that the wiſh which we have ſo often and ſo ſtrongly expreſſed for our ancient liberty, would have induced them to ſet aſide all hope that theſe three cantons would ever voluntarily accept any other conſtitution

ſtitution than that which has ever been conſidered as the only one ſuited to theſe countries, and for that reaſon ſo highly prized by ourſelves and our anceſtors. Our re-union with Helvetia, which has been ſtained with ſo much innocent blood, is perhaps the moſt cruel example of conſtraint that hiſtory can offer.

"In the conviction, therefore, that for a forced and unfortunate marriage, divorce is the only reaſonable remedy, and that Helvetia and ourſelves cannot recover repoſe and content, except by the rupture of this forced tie, we are firmly reſolved to labour at that ſeparation with all poſſible activity, and we think it beſt to addreſs that authority which for four years paſt has united us, in ſpite of ourſelves, to the Helvetic Republic. As to any thing further, we only wiſh to preſerve good harmony in our commercial relations, as becomes brave Swiſs. In liſtening to our juſt demands, the Helvetic Republic will acquire in us brothers and faithful neighbours.

"Health and Conſideration."

Letter from the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Helvetia to the Landamman and Stadtholders.—Dated July 18.

Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders,

YOU requeſted of me, by the letter which you did me the honour to addreſs to me, dated the 13th of July, to give you ſome information as to the conſiderations which formed the motive of the reſolution taken and anſwered by the Firſt Conſul, to withdraw immediately into France the French battalions which he has permitted to remain in Helvetia ſince the peace, and you requeſt me to petition the Firſt Conſul to poſtpone the execution of that reſolution until the Helvetic miniſtry at Paris had tranſmitted to you the information which you had charged them to procure upon that ſubject. The Firſt Conſul thinking, Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders, that the government of Helvetia will find in the virtue of the Helvetic people, now more united with reſpect to the principles of its political organization, ſufficient reſources to maintain public order and tranquillity in Helvetia, ſuch are the conſiderations which have influenced the determination of the Firſt Conſul; you ought therefore to regard this reſolution as a pledge of his confidence in the Helvetic people, and in the intentions of its government, as well as of his repugnance to intermeddle in the domeſtic affairs of other nations.—Accept, Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders, my ſentiments of conſideration.

(Signed) R. VERNINAC.

Proclamation of the Council of Execution of the Helvetic Republic to the Helvetic people.

Citizens of Helvetia,

THE French government approves of the uſe you have made of your independence; and the firſt pledge it gives you of its eſteem, is that of declaring its readineſs to withdraw its troops from Helvetia. The council of execution has accepted of this offer. That great act of juſtice, on the part of the Firſt Conſul,

Conſul, ſhould call forth all your gratitude to ſo generous an ally. Without him and without theſe troops, that are now about to depart from you, you again would have been a prey to all the horrors of anarchy. Now he thinks you may be relieved from the expences which the neceſſity of maintaining a foreign army, had impoſed upon you. Agriculture, induſtry, and commerce, will again flouriſh amongſt you, under the ſhade of peace. The citizens ſhall reap the fruits of thoſe bleſſings, without being obliged to part with them: and the father of a family, retiring to his habitation at night, will feel with pleaſure, that it contains none but his own children; every Swiſs will ſee himſelf ſurrounded by his own countrymen alone. But the departure of foreign troops from your country, ſhould above all things be a cauſe of thanksgiving to you. You, who are ſtung with grief at beholding this land, ſo celebrated for the glorious battles of our forefathers, become a theatre of war for neighbouring ſtates: you who mourned when you thought you had no longer a national will left ſufficient to reſtrain factions, nor a government able to ſupport itſelf, ſhould now rejoice; you ſhould open your hearts to confidence. The independence of your country, acknowledged in the ſtipulations of Luneville, now obtains that privilege in ſubſtance. Helvetia again enjoys her national manners, and her ancient liberty. But know on what conditions you are to have the bleſſings of independence: and what duties the confidence of the French government, and the confidence of your own government, impoſe on you. They command you to obſerve peace and concord. They require of you the ſacrifice of all thoſe regrets, of all thoſe hopes and deſires, which are no longer compatible with the exiſting order of things. They call on you in an imperious manner to rally round the conſtitution, and the government which it eſtabliſhes; for it is only according to the conſtitution, and by the government, that liberty and independence can be preſerved. In ſupporting theſe, you will be able to continue a nation; in abandoning them, you muſt periſh. They wiſh that the author of every attempt againſt the actual ſtate of things, may be puniſhed in an exemplary manner. Such is the national will; ſuch is the intention declared by the Firſt Conſul on withdrawing his troops. Citizens, there exiſts among the governments of Europe, a compact for the maintenance of peace, order, and thoſe principles which preſerve every political ſociety. Too long have the Swiſs diſturbed foreign powers with their diſſentions; and if, now that thoſe powers are diſpoſed to take ſome intereſt in our deſtinies, any diſorders ſhould riſe up amongſt us, we muſt expect to ſee the ſame powers, for the ſake of their ſafety, taking up arms againſt us. We here declare ourſelves to be the guarantees for the will of the people, conſecrated by the conſtitution, and we have pledged ourſelves to the French government, that the peace ſhall not be diſturbed in Switzerland. Prudence in council; celerity in execution; juſtice to all; prompt ſeverity againſt the factious and the diſturbers of public tranquillity; theſe are, and

ever ſhall be, the rule of our conduct.

Given at Berne, July 20, 1802.

The Landamman, Preſident of the Council of Execution,

DOLDER.

The Secretary-General,

MOUSSON.

Proclamation of the Commiſſary Keller, publiſhed at Lucerne, on the Part of the Central Government.

THE government had fondly hoped for the ceſſation of all troubles, for the re-union of all men by the influence of concord and of fraternity, and of courſe, for the reſtoration of general proſperity. It ſees, however, with regret, that certain enemies of their country are eager to profit of the circumſtances of the moment, to rend all thoſe ties aſunder, and to produce new calamities and misfortunes.

"Theſe have violated the confidence which the government placed in their ſentiments of patriotiſm, and they have ſhut their eyes to the dangers attending ſuch conduct. Behold your vallies and plains deſolated—the ſtill ſmoaking ruins of your houſes—theſe are the fruits of ſuch diſaſtrous councils, and which on a former occaſion you have experienced. Conſider well, if the aſſertions of thoſe who miſlead you, have been founded in truth, if they have not already deceived you. And what truſt can you repoſe in them after theſe reflections? Abjure their perfidious councils, and rally round a government, uniformly diſpoſed, to adminiſter to your neceſſities, and to ſoothe your misfortunes.

"The executive council, true to its principles, has endeavoured by every means of conciliation, to recal you to your duty; but, at the ſame time, it entertains the determined reſolution generally to introduce and to maintain the conſtitution adopted by the Helvetic people in all parts of the republic, and appriſes you that meaſures are adopted to carry it into full effect againſt every ſpecies of oppoſition whatever.

"The executive council declares, that all Lanſgemein, held or to be holden, are contrary to the exiſting laws, and the conſtitution, and decrees.

I. "That in all the cantons, or wherever ſuch aſſemblies are holden, the perſons who were employed under the conſtitution, ſhall be reinſtated in their reſpective ſituations in the courſe of eight days.

II. "That in the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, the communes ſhall re-aſſemble, and elect a deputy from every 100 citizens.

III. "Theſe deputies ſhall reunite under the preſidency of the commiſſary of the government, or of one of the delegates, in order to appoint a committee or council, conſiſting of 20 members.

IV. "The government recognizes thoſe councils, and will hold communication with them. They ſhall adminiſter the particular affairs of the cantons, and ſhall be charged with the cantonal organization.

"Given at Berne, Aug. 1, 1802."

Repreſentation addreſſed by the Leſſer Cantons to the Firſt Conſul, on the ſubject of the Evacuation of Helvetia.

Berne,

Berne, Auguſt 22.

" Citizen Firſt Conſul,

" THE three cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, have been appriſed, by public report, of your reſolution to withdraw the French troops from Switzerland. They ſee in ſuch a meaſure the moſt convincing proofs of that good will which you have manifeſted towards the Landamman, Alays Reding, and for the underſigned, &c. The cantons re-aſſembled at Schwitz, and by their deputies, have determined, in purſuance of the wiſhes of the people, to renew their former connexions, and to eſtabliſh in their cantons a government conformable to their poſition and to their circumſtances: ſuch as you, Citizen Firſt Conſul, have approved of, and is exemplified in the 9th and 10th articles of the note of the 20th December, which the Landamman Reding has had the honour of preſenting to you.

" We ſhould add, Citizen Firſt Conſul, that this reſolution has been incited by the arbitrary meaſures of the cantonal authorities, and principally carried into execution by the commiſſary Keller, in the canton of Underwald, proceedings which, by depriving the people of the power which they had formally reſerved, of conſtituting their own government, have induced the greateſt averſion againſt the central government, and to ſuch a degree, that no way remains to maintain the public tranquillity in thoſe countries but by immediately reſtoring the people to the exerciſe of their legitimate right.

We have the honour, Citizen Firſt Conſul, to communicate to you by theſe preſents, the public declarations of the above mentioned cantons, in the conviction, that you are determined thoſe brave people ſhall continue to experience your benevolent ſupport, which they ſo highly eſtimate, and which none, Citizen Firſt Conſul, feel a juſter ſenſe of than the underſigned.

The Envoys of the Republics, Guardians of the Independence of the Valais, to the People of the Valais. —Sion, September 5, 1802.

Citizens of the Valais,

THE French government at the firſt moment of peace, which it had glorioufly reſtored to Europe, occupied itſelf with the means of making you enjoy its beneficial effects, by putting an end to that ſtate of indetermination among you which is always painful to the people. The Helvetic government, animated with the ſame ſentiments, has been eager to concur in it, and that of the Italian republic has acceded with an equal ſentiment of friendſhip. Wiſhing to conſolidate your liberty, by making you enter into relations equally beneficial with the three republics, by which you are ſurrounded, the French, Italian, and Helvetic governments, have concluded between them a ſolemn treaty which eſtabliſhes your independence, under the ſupport and guarantee of thoſe three republics. They have ſent us to you to ſign and depoſit in the hands of your repreſentatives aſſembled in legitimate diet this compact, which is become the foundation and the ægis of a free and happy exiſtence to you; and they have directed us to concur, in order that you may have a conſtitution and a government which ſhall be the free reſult of

your choice, and which shall make you speedily enjoy that independence which the Helvetic government have just solemnly granted you. We are come to fulfil this important task; the republic of the Valais exists, and it is only necessary that her government should be established in order that she may occupy her station, among free nations. We consummate this work by declaring, in the name of the French, Helvetic, and Italian governments, friends of the republic of Valais, and guarantees of her independence, that the council of state named by the diet of the Valais, enter from day to day into the full possession of the rights granted to it by the constitution; and we make known to the people the following appointments, which the diet has just made, and in consequence of which we install in the name of our government, the citizens Antonio Augustini, grand bailli of the republic;—Charles Derivaz, and Gaspard Stockalper, counsellors of state of the republic;—Pierre Antoine Preux, vice bailli;—Joseph Duray de la Vallaz, and Jacques Quatery, vice counsellors of state of the republic.—May the prosperity of the people of the Valais be hereafter the effect of the wisdom and the solicitude of the government; may it be the consequence of the tranquillity and order which shall reign among you. It is by a total oblivion of past vicissitudes, it is by the silence of the passions which they may have irritated, it is by a sincere return to concord and to fraternal union, which formerly constituted your happiness, that you will cement it anew.—You will thus preserve the esteem and good-will of our government; it is with the sentiment of the greatest interest that we come to make you feel the first effects of them, and that we renew the assurance of them.

(Signed)
TURREAU.
LAMERTENGHI,
MULLER FRIEDBERG.

Convention concluded between the Municipality of Zurich, and the Commissary of the Helvetic Government.

DIFFERENT circumstances having given rise to hostilities between the Helvetic troops and the inhabitants of the city of Zurich, Citizen May, commissary of government, in virtue of his full powers, has taken upon himself the office of mediator; and has in consequence, agreed upon the following convention with the municipality of the city.—Art. I. The commissary of government, May, resigns, in full confidence, to the townsmen of Zurich the military service of that city, and engages that he will establish no garrison there, but will personally repair thither as the chief place of the canton, bringing along with him only a few pieces of ordnance.—II. All past proceedings shall be buried in oblivion. All the inhabitants of Zurich, as well as all the inhabitants of Helvetia, who have taken part in the late events, are discharged from all responsibility. Consequently, all those who on either side have been made prisoners, or arrested by the civil or military power, shall be immediately set at liberty, if there be no other accusation against them.—III. Immediately

diately after the signing of the present convention, the speediest means will be taken to put an end to all hostile proceedings.—Zurich, September 15, 1802, eight o'clock in the morning, in the name of the municipality.

(Signed)

HIRZEL, RHEINARD.

Head-Quarters at Zurichberg, September 15, 1802, nine in the morning.

(Signed)

MAY, Commissary of the Government.

Convention for an Armistice, concluded at Berne.

THE commander of the Helvetic armed force at Berne, in order to avoid any farther bloodshed, and particularly with the intention of sparing the inhabitants and the city, on the one part; and M. E. Eman de Watteville, in the name of the council of war of the troops who have attacked Berne, on the other, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops at Berne, and those which have attacked the city, to commence from the signing of the present convention.

II. The Helvetic troops shall give up the place in twenty-four hours after the signature.

III. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, engage to obtain from the municipal authorities, the carriages, waggons, and horses, and all the necessary facilities for the departure of the government, and those in office, with their families and effects of every description, and also for the conveyance of twenty pieces of artillery, with the powder and ammunition necessary to serve them; in a word, every thing belonging to the government. The records, papers, and other articles, which cannot be carried off, will be respected, and remain under the guarantee of the parties stipulating. The sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals shall be maintained, taken care of, and sent to their respective corps.

IV. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, ensure the government a free passage to the frontiers of the cantons of Vaud and Friburg.

V. Should any members of the government, or any person in its employment, not be able to accompany the government itself, they shall have passports to follow it at full liberty. Should they be obliged to leave behind them their families and effects, these shall be respected.

VI. The ministers of foreign powers to the Helvetic republic, with their suite, and property of every description, remain under the guarantee of the law of nations. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, shall respect their character, and promise to furnish them at any time, with the facilities requisite to their removal, whithersoever they think proper.

VII. General Andermatt, the troops under his orders, and all other Helvetic troops on detached service, are comprised in the present convention, and may rejoin the Helvetic government, at its departure from Berne, without any molestation, with their arms, baggage, and train of artillery; and for this purpose couriers shall be immedi-

ately dispatched to the general and the detachments, to inform them of the present convention.

VIII. The other columns in arms against the government, are equally included in the present convention.

IX. Until the junction of the above mentioned detachments shall have been effected, the troops in arms against the Helvetic government shall not enter the territory of the cantons of Vaud or Friburg. Hostilities shall not take place on either side.

X. As a security for the performance of the present convention, two officers of equal rank shall be reciprocally delivered as hostages until the complete execution of all its articles.

XI. Such articles as may appear doubtful, shall, if necessary, be explained by commissioners on both sides in favour of the besieged.

Done, and agreed upon at Berne, September 18, 1802, eight in the evening. (Signed)
GAUDARD, E. D. WATTEVILLE.

Project of a Constitution for Switzerland, published at Berne.

ARTICLE I. The cantons shall be allowed a month to form each a government, adapted to its usages its local situation, and its actual wants.

II. The cantons, when once constituted, shall each name their deputies, who shall be made acquainted with the intentions of their constituents, and furnished with the necessary full powers—1st. To assemble in general diet, and organise a central power, which may be suited to the powers in alliance with Switzerland.—2d. To make the first nomination of the members of the central power.

III. The central government shall be charged with the external, political, and foreign relations, and the general organization of the military. It shall guarantee the cantonal constitutions.

IV. If any difficulty should arise in any canton in regard to its constitution, it shall be referred to the central government. The case shall be the same in regard to any difficulties that may arise between one canton and another.

V. Sufficient sums for the ordinary expences shall be assigned to the central government.

VI. Each deputy to the central government, shall be indemnified by the canton by which he is nominated.

VII. The number of the deputies which each canton must nominate, shall be regulated according to its population.

VIII. The rights of city in those towns heretofore sovereigns, shall be open to every inhabitant of the canton, which can prove a right to a property in money or land of a fixed value, and paying a retribution in order to have a share in the enjoyment of communial property. Political advantages to be acquired by the right of city shall not be subject to any retribution whatever.

IX. No one shall be eligible to places in the government in the cantons heretofore aristocratic, except those who possess the right of city above mentioned.

X. The new cantons, such as Turgovia and others, which have not yet had a constitution, shall be free to give themselves one, or to unite themselves to other cantons.

XI. The cantonal governments shall

shall be in possession of all the powers which shall not have been expressly delegated to the central government.

XII. To present this general measure under a constitutional and conciliating form, the citizen minister of the French is requested to employ his good offices.—*Berne, Sept.* 21, 1802.

Proclamation of Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic.

St. Cloud, Sept. 30.

Inhabitants of Helvetia,

YOU have afforded, for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposite factions have successively taken possession of the sovereign authority; they have signalized their temporary rule by a system of partiality which proved their unskilfulness and weakness.

In the course of the year 10, your government desired that the small number of French troops in Helvetia should be withdrawn. The French government willingly availed themselves of that opportunity to honour your independence; but soon afterwards your different parties began to be agitated by fresh fury: the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of Swiss.

You have been disputing for three years, without coming to any understanding; if you are left to yourselves, you will be killing each other for three years longer, without coming to a better understanding. Besides, your history proves that your intestine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France.

It is true that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had constantly seen your different Governments ask advice of me, and not follow it, and sometimes abuse my name, according to their interests and their passions.

But I neither can, nor ought, to remain insensible to the misery of which you are the victims. I recal my determination—I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak.

Five days after the notification of the present proclamation, the senate shall assemble at Berne.

Every magistracy that shall have been formed at Berne, since the capitulation, shall be dissolved, and shall cease meeting and exercising any authority.

The prefects shall repair to their posts.

All the authorities which may have been formed shall cease meeting.

Armed assemblages shall disperse.

The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades shall compose the garrison of Berne.

The troops, who have been on service for upwards of six months, shall alone remain in corps of troops.

Finally, all individuals disbanded from the belligerent armies, and who are now in arms, shall deposit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born.

The senate shall send three deputies to Paris; each canton may also send deputies.

All citizens who, for the last three years, have been Landammans, senators, and have successively occupied places in the central authority,

sity, may repair to Paris, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties.

On my part, I have a right to expect that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the dispositions which I make known to you.

Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope!!!

Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be immediately drawn from it: all men of good intentions will second this generous plan.

But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who should have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of their country; people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers!

There is no sensible man who does not see, that the mediation which I take upon myself is a benefit to Helvetia from that providence which, in the midst of so many shocks and concussions, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation; and that this mediation is the only means of saving both.

For, indeed, it is time you should see, that if the patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your republic, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it. Painful would it be to think, that, at a period when several new republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most antient.

(Signed) By the First Consul,
BONAPARTE.
H. B. MARET.

Answer of the Diet of Schwitz to Bonaparte.

TO CITIZEN BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Citizen First Consul,

THE proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of September, by Citizen Rapp, your adjutant-general, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October.

We could have wished, that the letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you inclosed a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably.

It will prove to you, that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party; and that the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims, of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants; a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to ensure her by the treaty of Luneville.

Switzerland would long since have been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic government, those obscure metaphysicians, had consulted the real state of affairs, instead of obstinately attaching themselves to theoretic attempts, as erroneous as they are expensive.

The violence with which they have tried to impose their system upon the democratic cantons, the civil war they have organized to attain

attain their end, directed at first against those cantons, then against all Switzerland, the unexampled severity with which they have done it, have produced a discontent equally general and just, and a determined and avowed will to shake off this insupportable yoke.

It is not then, General First Consul, an affair of party—it is the sacred cause of humanity—it is the general wish of a whole nation, which has given us our power and our instructions; of a nation which you yourself wished to free, and which has been ill-treated and irritated contrary to your intentions.

Yet that nation, we render ourselves guarantees, will never abuse the liberty it claims.

The Swiss have nothing more at heart than to attain a state of repose, in which, under the shield of a mild and just government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and his existence.

We are convinced that we shall arrive at that essential object of all social order, from the moment our will and our efforts shall be no longer fettered.

General First Consul, all Europe admires in you the supreme head of an immense power and empire, which, without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity. Your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people, who only desire what you have made them hope, and who only wish what they believe themselves authorized to do by yourself.

Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good will of the French government, and will fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon it by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood.

It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain, General First Consul,

The DEPUTIES of the Helvetic Diet.

Schwitz, Oct. 8.

Proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League, to their Brothers in Arms.—Dated Basle, Oct. 12, 1802.

Friends and Brothers,

WHEN you separated yourselves from your wives, your children, your fathers, and your friends, to conquer for your children, liberty, independence, and prosperity, you abandoned with alacrity and courage your cottages and your flocks.

This idea, "the God of our fathers is with us, and protects us," gave you force to brave all the dangers, and to despise the fatigues of war. You quitted with songs your mountains and your valleys, to enter into the field and defend the cause of liberty and your country.

The Almighty blessed your arms, and heard the just wishes of a nation known only by its rectitude, and which had armed for its liberty and independence.

Our enemies, our oppressors, the *foi disant* Helvetic government, with its feeble party, have been chased almost to the frontiers of the confederate cantons.

But brothers and friends, we have received a notification, that if we did not by our conduct give proofs of an intire confidence in the

First

First Consul of the powerful nation of France, who has caused a declaration to be made by his envoy, General Rapp, to our fathers assembled at Schwitz, that he wishes to interpose as mediator in the war which we are carrying on against the odious Helvetic government, we should be compelled to it by the victorious arms of the French warriors. Brothers, friends, confederates, who among us could conceive the thought of menacing ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No; friends, no! we wish to await peaceably the determination of the First Consul, and with that order, that moderation, and that discipline, which have hitherto guided your steps; you will receive we are convinced, the orders of your superiors, of your general; and even if it should be necessary, you will return to your residence, in order that our country may not be exhausted by the entrance of foreign troops; that we may not be deprived of the scanty harvest of this year, which we hoped to consume with our children; and that we may not be plunged into indigence and misery.

It is only the Helvetic government, directed by its passions and its private interest, that could call in the aid of foreign troops; we, who took up arms only for our country and tranquillity, have no need of troops to attain our object.

But relying on our conduct, we dare to hope, that the First Consul of France, who has guarranteed our independence, and who has been deceived by false reports, will, as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things, take measures, which will secure our honour, and the prosperity and independence of our country. May the Almighty deign to grant this, who has caused us to make an important step towards our future happiness, and crowned our arms with his benediction.

Convention for an Armistice concluded between the General of Brigade Wenderweld, charged with Powers to that Effect from the Helvetic Government, and Colonel Herrenschwand, authorized to the same Effect by Baron Bachmann, the General in Chief of the confederate Swiss Troops.

ARTICLE I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops and the confederate Swiss troops; and if hostilities do recommence, it shall not be till twenty-four hours after the return of General Rapp to Lausanne.

II. The line of demarcation for the confederate troops shall proceed from Moudon, on the left by the Hurrens, Prayas, Cronay, Neiden, Yvon end; on the right from Mouden, the line shall pass by Chavannes, Breals, Sarsans, Lovoteirs, Dompiene, Vilard-Bramard, Sedeilles, Chattoney, Vilard-Imboz, Toray, Legrand, Firax, Mamaud, Montoguy, Norayaz, Pontaux, Grollay, Corbay, Pensiers, Barbarech—from this point the line shall ascend the Sarine to Grandfrey, and pass beyond the Uberville, Bucglen, and Martelach. It shall then proceed up to the Gerine, by Ergerbach, as far as its source; and shall afterwards follow the summit of the mountains of Planfayon, as far as the frontiers of Schwartzenburg, whence it shall turn towards Bellegrade, follow the chain of the Hahnatt,

Hahmatt, which descends to Rougmont, and thence shall continue in direct line to the frontiers of the Valais.

III. The Helvetic troops shall not advance more than within a league of that line of demarcation.

IV. The suspension of arms must be general, and such, that the two armies shall each detach troops to reduce, if necessary, those who, on either side, shall act against their chief.

V. If the town of Friburg capitulated before the armistice of the 5th October, came to the knowledge of General Auf-de-Maur, it shall be occupied by the confederate troops.

VI. If General Bachmann approve this convention, the reciprocal ratification shall be exchanged at the farthest to-morrow at noon, and sooner if possible.

VII. Until then hostilities shall be suspended on both sides, agreeably to the convention of yesterday, between General Von-der-Weld and Colonel Herrenschwand.

VIII. If any difficulties arise respecting the present convention, commissioners shall be appointed on each side to settle them.

Done at the head-quarters at Lausanne, Oct. 8, 1802.

Plan of a Constitution for Switzerland, agreed on by the Members of the Helvetic Diet, assembled at Schwitz, 9th October, 1802.

ARTICLE I. Switzerland forms one federal republic, under the denomination of the Helvetic confederation.

II. It is divided into cantons.

III. Each canton to govern itself according to its own will, and to exercise in its own territory all the rights of sovereignty which it exercised under the ancient regime.

IV. The town shall not enjoy any prerogative over the country; both one and the other to participate in the administration of justice, of the police, and in the internal government of the canton.

V. The government of one canton cannot publish ordinances prejudicial to another canton: those who break through this regulation, to be denounced to the diet.

VI. The government of each canton to name a deputy to the Helvetic diet. The deputies remain in office until their constituents think proper to recal them. They are indemnified by the canton.

VII. The diet is permanent; it deliberates on war and peace, and on the conclusion of such treaties of alliance and commerce as the general interest of the confederation may call for. It is authorized to repeal and annul the ordonnances of the cantonal governments, which are prejudicial to the Helvetic confederation, or to any of its cantons.

VIII. Every deputy, member of the diet, is obliged to conduct himself, upon the discussion of an important object, particularly of treaties, peace, commerce, and alliance, according to the instructions of his constituents.

IX. The diet chooses, from among its members, a president and a secretary, who continue in their functions, for three months, and are always re-eligible.

X. The president of the diet receives the envoys of foreign powers, and signs the deliberations of the diet,

diet, which are counterſigned by the ſecretary. The protocol ſhall be ſigned by every member.

XI. The diet appoints the Helvetic envoys to foreign powers, and recals them.

XII. In caſe of a war, or threat of attack, the diet ſettles the contingent of troops, and the amount of the ſums which each canton is obliged to furniſh. The arſenals of the cantons are at the diſpoſal of the diet. It appoints the generals and removes them, as alſo the inſpectors of the militia in time of peace. Each canton is obliged to exerciſe in arms and military revolutions, a contingent of the militia, which, however, is not to perform any effective ſervice, in time of peace, and receives no pay.

XIII. All the Swiſs are ſoldiers. None can exerciſe the right of citizenſhip, nor be received into the corporation of artiſts and tradeſmen, nor exerciſe a profeſſion, nor marry, unleſs he has a muſket, a ſword, and a pouch. The government ſupplies the poor with arms. In extraordinary caſes the cantonal goverment may order the diſarming of the citizens. The expences of war are charged upon all the cantons, in proportion to their reſpective means.

Talleyrand, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; to M. de Cetto, the Bavarian Miniſter at Paris.

Paris, 23 Vendemaire, 15 Oct.

Sir,

THE relations of neighbourhood which exiſt between Bavaria and Switzerland, and which will be rendered cloſer by the new acquiſitions his Electoral Highneſs is about to obtain in Germany, muſt have made him direct his particular attention to the late events of which Helvetia has been the theatre. That country has been long divided. An influence of intrigue and money has hitherto prevented the government eſtabliſhed by the ſuffrages of the majority from aſſuming the poſition and the power neceſſary to its preſervation.

As long as the oppoſition was confined to inſidious and obſcure parties, the Firſt Conſul thought he ought not to interfere in diſcuſſions, to which time, and the influence of the general tranquillity of Europe, promiſed continually to put an end. But at length the enemies of the Helvetic people have attempted an open oppoſition: Blood has flowed, and Helvetia has been menaced with a general deſtruction.

In this frightful conjuncture, the wiſhes of all have demanded the mediation of the Firſt Conſul. The very party which had armed againſt the government, drawn away by the opinion of men who muſt have been miſled, to attach them to it, have been forced to claim ſolemnly the mediation of France.

The continental powers, adjoining Helvetia, have not contemplated, without apprehenſions, the external effects of a diſorder, the focus of which was eſtabliſhed in that country. In this ſtate of affairs, humanity, the intereſt of France and of Europe, demanded that the Firſt Conſul ſhould deſiſt from the determination he had made not to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland. He ſpoke as a mediator,

mediator, as a friend, and Helvetia was pacified. The people have returned to their homes. Thoſe ſimple and juſt men, ſeeing they had been abuſed, have menaced with their arms the chiefs who had attempted to defame France in their minds, and who, in their public acts, had ventured to inveigh againſt her. General contempt now does juſtice to their clamours.

Such, ſir, are the facts which I have thought it my duty to communicate to you. The Firſt Conſul neither ought nor would abandon a country which ſtands in need of the friendſhip of France, and which, without the benefit of his influence, would have paſſed in a ſhort time through all the horrors of anarchy under the ancient yoke, which it feels itſelf happy to have broken.

But at the ſame time that he has recogniſed the neceſſity of aſſiſting the Helvetic nation to fix at length herſelf, and in an irrevocable manner, her conſtitutional deſtiny, he has not ceaſed for one moment to conſider that the moſt perfect independence ought to be the baſis of her conſtitution. The right of eſtabliſhing her own organization acquired by Helvetia, is one of the glorious reſults of the war which France has ſuſtained againſt the moſt powerful armies of Europe, and of the treaties which have terminated it.

It is becauſe Helvetia poſſeſſes this right from the victories, and the benevolent policy of France, that the Firſt Conſul would now protect the exerciſe of it, and take care that a handful of turbulent emigrants, deſerters from foreign armies, and who have juſt carried fire and ſword into their own country, ſhall not ſucceed in depriving the whole almoſt of their fellow citizens of their rights.

It is not by ſuch men that the treaty of Luneville can be invoked in what regards Helvetia, but by the great portion of the people which they would have oppreſſed, and whoſe independence the treaty guarantees. Are thoſe men as eſtimable, as important a part of Helvetia as Argovia. The pays de vaud, and the bailiwicks, formerly ſubject, whoſe political rights France has guaranteed, not only in the treaty of Luneville, but in all thoſe which, ſince the war, have bound the ancient ties of France and Helvetia cloſer?

One may conceive that it will be thoſe perſons who will endeavour to ſpread the belief that the Helvetic republic may be led by a ſpirit of imitation, to eſtabliſh, with the Firſt Conſul, the relations which unite him to the Italian republic; but this idea is as far from the expectation of the Firſt Conſul as it is oppoſite to all his determinations, and his formal intention is not to concur in the organization of Switzerland, but for the purpoſe of inſuring to her an abſolute independence.

I am perſuaded, ſir, that you will tranſmit to his electoral highneſs the communications I have the honour to make to you, the importance of which he will not fail to appreciate.

Receive the aſſurance of my high conſideration.

(Signed)

C. M. Talleyrand.

Decree of the Senate of the Swiss Cantons, on the Subject of a Deputation to Paris.

HAVING heard the message of the executive council, and also the report of the interior committee, considering that by virtue of the proclamation of the First Consul of the French republic, each canton may send deputies to Paris to explain their sentiments upon the means most likely to restore order and tranquillity, and to re-unite all parties; and considering also, that this measure should be regularly executed, in order that the regularity of forms may coincide with their power of delivering their opinions freely, orders—

1st. That the national prefects of the eighteen cantons shall convoke, during the first week of November ensuing, on a given day, a meeting of all the members of the diets of the cantons of the first of August, 1801; and of those who were members of the cantons on the second of April, 1802.

2d. These citizens, so united, shall determine whether their respective cantons ought to send deputies to Paris, in their names, at their expence, and under these circumstances. They will determine the number that are to be sent, and will make the nominations.

3d. The senate does not by this measure deprive the communes of the right of sending deputies, at their own expence, to express their sentiments.

4th. Every person named shall receive from the assembly the act of his nomination, which shall be legalized by the national prefect, and by the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

5th. The deputies shall assemble at Paris, on the 15th of November next.

The further regulations, which may be necessary for carrying into effect the present decree, are left to the executive council.

25 October, 1802. (Signed)
The Landamman, President of the Senate.
Dolder Lauther, and
Muller Freedburg,
Secretaries.

The Council of Execution to the Inhabitants of Helvetia.

Citizens of Helvetia.

THE government is assembled at Berne.

The events which had necessitated its departure, and those which have preceded its return, are sufficiently known to you. We will not, therefore, speak to you of the past: we wish only to open your eyes to the present, and to seek, if it be possible, your preservation for the future.

It is not a requisition of the Helvetic government that will cause the French to march among us; but the First Consul of the French republic cannot suffer factions and civil war to desolate a country bordering on France; a country attached to France by treaties; and which will for ever be indebted to France alone for the restitution of its independence.

There cannot, therefore, citizens of Helvetia, be any question, at this moment, of dispute, as to this

this or that syſtem, or on the pre-eminence of this or that opinion; the object is to prevent the occupation of our country by foreign troops, and all the evils that would be the reſult of it. Only one mode remains to us to prevent thoſe evils; it is that which the proclamation of the Firſt Conſul points out to us. Citizens of Helvetia; we counſel not to repel it: it is the laſt plank by which we can eſcape ſhipwreck.

The abyſs is beneath your footſteps, and your ruin is certain if you neglect to ſeize it.

A general officer, attached to the ſtaff of the army of obſervation on our frontiers, has arrived at Berne, to ſee, with his own eyes, if the orders of the Firſt Conſul are punctually executed throughout. He will cauſe the troops to enter if a ſingle canton reſiſt.

Yes, a partial diſorder, a ſingle unconſtitutional authority refuſing to diſſolve itſelf, or an aſſembly refuſing to lay down its arms, will be ſufficient to draw down upon you this misfortune.

Let every citizen, therefore, ſubmit to the conſtitution re-eſtabliſhed, and await, in the diſpoſitions of peace and good-will, the definitive order of things which is announced to us by the mediation of the Firſt Conſul.

Let all the party denominations and hatred be abjured; let a general deſire to preſerve the exiſtence and independence of our country; let the neceſſity of preſerving for ourſelves and our families the feeble reſources that remain to us, command tranquillity, and unite all minds.

For every true Swiſs there can, from henceforth, be but one thought, one end, and that is, the preſervation of the Swiſs amity.

Note addreſſed, on the 26th of October, by the Diet of Schwitz to General Ney.

THE preſident of the confederated cantons having been required, on the part of General Ney, by his Adjutant, Mr. Becket, to declare whether the diet would accept the proclamation of the Firſt Conſul of the French republic, the diet have the honour to obſerve to the general, that already, on the 15th of this month, they had taken the reſolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their conſtituents as ſoon as the French troops ſhould enter Switzerland, having never entertained the deſign of oppoſing them by force of arms.

Now that the diet is poſitively informed that the citizens of Baſle and Berne are occupied by French troops, it no longer delays to diſſolve itſelf; at the ſame time, they ſeize this opportunity of declaring to the general, that conformably to the inſtructions they have received from their conſtituents, which they conſider themſelves obliged to conform to, they cannot regard the Helvetic government as eſtabliſhed, nor alienate the ſacred right which their nation poſſeſſes, of forming a conſtitution for itſelf, a right which they inherited from their anceſtors, and which was confirmed to them by the treaty of Luneville: but, on the contrary, are firmly convinced that the Swiſs will never recover

their tranquillity and their happineſs, but in the exerciſe of that right.

They pray that the general will place before the eyes of the Firſt Conſul, this juſt demand, which is not only the expreſſions of the ſentiments of the diet, but of all Swiſs who wiſh well to their country. In the name of the diet,

ALOYS READING.

Proclamation to the Helvetic People, from the Government of Helvetia.

Citizens of Helvetia,

IN announcing to you, four months ago, that the French troops were about to quit our ſoil, the council of execution at the ſame time declared to you, that a conſtant obedience to the laws, a ſpirit of confidence and peace, the union of all wiſhes for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed order of things, could alone protect your independence; while the contrary diſpoſitions, diſobedience, tumult, and diſſenſions, would infallibly bring back a foreign army.

You have not attended to our words, citizens of Helvetia!

Ambitious men have induced you to embrace the cauſe of their intereſts and their paſſions; and while one party amongſt you rouſed itſelf at their calling to overturn the conſtitutional and national government, the other party became, by its ſilence, an accomplice in the civil war.

What is the reſult? A few weeks have ſcarcely paſſed when the French troops, ten times more numerous than they were laſt ſpring before their departure, penetrate into your cantons; they take from you the arms which you have turned againſt your government, and thus declare to all Europe that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy to protect yourſelves.

Tell us then, citizens of Helvetia, to whom you owe the return of theſe troops? Is it to the ſenate and to the council of execution, whoſe fault was, on the contrary, to conſent too ſoon to their departure, and whoſe whole ſtudy latterly tended to prevent, by a frank and loyal acceptance of the mediation of the chief conſul, the evils which we had to fear from his indignation? Or is it to the inſurrectional authorities, to the aſſembly which dignified itſelf with the name of the confederate diet of Schwitz? To that aſſembly which, rejecting the conditions of the propoſed mediation, promiſing to diſſolve itſelf, and notwithſtanding continuing its intrigues, announcing peace, and keeping the ſoldiers under arms, wiſhing that a foreign force might enter the country, that they might have it in their power to ſay, "we yielded only to force?"

Miſerable vanity, which gratifies itſelf at the expence of a whole nation! Wretched ebullition of pride, calculated to precipitate the country into complete ruin, and which it would have done, if the generoſity of the chief conſul had not equalled his power, notwithſtanding all the efforts of his enemies, and of yours, he had not ſtill perſiſted to wiſh your welfare.

However, citizens of Helvetia! the council of execution is informed of it; the members of that ſeditious aſſembly, and the committees which

which it had eſtabliſhed in the Cantons, not content with having conſecrated, in formal proteſtations, their fooliſh pretenſions, ſtill ſeek to miſlead the people reſpecting their real ſituation, to ſpread falſe hopes of foreign ſuccour, to frighten them by menaces, and to belie the intentions in which the Helvetic government addreſſed itſelf to the chief conſul, to invite him to make himſelf the ſupreme arbiter of our differences. But we will anſwer theſe men, that they likewiſe have invoked that mediation.

The letters of the chiefs of the Little Cantons to the chief conſul, and to the miniſters of France; the plans of conſtitution on which they openly called for their good offices; the ſending deputies to Paris, are ſo many proofs of the deſire which they had of intereſting the French government in their cauſe.

It was only when the Firſt Conſul had previouſly demanded and exacted the ceſſation of a war which armed citizens againſt citizens, and brothers againſt brothers, that they rejected the mediation ſolicited by themſelves, and which they then artfully turned for the purpoſe of increaſing the number of their partizans.

We will tell them again, that if we have called for the mediation of the Firſt Conſul, it is becauſe, of all the powers called by their poſition, to take an intereſt in the deſtinies of Helvetia, France is the only one which has recognized our independence, conſecrated, by its means, in a ſolemn treaty: the only one which can exerciſe over us an influence of protection and ſupport.

The hiſtory of Switzerland for five centuries, our revolution, and the years which have ſucceeded it, ſufficiently prove how much it is our intereſt to follow the political ſyſtem of France. It is this truth which, engraved on the hearts of our anceſtors, protected the cradle of the confederation; and we, citizens of the Helvetic republic, have a thouſand times more reaſon ſtill to be convinced of it.

Laſtly, we will ſay no longer to theſe men, for they will not underſtand us, but to the nation itſelf, that the equality of rights amongſt the cantons, the abolition of hereditary privileges, the liberty of the citizens, being a depoſit placed in our hands to be preſerved at any price, it was not permitted to us to waver reſpecting calling for the mediation of the only government which can preſerve to us theſe principles.

Thus, our conduct in this reſpect has been only the neceſſary conſequence of the national will, expreſſed in favour of theſe ſame principles at the time of the acceptance of the conſtitution.

Such is the anſwer which the council of execution owes to that part of the accuſations of its enemies.

With regard to the other accuſations by which it is attempted to raiſe againſt them a factious hate, they deſpiſe them, well knowing that they cannot cite a ſingle family of which it has cauſed the ruin, or a ſingle perſon in whom the rights of a citizen have been violated. It is, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the juſtice of its fellow-citizens, too little ſevere, in ſhort, that it has experienced miſ-

fortunes. The insurrectional authorities ordered in four weeks ten times more arrests, odious inquests, and measures of rigour of every kind, than it had ordered during the whole course of its existence.

Citizens of Helvetia! you will be required to furnish extraordinary contributions for the support of the troops which your insurrection have caused to enter your country.

Submit yourselves to a necessity which you cannot tax with injustice; open your hearts to dispositions of fraternity and social order; it is the only means of abridging the period of your misfortunes.

Shew yourselves, in short, worthy to be called a nation, and you will become one. Bonaparte only desires to have still the power of interesting himself in your destinies.

For us, citizens, thanks to the care of this generous mediator, our task will soon be finished. Returned into the class of private individuals with those who have so cruelly calumniated our conduct, we shall be always ready to answer their imputations. Henceforth there is no sacrifice to which we are not resigned, if it can only be profitable to our country.

Done at Berne, Nov. 3, 1802.

Letter of the Prince of Orange to the Members of the former Government of the United Provinces.

HAVING learnt that several members of the government, ministers, and other functionaries of the province of ———, who were in office on the 18th of January, 1795, as well as before the revolutions that took place after that period, entertain scruples with respect to the acceptance of places under the present circumstances, and since the introduction of the last constitution, refuse to take employments which have a relation to the government and administration of the country; I have thought it necessary to inform you by these presents (requesting you to make what use of them you think necessary), that according to my opinion, there are no longer any motives which should restrain you from using your efforts (considering the order of things which has lately been introduced) to procure for your country as much good as it is susceptible of, and thereby to prevent its total ruin. You may accept, without any difficulty, when you think proper, employments, and sit in the colleges which are connected with the administration of the affairs of the country, and take a place in the government, co-operating with the members of the present government.

I am, with esteem, &c.

GUILLAUME P. D'ORANGE.

" Oranjestein, 25th Dec. 1801."

Separate Convention between France and the Batavian Republic, explanatory of the 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty between France, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and Great Britain on the other part.

" THE undersigned plenipotentiary of the French republic declares, conformably to existing stipulations between the French and Batavian

Batavian republic, and in virtue of ſpecial inſtructions with which he is furniſhed to that effect on the part of his government, that it is underſtood that the indemnity ſtipulated in favour of the houſe of Naſſau in the 18th article of the preſent treaty, ſhall not upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian republic; the French government being guaranteed to this effect towards the ſaid republic.

"The underſigned plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above declaration, as explanatory of the aforeſaid 18th article of the definitive treaty, ſigned this day by the plenipotentiaries of the four contracting powers.

"The preſent act ſhall be preſented at the ratification of the two reſpective governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

"Done at Amiens, March 27.

(Signed)

"J. Bonaparte,

"R. J. Schimmelpenninck."

Treaty concluded between France and the Prince of Orange.

ART. I. His Highneſs the Prince of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, formally renounces for himſelf and his heirs and ſucceſſors, the dignity of Stadtholder of the United Provinces which now form the Batavian republic; he alſo formally renounces all right, claims, and pretenſions whatſoever, which ariſe from the above-mentioned dignity; as likewiſe all domains and territorial property ſituated in the ſaid republic, or in its colonies.

II. His Highneſs the Prince of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the princeſs his conſort, their children and heirs, ſhall enjoy all permanent or annual rents which they have in the Batavian republic, in the ſame manner as other poſſeſſors of rents in the ſaid republic.

III. To indemnify the houſe of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz for the renunciations and ceſſions in the firſt article of the preſent treaty, his highneſs ſhall receive, 1. The biſhopric and abbey of Fulda; 2. The abbey of Corvey; 3. The abbey of Weingarten, with its dependencies; 4. The imperial town of Dormund, in Weſtphalia, and Yſny and Buch-horn, in Southern Swabia, with their territories and dependencies. His highneſs ſhall poſſeſs, for ever, and in full ſovereign property, for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the above-mentioned biſhopric and abbeys, which ſhall be ſecularized in his favour, and the imperial towns, with all the territory belonging to them, under the condition that his highneſs ſhall engage to ſatisfy the exiſting and acknowledged claims to certain inheritances appertaining to his houſe, in the courſe of the laſt century. This ſatisfaction ſhall be determined by arbitrators to be appointed by the two contracting parties.

IV. The inheritance in the New States which ſhall be aſſigned to the houſe of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, ſhall be regulated in the following manner: the male line ſhall ſucceed to the excluſion of the female; but in failure of male heirs, the female ſhall

enter into all their rights. This clauſe ſhall extend to all the legitimate offspring of his Highneſs the Prince in a direct line; and in caſe of the failure of that line, the above-mentioned territory, ſtates, and ſovereignty, ſhall devolve to the royal houſe of Pruſſia.

V. His Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, and the Firſt Conſul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, reciprocally guarantee, in conjunction with his Highneſs the Prince of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the indemnifications of the ceded or conquered countries, as they are ſtipulated in this treaty.

VI. His Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, and his Highneſs the Prince of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, in like manner acknowledge the Batavian republic.

VII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, and his Highneſs the Prince of Naſſau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, may take poſſeſſion of the ſtates and territories allotted to them as indemnities.

VIII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by the contracting parties within 40 days, or ſooner if poſſible.

Paris, May 24, 1802.

MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI.
GENERAL BOURNONVILLE.

Letter of the State and Cabinet Miniſter, his Excellency Count Cobentzel, to Count Stadion, the Imperial Miniſter at Berlin.

Vienna, Oct. 14.

YESTERDAY intelligence was received that his Royal Highneſs the Archduke Anthony was unanimouſly proclaimed archbiſhop and elector of the electoral archbiſhopric of Cologne, by the electoral cathedral chapter of Cologne, in a free canonical electoral aſſembly.

While your excellency will not fail to make the friendly communication of this event to his Pruſſian majeſty's miniſtry, your excellency will, at the ſame time, in the moſt efficacious manner, repeat thoſe declarations which his majeſty the emperor and king cauſed to be made ſubſequent to the election of Munſter.

Your excellency will aſſure his Pruſſian majeſty's miniſtry, that with reſpect to the electorate of Cologne, the election of an archduke may be conſidered as indifferent, as the natural courſe of the accompliſhing of the indemnities by means of ſecularization, will not be altered from perſonal conſideration, or ſecondary views. Hence then the court of his Pruſſian majeſty may reſt perfectly convinced, that as the imperial court, from love and regard to the old conſtitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, can never forbear inſiſting on the maintenance of the three ſpiritual electorates, the perſonal conſideration of the archduke having been elected to the elector of Cologne, cannot have the ſmalleſt influence on this conduct of the high imperial court.

On this occaſion your excellency will alſo diſcloſe in confidence to Count Haugwitz, that although the cathedral chapter of Munſter earneſtly preſs that his royal highneſs the Archduke Anthony may repair to Munſter, and take upon himſelf

himſelf the government, yet his imperial majeſty, as the head of the houſe, has not yet given to his royal highneſs permiſſion for this purpoſe, but has rather intimated to the cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time, in all reſpects in the ſame manner, as if the ſee was vacant.—*Sede Impedita.*

His royal highneſs, beyond all doubt, is in all reſpects entitled to the formal aſſumption of the government, and might, without contradiction, put himſelf in poſſeſſion of this eccleſiaſtical electorate, which at this moment has as much right to its exiſtence as other eccleſiaſtical electorates.

It is alſo not to be denied, that his imperial majeſty, in this moderation which he has ſhewn, could have no other view, than thereby to give a proof, that in this reſpect he has been guided by no perſonal intereſt.

(Signed) LEWIS COBENTZEL.

Note of Count Haugwitz to Count Stadion.

Berlin, Oct. 26.

AFTER re-ſtating the ſubſtance of the communications contained in the above letter, Count Haugwitz anſwers them as follows:—

"If the elections of Munſter and Arenſberg are to be conſidered as mere formalities, the king was obliged on his part to purſue thoſe formalities which the then preſent circumſtances pointed out, to preſerve the general rights; and with this view his majeſty cauſed his well-known proteſtation againſt the Munſter election to be delivered to the ſtates of the empire, which by anticipation alſo concerned the election of Arenſberg, in caſe ſuch ſhould take place.

"His majeſty does not the leſs approve the wiſe reſolution of his imperial majeſty, to poſtpone the further ſteps which one or both of the chapters might wiſh to adopt with reſpect to the introduction of the Archduke Anthony; and if the buſineſs on both ſides is thus to remain in uncertainty, the king will in like manner abide by the preliminary meaſures which he has hitherto taken.

"But even if his majeſty were agreed on the laſt point with the court of Vienna, yet he could not grant his approbation to the principle of the future maintenance of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates. This principle is in direct contradiction to thoſe which his majeſty has at all times expreſſed in perfect agreement with the French gouernment as one of the contracting powers, and which are founded on the contracts which are now to be put into execution.

"In theſe is to be found the expreſs and eſſential determination, that the loſſes of the ſuffering parties are to be made up by means of ſecularizations, and that in theſe the loſſes of the ſuffering parties muſt be reckoned.

"1. According to the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the hereditary princes who have loſt their poſſeſſions, either in whole or in part, on the left bank of the Rhine.

"2. According to the 5th article of the ſame treaty, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and

"3. The houſe of Orange, in which Pruſſia and France had inſured a ſuitable indemnity, by a

convention concluded much earlier, on the 5th of Auguſt, 1796, which inconteſtibly makes the rights and pretenſions of the houſe of Orange equal to thoſe of the houſe of Tuſcany. From the obligations contained in thoſe treaties, it follows that the powers intereſted muſt endeavour to regulate and to liquidate the maſs of the real loſs, and to bring it into proportion with the objects which are deſtined to produce an equivalent for the ſame. As the indemnification for the claimants, pointed out in the abovementioned treaties, muſt be complete, ſo muſt it be carefully examined before-hand, how far the maſs ariſing and preſenting itſelf out of the ſecularization is ſufficient to indemnify the parties who have ſuſtained loſſes. If after a calculation made, funds ſufficient were found to raiſe or to reſtore one or more of the eccleſiaſtical ſees, to which the electoral dignity is applicable, the king, far from oppoſing it, would take meaſures to ſupport in this reſpect the wiſhes and views of his imperial majeſty; but it would be a contradiction in principle at this time, and before the maſs of the loſſes can be weighed againſt the maſs of the objects of indemnification, to decide beforehand, or to pre-reſolve on the maintenance of the preſent eccleſiaſtical electorate.

"As the king is accuſtomed, in all his declarations againſt the court of Vienna, to be very free, ſo it is agreeable to him to ſtrengthen anew the principles which he ſhews in all his tranſactions, and which he has invariably laid down as the ground of his conduct. His majeſty has therefore authoriſed the underſigned to lay them again before Count Stadion in the preſent note. He fulfils this duty, and repeats to the count the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) "HAUGWITZ."

Subſtance of the Declaration tranſmitted by the Court of Vienna to that of Berlin.

Ratiſbon, Dec. 14.

"HIS imperial majeſty learns with pleaſure, that the king has done juſtice to his ſentiments. As head of the empire and protector of the church in Germany, he could not act otherwiſe upon the ſubject of the elections of Munſter and Arenſberg. The dignities there conferred upon him have impoſed upon him duties from which he will never ſwerve. The articles 5 and 7 of the treaty of Luneville treat of indemnities—the firſt of theſe articles concerns the indemnities of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the ſecond thoſe of the lay princes, whoſe poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine have been ceded to France. Theſe indemnities ought to be effected by means of ſecularizations, as has been already agreed upon at the congreſs of Raſtadt! but it is juſt that nobody ſhould receive more than he loſt. From this manner, it will not be neceſſary to generaliſe the meaſure of the ſecularizations. The treaty of Luneville, beſides, has made no mention of it. The buſineſs may be begun by ſeculariſing the ſmall chapters, and thus there will be no need to attack the eccleſiaſtical electorates, the preſervation of which is of the greateſt neceſſity for the maintenance

nance of the equilibrium, and of the Germanic conſtitution, eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Weſtphalia.

"The indemnification of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany received the aſſent of the king at the ſame time with the treaty of Luneville. That of the Prince of Orange is not, in truth, deſignated in this treaty; but, in conſideration of the friendſhip that exiſts between his imperial majeſty and the king, he offers to contribute with all his power, that that prince, as well as thoſe in favour of whom the king ſhall intereſt himſelf, ſhall receive ſuitable indemnities. The emperor flatters himſelf, that the friendly relations which ſubſiſt between his imperial majeſty and the king ſhall give to the preſent affairs the reſult deſired."

Treaty concluded the 20th of May, 1802. between the French Republic and his Serene Highneſs the Duke of Wirtemberg.

ART. I. There ſhall be good underſtanding and amity between the French republic and his ſerene highneſs.

II. His majeſty the emperor, and the empire of Germany, having conſented, by the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, that the French republic ſhould poſſeſs, in full ſovereignty and property, the countries and territories ſituate on the left bank of the Rhine, and which made part of the empire of Germany. His ſerene highneſs, the Duke of Wirtemberg, renounces for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in favour of the French republic, the rights of ſovereignty, territorial ſuperiority, property, and all other rights which he exerciſes, and which belong to him over the countries and territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and in particular,

1. The principality of Montbeliard.

2. The county of Sorburg.

3. The ſeignories of Riquewir, Oſtheim, Aubure, Franqemont, Blamont, Clermont, Stéricourt, Châtelot, Granges, Clerval, and Paſſavant.

4. The fiefs ariſing out of the ſaid principalities, counties, and ſeignories.

5. The ſeignories, fiefs, and domains poſſeſſed by the heirs and ſucceſſors of the natural children of the duke Leopold Eberhard of Wirtemberg Montbeliard, and which are revertible to the ducal houſe.

6. The territories, rights and revenues at Spire, Dundenhoven, and in the environs on the left bank of the Rhine.

III. His ſerene highneſs, in like manner, renounces all claims of reſtitution, which he might make upon the French republic for arrears and non-enjoyment of rights and revenues, and for all other cauſes anterior to the preſent treaty.

IV. In purſuance of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the French republic promiſes and engages its good offices to obtain for his ſerene highneſs thoſe territorial indemnities, which ſhall be as much as poſſible ſuited to the convenience and pleaſure of his ſerene highneſs, equivalent to the loſſes of all kinds reſulting to his ſerene

ſerene highneſs, from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded poſſeſſions.

V. The 8th article of the treaty of Luneville, concerning the debts of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, ſhall ſerve as the baſis of the regulations to be made reſpecting the debts of the countries comprifed in the ceſſion made by the ſecond article of the preſent treaty.

VI. The private debts of communes, and other corporations, ſhall remain charged to them, and by them paid.

VII. On the day of the ratification of the preſent treaty, all ſequeſtrations, placed on account of the war, on the goods, effects, and revenues of the citizens of the French republic, in the ſtates of his ſerene highneſs, ſhall be taken off, and they ſhall be at liberty to carry away their goods and effects, and alſo to ſell their property, or receive its revenues, without any hindrance whatever.

Proclamation relative to the entrance of the Pruſſian Troops into Munſter.

WE, grand dean and canon of the cathedral of Munſter, veſted with the ſovereign authority, &c. &c.—The ſovereign chapter, in taking the reins of government, has had no other object in view but the happineſs of the inhabitants; and it preſumes to flatter itſelf, that every body being convinced of this truth will repoſe unlimited confidence in the advice and orders of the ſovereign chapter. Strong in this conviction, it orders the inhabitants, of whatever rank ſoever, to comport themſelves tranquilly upon the entrance of the Pruſſian troops, to give a good reception to the ſoldiers, who ſhall be billetted upon them, to prevent their wants, to abſtain from all political reflections, and not to take the law into their own hands, in caſes where any difficulties may ariſe between the inhabitants and the ſoldiers; but to carry their complaints, without delay, either before the civil officers, or the military officers, and to refer them to their judgment; and in caſe they ſhall not think juſtice done them by ſuch judgment, to prefer new complaints to a ſuperior officer, and in no caſe to take the proceedings in their own hands. Upon conforming himſelf ſtrictly to this proclamation, every inhabitant ſhall enjoy peace and tranquillity; but on departing from it he may expect to be puniſhed by his ſuperiors. The ſovereign chapter, bound by its duty, and the love it bears the inhabitants, to make this proclamation public, will not neglect to uſe extreme vigilance to procure for them ſolid and durable happineſs. In order that the preſent proclamation may be made known to all the inhabitants, it ſhall be printed and read from the pulpit, poſted up in every convenient place, and a copy ſent to all the authorities.

Given at Munſter, July 14, 1802.

(Signed)

" EGELBERT DE WRELDE, and
" DE MELOHEDE."

Decree

Decree of the Imperial Commiſſion, relative to the Indemnities.

Vienna, 26 July.

" ON the part of his Majeſty *Francis* II. emperor of the Romans, our moſt gracious ſovereign, to the illuſtrious counſellors, envoys, and miniſters of the electors, princes and ſtates of the holy Roman empire at the general diet. The eſſential object of the concluſum moſt humbly ſubmitted on the 2d of October to his imperial majeſty, and ratified by him on the 7th of November laſt, was to fix and determine in a preciſe manner the mode of co-operation of the ſtates of the empire to the fulfilment of the peace. The moment is arrived, when the extraordinary deputation of the empire, appointed conſtitutionally, and according to the accuſtomed forms of the deliberations of the diet, and agreed to by his imperial majeſty, ought to aſſemble to attain this important end, and to anſwer by the ſcrupulous accompliſhment of the important duties impoſed upon it, the particular confidence which the emperor and the empire have placed in its enlightened wiſdom and its patriotiſm. In order to this, his imperial majeſty, in virtue of the authority veſted in him, as ſupreme chief of the empire, orders that the ſtates, which are to form a part of the ſaid deputation, do ſend, as ſoon as poſſible, their ſub-delegates to the imperial city of Ratiſbon, which has been conſidered, in concert with the French government, the moſt ſuitable place for holding the congreſs, and that the full powers furniſhed by the empire to the ſaid deputation, for the purpoſe of definitively regulating and terminating the work of peace, be expedited conformably to the concluſum ratified by his majeſty, and ſubmitted according to cuſtom to the imperial ſanction. In conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, his imperial majeſty has already given the moſt preciſe orders to the counſellor *Schraut*, appointed by him in his quality of a ſtate of the empire electoral ſub-delegate of Bohemia, to proceed without delay from Paris to Ratiſbon; and he has appointed as his miniſter plenipotentiary, in his quality of ſupreme chief of the empire, the *Baron de Hugel*, privy counſellor and imperial commiſſary at the general diet."

Full Powers of the Empire for the Deputation, charged with the Diſcuſſion of the Points which remain yet to be regulated for the fulfilment of the Peace.

" THE electors, princes, and ſtates of the holy Roman empire having judged it ſuitable to exerciſe, by an extraordinary deputation, the right which belongs to them, of diſcuſſing thoſe objects which yet remain to be regulated for the fulfilment of the peace, and having for this purpoſe choſen and appointed in the college of electors, Mayence, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburgh, and in that of princes, Bavaria, the grand maſter of the teutonic order, Wurtemburg, and Heſſe Caſſel; the ſaid ſtates deputed are fully authoriſed by theſe preſents, in the name of the Germanic body, and with the conſent of his imperial majeſty, in his quality of ſupreme chief of the empire, to ſend forthwith their ſub-

ſub-delegates to the imperial city of Ratiſbon, which has been regarded as the moſt ſuitable place, there to examine, diſcuſs, and regulate with the imperial miniſter plenipotentiary, in concert with the French government (having regard to the *concluſum* of the 2d of October laſt, ratified by his imperial majeſty), the points reſerved by the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, for a particular convention.

"In conſequence, whatever ſhall be deliberated upon, concluded and ſigned by the ſaid deputies, either by all of them, or in caſe of the abſence, ſickneſs, or non-appearance of ſome of them, by thoſe that remain with the ſaid imperial miniſter, ſhall be, within a determined period, ratified and agreed to, and ſhall be inviolably kept by the whole empire."

Ratiſbon, Auguſt 3, 1802.

Plan of Indemnities in Germany, ſent to the Diet of Ratiſbon by France and Ruſſia, with the previous Proceedings.

Report made to the Firſt Conſul of France, in the Senate, by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs—Sitting of Saturday, the 21ſt of Auguſt.

THE treaty of Luneville had produced the complete re-eſtabliſhment of peace between France and Germany. It had, in an expreſs and definitive manner, regulated the general relations between the two countries; and, France being ſatisfied in every point, the entire execution of the treaty would not have required any ulterior regulation, had it not been acknowledged as juſt, and ſtipulated in due form, that the ceſſion conſented to by the empire, for the advantage of the republic, ſhould be borne collectively by the Germanic league; admitting nevertheleſs the diſtinction between hereditary laic princes and eccleſiaſtical princes poſſeſſing only a life rent intereſt.

This principle being once eſtabliſhed, it appeared that it belonged to the Germanic body to occupy itſelf ſpontaneouſly, and, without delay, with the mode of its application.

The ſincere deſire of the French government, ſolely intent upon its internal affairs, was to take no concern in the adjuſtment of the promiſed indemnifications; and it confined its influence merely to repeated declarations that it was anxious to ſee the treaty of Luneville carried into complete execution by that of the VIIth article. But its exhortations remain without effect, and more than a year elapſed without the leaſt appearance of any plan being even commenced for the repartition of the compenſations.

The non-execution of one of the principal ſtipulations of the treaty of Luneville left all Germany in a ſtate of uncertainty, which became daily more embarraſſing, inaſmuch as pretenſions and intrigues were forming and acquiring ſtrength in proportion as the ſtate of the public mind and public affairs exhibited more indeciſion. The kind of diſſolution which affected the Germanic body, retarded the advantages of the peace to all Europe, and might, in ſome reſpects, endanger the general tranquillity. The government of the republic was not the only one impreſſed with this danger; and whilſt it received

ceived from all quarters the applications of the parties interested in the repartition of the compensations, the court of Russia testified how urgent it was, in its estimation, that the affairs of Germany should be brought to an adjustment. The Emperor Alexander, on his accession to the throne, felt the noble desire of contributing to maintain the peace which had been re-established; and an intimate concert, a frank and complete association of the most generous views, having promptly taken place between the First Consul and the Emperor, it was felt by them that the pacification of the continent could not be solidly guaranteed, but by carrying the treaty of Luneville into complete execution: and that this execution could not be accomplished but by the initiative and influence of the two powers perfectly disinterested, whose preponderate mediation might remove all the obstacles which had arisen in the course of eighteen months against the definitive repartition of the indemnities.

It was, therefore, solely for the purpose of sealing the pacification of Europe, and guaranteeing its stability, that the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia determined, by common consent, to interfere in the affairs of Germany, to effect by their mediation, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body.

This first point being agreed upon, a discussion was opened, and continued between the two cabinets, to ascertain the ways and means which should lead to the desired result. It was resolved, that a general plan of indemnification should be presented to the diet; and in digesting this plan the most scrupulous attention was, on both sides, paid to the means of compensating every loss, satisfying every interest, and incessantly conciliating the demands of justice with political expediency.

It was not, in fact, sufficient to ascertain the strict value of the losses sustained, and to proportion the compensations accordingly: the effects of the war having changed the internal equilibrium of Germany, it was necessary to think of the means of re-establishing it. The introduction of new princes into the Germanic system, required new combinations. Nor was the real value of the compensations to arise merely from the extent, but in many cases from their position; and the advantages desirable to some powers from the concentration of their old and new territories, were in themselves an important consideration, and which, therefore, required to be attended to.

The two governments, therefore, applied themselves to examine with scrupulous attention the question of the indemnities in all these relations. They felt that, if policy required the complete satisfaction of the principal houses, strict justice equally required that the states of the second and third rank should obtain a compensation for their losses, and the First Consul made it his particular business to maintain the rights of those who might have found the least support among the parties interested.

The perfect concert which had been formed between France and Russia, the happy result of the direct intercourse which the First Consul

Conſul took pleaſure in maintaining with his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, having preſided in all theſe diſcuſſions, all points were ſpeedily ſettled, and a general plan of indemnification agreed upon at Paris by the reſpective plenipotentiaries, it received the approbation of the Firſt Conſul, and that of the Emperor.

It was determined that this plan ſhould be preſented to the diet of the empire, in the form of a declaration to be made at the ſame time by miniſters appointed for that purpoſe. On the part of the Firſt Conſul, Citizen Laforeſt, miniſter of the republic to the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, has received orders to repair to Ratiſbon; and on the part of the Emperor of Ruſſia, the Baron de Buhler, likewiſe his miniſter at Munich.

This declaration was to have been preſented a few days ago, and the Firſt Conſul having ordered it to be read to him in the ſenate, it will diſplay the principles which have directed the two governments, and the particular care which they have taken in their application.

In fact, the examination of the propoſed plan will ſhew, that in the execution of a ſyſtem which has for its object the conſolidation of the peace of Europe, they have above all, applied themſelves to diminiſh the chances of war. On this account, care has been taken to avoid all contiguity of territory between the two powers who have moſt frequently involved Europe in bloodſhed by their quarrels, and who, being ſeriouſly reconciled, cannot now have a more ardent deſire than that of removing all thoſe grounds of miſunderſtanding which ariſe from neighbouring territories, and which, between rival ſtates, are never unaccompanied with danger.

The ſame principle adopted, not in all its rigour, but as far as circumſtances could admit, has alſo led to place the indemnities of Pruſſia beyond the reach of contact with France and Batavia.

From this arrangement Auſtria will have derived the immenſe advantage of ſeeing all her poſſeſſions concentrated.

The Palatine houſe will alſo have received an organization ſtronger and more advantageous for the purpoſes of defence:

And Pruſſia will continue to form, in the Germanic ſyſtem, the eſſential baſis of a neceſſary counterpoiſe.

The regulation of the ſecondary indemnities alſo proceed upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing has been omitted with reſpect to the conſideration of aſcertained loſſes. It will nevertheleſs appear, that the houſe of Baden has been more advantageouſly circumſtanced than many others, but it was judged neceſſary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this inſtance the Firſt Conſul merits applauſe, as ſuch a line of policy perfectly accords with the diſpoſition of the French government, which with pleaſure ſees an augmentation of power conferred on a prince, whoſe virtues have long ſince obtained the eſteem of all Europe, whoſe alliances ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed his family, and whoſe conduct during the war, has particularly merited the goodwill of the republic.

It is alſo with real ſatisfaction that France and Ruſſia obliged to take

take the ſyſtem of ſecularization as the baſis of indemnities, perceive the poſſibility of preſerving to the empire, one eccleſiaſtical elector, and that they have propoſed to aſſign him a ſuitable eſtabliſhment, in conferring on him the title and functions of arch-chancellor.

It will be neceſſary farther to preſent to the diet of the empire ſome general conſiderations, as a proper baſis for the internal regulations, which the new organization of the Germanic body will require. In this view, the Firſt Conſul and his imperial majeſty of Ruſſia, impreſſed with a deſire to ſhew their ſincere wiſhes for the conſolidation of the peace of Europe, have not delayed to concert ſuch a plan for the farther indemnities alluded to, as appears to them to include a baſis and details as ſtrictly conformable to the ſpirit as well as to the text, of the treaty of Luneville, as can poſſibly be framed, as well as analogous to the political intereſts of Europe, and favourable to the preſervation of peace.

The two governments, France and Ruſſia, are firmly perſuaded that the time which they have allotted will amply ſuffice for the diſcuſſion of the intereſts of Germany, and they will reap, in a long duration of peace to that empire, the moſt agreeable as well as honourable reward for the exertions which they have reſpectively made to procure it.

(Signed)
C. M. TALLEYRAND.

DECLARATION.

THE Firſt Conſul of the French republic animated with the deſire of contributing to the conſolidation of the repoſe and tranquillity of the German empire, has thought that no means were more calculated to obtain that effect of his ſolicitude, than thoſe of fixing, by a plan of indemnity, adapted, as far as circumſtances would permit to the reſpective intereſts, an arrangement proper to produce this ſalutary effect; and a concurrence of views having been eſtabliſhed upon this ſubject between the Firſt Conſul of the republic and his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, he has authorized the miniſter for foreign affairs, to concert with the miniſter plenipotentiary of his imperial majeſty of Ruſſia, the means beſt calculated to apply the principles adopted for theſe indemnities, to the different demands of the parties intereſted. The reſult of this work having obtained his approbation, he has ordered the underſigned to make it known to the diet of the empire by the preſent declaration; a meaſure to which the Firſt Conſul of the republic, as well as his imperial majeſty, have been impelled by the following conſiderations:

The ſeventh article of the treaty of Luneville, having ſtipulated that the hereditary princes, whoſe poſſeſſions are compriſed in the ceſſion made to the French republic of the countries ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine, ſhould be indemnified, it has been agreed that, conformably to what had been decided upon at the congreſs of Raſtadt, this indemnity ſhould be effected by means of ſecularization; but though perfectly agreed upon the baſis of the indemnity, the ſtates intereſted have remained ſo oppoſite in views with reſpect to the diſtribution, that it has hitherto appeared to be impoſſible to proceed to the execution

tion of the before-mentioned article of the treaty of Luneville.

And though the diet of the empire has named a ſpecial commiſſion to direct its attention to this important buſineſs, we ſee, by the delays which its aſſembling meets with, what obſtacles the oppoſition of intereſt, and the jealouſy of pretenſions place to the making the regulation of the indemnities the ſpontaneous act of the Germanic body.

It is this that has induced the Firſt Conſul and the Emperor of Ruſſia to think that it became two powers perfectly diſintereſted to afford their mediation, and to offer to the deliberations of the imperial diet a general plan of indemnity, drawn up from the calculations of the greateſt impartiality, and in which the attention has been directed both to compenſate the loſſes recognized, and to preſerve between the principal houſes in Germany the balance that ſubſiſted before the war.

In conſequence, after having examined with the moſt ſcrupulous care all the memorials, both upon the value of the loſſes, and upon the demand of indemnities preſented by the parties intereſted, it has been agreed to propoſe, that the indemnities ſhall be diſtributed in the following manner:

To the archduke, grand duke for Tuſcany and its dependencies, the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh, the provoſtſhip of Bertolsgaden, the biſhopric of Trent, the biſhopric of Brixen, the part of the biſhopric of Paſſau, ſituated beyond the Iltz, and the Inn on the ſide of Auſtria, except the ſuburbs of Paſſau, with a radius of 500 toiſes; the abbeys, chapters, and convents ſituated in the above-mentioned dioceſes.

The above principalities ſhall be poſſeſſed by the archduke upon the conditions, enagements, and relations founded upon exiſting treaties; the ſaid principalities ſhall be taken out of the circle of Bavaria, and incorporated in the circle of Auſtria, and their eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, both metropolitan and dioceſan, ſhall be alſo ſeparated by the limits of the two circles; Muhldort ſhall be united to Bavaria, and its equivalent in revenue ſhall be taken from thoſe of Freiſingen.

To the *ci-devant* Duke of Modena, for the Modeneſe and dependencies, the Briſgaw and the Ortenau.

To the elector palatine of Bavaria, for the duchy of Deux-Ponts, the duchy of Juliers, the palatinate of the Rhine, the marquiſate of Bergenopzoom, the ſeignory of Ravenſtein, and others ſituate in Belgium and Alſace; the bioſhoprics of Paſſau, with the reſervation of the part of the archduke; of Wurtzbourg, with the reſervations hereinafter-mentioned; of Bamberg, of Aughſted, of Freiſingen, and of Augſbourg; the provoſtſhip of Kempton; the imperial cities of Rothenbourg, Weiſſenbourg, Windſheim, Schweinfort, Gochſheim, Sennefelt, Allthouſen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelſbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Boſsſingen, Buchorn, Waugen, Leutkirch, Ravenſbourg, and Alſchauſen; the abbeys of Saint Ulric, Irſen, Weugen, Sooſlingen, Elchingen, Urſberg, Rochenbourg, Weltenhauſen, Ottobeuren, and Kaiſerſheim.

To the king of Pruſſia, for the duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of

of the Rhine, and of Gueldres; the principality of Mærs, the territories furrounded by Sevenaer, Huiſſen, and Mahlbourg, and the tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuſe; the biſhopric of Hildeſheim and that of Paderborn, the territory of Erfort and Untergleichen, Eichtfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part of the biſhopric of Munſter, ſituate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munſter to Tecklenbourg, compriſing within it the two cities of Olphen and Munſter; as alſo the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the imperial cities of Mulhauſen, Northauſen, and Goſlar; the abbeys of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Etlen, Eſſen, and Werdeu.

To the princes of Naſſau; that is to ſay, Naſſau Uſingen; for the principality of Saarbruck, the two-thirds of the county of Saarwerden, the ſeignory of Oſtweiler and that of Lahr in the Ottenau; the remainder of the electorate of Mentz on the right of the Mein, with the reſervation of the grand bailiwick of Aſchaffenbourg, and that between the Mein, the county of Darmſtadt, and the country of Erbach; Caub, and the remainder of the electorate of Cologne, properly called, with the reſervation of the county of Altweid, the convents of Seligenſtadt and Bleidenſtadt, the county of Sayn Alten-Kirchen, after the death of the margrave of Anſpach, the villages of Soden and Soultzbach.

Naſſau Weibourg—For the third of Saarwarden and the ſeignory of Kircheim-Polauden; the remainder of the electorate of Treves, with the abbey of Arnſtein and that of Marienſtadt.

Naſſau Dillenbourg—For indemnity of the ſtadtholderate and territories in Holland and Belgium; the biſhoprics of Fulda and Corwey; the city of Dortmund, the abbeys and chapters ſituate in theſe territories, with a charge upon him to ſatify claims ſubſiſting and previouſly acknowledged by France upon certain ſucceſſions connected with the majority of Naſſau Dillenbourg, during the courſe of the laſt century; the abbey of Weingarten and thoſe of Kappel to the country of Lippe, of Kappenbourg, to the countries of Munſter and Delkerchen.

To the margrave of Baden—For his part of the county of Sponheim, and the territories and ſeignories in the Luxembourg, Alſace, &c. the biſhopric of Conſtance, the remainder of the biſhopric of Spires, Baſle, and Straſburg, the bailiwicks palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the cities of Heidelberg, and Manheim, the ſeignory of Lahr, when the prince of Naſſau ſhall be put into poſſeſſion of the county of Alten-Kirchen, the remainder of the county of Lichtenburg, upon the right of the Rhine, the imperial cities of d'Offenbourg, Zell, Hamerſbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpſen; the abbeys d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim-Munſter, Peterhauſen, and Salmanſweiller.

To the Duke of Wirtemberg—For the principality of Montbeleard, and his poſſeſſions in Alſace, and Franche-Comte; the Provoſtſhip of Ellwangen, the abbey of Zwiffolten, the imperial cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Eſſlingen, Rothweal, Giengen, Aulenhall, Gemeindt, and Hailbronn.

To the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel—For St. Goar and Rheinfels, and as proviſion for his charge of the indemnity of Heſſe Rothenbourg, the Mentz territories ſituate within Amenebourg and Fritzlar, with their dependencies, and the village of Holzhauzen.

To the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt for the whole of the county of Lichtenberg, and its dependencies; the palatine bailiwicks of Lindenfels and Olzberg, and the remainder of the bailiwick of Oppenheim, the duchy of Weſtphalia, with the reſervation of the indemnity of the prince of Witgenſtein, the Mentz bailiwicks of Gernſheim, Benſheim, Hoppenheim, the remainder of the biſhopric of Worms, the city of Friedberg.

To the prince of Hohenloe-Bartenſtein; to the count of Loewenhaupt; to the heirs of the baron of Dietrich for the allodial parts of the county of Lichtenberg; that is to ſay, to Hohenloe for Oberbronn, the bailiwick of Yaxtberg, and the portions of Mentz and Wurzbourg, to the bailiwick of Knufelſhaw; to the others for Rauſchenbourg, Niderbronn, Reichſolen, &c. the abbey of Rollen-Munſter. To the ſame count of Loewenhaupt, and to the count of Hilleſheim for Reipoltz-Kirchen, the Heclig-Kruenthal.

To the princes and counts of Loewanſtein—For the county of Wirmbourg, the ſeignories of Schartenech, and other territories in the counties united to France; the part of Wurtzburg, as far as the counties of Rhineck, and Werthein, on the right of the Mein, the abbey of Bronnback.

To the prince of Linange—The Mentz bailiwicks of Mittenberg, Amorbach, Biſchofsheim, Konigſhofen, Krautheim, and all the parts of Mentz, compriſed between the Mayn, the Tauber, the Neckar, and the county of Erbach, the parcels of Wurtzburg, upon the left of the Tauber, the palatine bailiwicks of Boxburg, of Moſbach, the abbey of Amorbach, and the provoſtſhip of Combourg, with territorial ſuperiority.

To the count of Linange Gunterſblum—The Mentz bailiwick, or Killery of Billigheim.

To the count of Linange-Heideſheim—The Mentz bailiwick, or Kellery of Neydnan.

To the count of Linange-Weſterbourg, the elder branch—The convent of Schonthal, upon the Yaxte, with territorial ſuperiority; the youngeſt branch, the provoſtſhip of Wimpfen.

To the princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kirbourg, to the Rhinegraves, to the princes and counts of Salm-Reiferſheid, the remainder of the upper biſhopric of Munſter.

To the prince of Wied-Runkel—For the county of Creange, the county of Altwied, with the reſervation of the bailiwicks of Linz and Unkel.

To the duke of Aremberg, to the count de la Marck, to the prince de Ligne—For the principality of Aremberg, the counties of Saffenberg, Schleyden, and Fagnolles, the county of Rucklinghauſen, with the bailiwick of Dalmen, as far as the country of Munſter.

To the prince and counts of Solms—For Rohrbach, Airchsfeld, the convents of Arnſbourg, and of Ilbenſtadt.

To the prince of Wilgenſtein—For Neumayen, &c. the abbey of Graffſchafft, the diſtrict of Zuſchenau,

nau, and the foreſt of Hellenbergerſtreit, as far as the duchy of Weſtphalia.

To the count of Wartemberg—For Wortemberg, the kellery of Necke-Steinack, that of Erenberg, and the farm of Wimpfen, dependant upon Worms and Spires.

To the prince of Stolberg—For the county of Rocheforte, the convents of Engelthal and Rokenberg.

To the prince of Iſenberg—The part of the chapter of Jacobſberg as far as the village of Gemſheim.

To the prince of Tour-Taxis—For indemnity of revenue of imperial poſts in the ceded provinces and domains in Belgium, the abbey of Buchans, with the city, thoſe of Marchthal and Nernheim, the bailiwick of Oſtrach, dependant upon Salmanſweiler.

To the count of Sickingen—For the county of Landſthul, &c. the abbeys of Ochſenhauſen and of Munchroth.

To the count of Leyen—For Bliescaſtel, &c. the abbeys of Schouſſenried, Goutenzell, Heybach, Bamdt, and Bouxheim.

To the prince of Brezenheim—the abbey of Lindau with the city.

To the counteſs of Colloredo—For Daſchthal; the abbeys of Sainte Croix de Donawerth.

To the counteſs of Sternberg—For Manderſheid, Blankenheim, the abbeys of Weiſſenau and Iſny, with the city.

To the prince of Dietrichſtein—For the ſeignory of de Traſp, which will be abandoned to the Griſons, the ſeignory of Neu-Ravenſbourg.

To the counts of Weſtphalia, of Baſſenheim—For Ollbruck, of Sinzendorff; for Rhineck, of Straesberg; for Kerpen, of Oſtein; for Millendonck, of Quadt; for Wickedade, of Plettenberg; for Wittem, of Metternich; for Wennebourg, &c. of Aſpremont; for Reckheim, of Torring; for Gronsfeld, of Neſſalrade; for Welri, &c. the lower biſhopric of Munſter.

To the grand prior of Malta—For the commanderies on the left of the Rhine; the abbey of Saint Blaiſe, with the county of Bondorf and dependencies; the abbeys of Saint Trupert, of Schultern, of St. Pierre, and of Tenebach.

The Firſt Conſul of the French republic, and his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, after having propoſed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the hereditary princes, have acknowledged that it was at once poſſible and fit to preſerve, in the firſt college of the empire, an eccleſiaſtical elector.

They propoſe, in conſequence, that the arch-chancellor of the empire ſhould be transferred to the ſee of Ratiſbon, with the abbeys of Saint Emeran, Ober Munſter, and Heider Munſter, keeping of his old poſſeſſions the grand bailiwick of Aſchaffenbourg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there ſhould be united to it beſides, a ſufficient number of mediate abbeys, ſo as to make up to him with ſaid lands, an annual revenue of a million florins.

And as the beſt means to conſolidate the Germanic body is to place in the firſt college the princes of the greateſt influence of the empire, it is propoſed that the electoral title ſhould be granted to the margrave of Baden, to the duke of Wirtemberg, and to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.

The king of England, in his quality of elector of Hanover, has raiſed pretenſions to Hildeſheim,

Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of intereſt that he ſhould deſiſt from his pretenſions, it is propoſed that the biſhopric of Oſnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the electoral houſe of Brunſwick, ſhould devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: Firſt, That the king of England, elector of Hanover, ſhall renounce all his rights and pretenſions to Hildersheim, Corvey, and Hoexter. Secondly, That he ſhall likewiſe give up to the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exerciſes and poſſeſſes in the ſaid cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, That he ſhall cede the bailiwick of Wildhauſen to the duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights to the eventual ſucceſſion of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen—to the prince of Naſſau Uſingen.

In conſideration of the ceſſion of the bailiwick of Windhauſen, to the duke of Oldenbourg, and the ſecularization that ſhall be made for his advantage of the biſhopric, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleet ſhall be ſuppreſſed, and ſhall not be re-eſtabliſhed under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the ſaid biſhopric and chapter in the city of Lubeck ſhall be united to the domain of the ſaid city.

The propoſitions made with relation to the indemnities, lead to ſeveral general conſiderations, which ought to occupy the attention of the diet, and on which they will not fail to make the neceſſary deciſions. It appears then,

Firſt, That the eccleſiaſtical property of the grand chapters and their dignitaries, ought to be incorporated with the domains of the biſhoprics, and paſs with the biſhoprics to the princes to whom they are allotted.

Secondly, That the property of the chapters, abbies, and convents, as well of men as of women, mediate and immediate, which has not been formally diſpoſed of in the preſent propoſitions, ſhould be applied to complete the indemnity of the ſtates and hereditary members of the empire, if it ſhould be found that what is already allotted is inſufficient, and ſaving the ſovereignty, which remains always to the territorial princes, to the endowing of new cathedrals, which are to be preſerved or eſtabliſhed, as well as for the ſupport of the biſhops and their chapters, and other expences of public worſhip, and to the penſions of the ſuppreſſed clergy.

Thirdly, that the property and revenues belonging to hoſpitals, zabriques, univerſities, colleges, and other pious foundations, as alſo thoſe of the communes of one of the two banks of the Rhine, ſituate on the other bank, ſhould be placed at the diſpoſal of the reſpective governments.

Fourthly, that the lands and property aſſigned to the ſtates of the empire to replace their poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine, ſhould remain ſubject to the payment of the debts of the ſaid princes, as well perſonal as thoſe appertaining to their ancient poſſeſſions.

Fifthly, That all the tolls of the Rhine ought to be received, without the power of re-eſtabliſhment, under any denomination whatever, ſaving the duties of cuſtoms.

Sixthly, That all the fiefs held of feudal courts, eſtabliſhed heretofore

on the left bank of the Rhine, and ſituate on the right bank, ſhould be henceforth held immediately of the emperor and the empire.

Seventhly, That the princes of Naſſau Uſingen, Naſſau Weilburg, Salm-Salm, Salm Kirburg, Linange, and Aremberg, ſhould be maintained or introduced in the college of princes; each with a vote annexed to the poſſeſſions which they receive in indemnity for their former immediate poſſeſſions; that the votes of the immediate counts of the empire ſhould be in like manner tranſferred to the lands, which they receive in compenſation, and that the eccleſiaſtical votes ſhould be exerciſed by the princes and counts, who, by virtue of the treaty of Luneville, are in poſſeſſion of the capitals.

Eighthly, That the colleges of cities ought to remain compoſed of the free and imperial cities of Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Wetzlar, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augſburg, and Ratiſbon, and that the means ought to be provided, in the event of future wars in the empire, that the ſaid cities ſhall not be compelled to take any part, and that their neutrality ſhould be aſſured by the empire, and alſo that it ſhould be recognized by the other belligerent powers.

Ninthly, That the ſecularization of the convents of recluſe women ought not to be effected, but with the conſent of the dioceſan biſhop; but the convents of men ſhould be at the diſpoſition of the territorial princes, who may ſuppreſs or preſerve them, at their pleaſure.

Such is the whole of the arrangements and conſiderations which the underſigned is ordered to preſent to the imperial diet, and on which he thinks it his duty to call for its moſt prompt and moſt ſerious deliberation, declaring to it, in the name of his government, that the intereſt of Germany, the conſolidation of the peace, and the general tranquillity of Europe, exact that all that concerns the regulation of the indemnities muſt be terminated in the ſpace of two months.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, Auguſt, 1802.

Aulic Reſcript received by the Electoral Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, 20th Auguſt, and delivered to the Diet on the 26th.

HIS royal and imperial majeſty has been but juſt informed by the imperial court of Ruſſia of the contents of the ſubjoined declaration, which that court and the French government intend to lay before the extraordinary deputation, convened for the purpoſe of regulating the points which have not been ſettled in the treaty of peace of the empire. His majeſty does not loſe a moment to give to the ſub-delegate of Bohemia the inſtructions which, in this unforeſeen caſe, he judges moſt fit, in conformity with his ſolicitude and cares conſtantly directed to the good of the empire. No reproach can be made againſt his majeſty or the Germanic empire, founded upon the delay of the meeting of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. More than nine months have paſſed ſince the nomination of that deputation has been notified on the part of his imperial majeſty and the empire to the French government, and ſince that govern-

ment has been invited to appoint plenipotentiaries to co-operate in its name, and declare its opinion upon the fitteſt time for the meeting. So far from the convening of the deputation being urged upon the part of France, a ſatisfactory anſwer never has been given upon the ſubject. Neither has the ambaſſador of his imperial and royal majeſty been able to obtain from the French government to engage in a preparatory negotiation with the imperial court, as had been promiſed by that government before and after the nomination of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. Very far from it, it has always anſwered in an evaſive and dilatory manner to the reiterated requeſt made to it, verbal and written, on the part of the imperial and royal court. As to the new negotiation propoſed, at the end of laſt year, by his majeſty, the emperor of Ruſſia, to take place in concert at Paris, his majeſty has adhered, in the moſt friendly manner, to that propoſition; but, notwithſtanding that, his ambaſſador has neither been called to that negotiation, nor been in any way informed of its progreſs and reſult. After ſuch proceedings his majeſty thinks that the meeting of the deputation of the empire, whether more or leſs tardy, cannot be a founded motive to reſtrain the right which the emperor and the empire, as principal contracting parties in the treaty of peace of Luneville poſſeſs, and have formally reſerved to themſelves to immediately treat upon and regulate the buſineſs of indemnities, as alſo all the other points which go to the completion of the ſaid treaty of peace. His majeſty, on the contrary, is perfectly aſſured, that the two powers above-mentioned, entertaining a juſt reſpect for the inviolable rights of an independent ſtate, ſuch as is the Germanic body, will not diſavow in practice this firſt and principal attribution of independence. That it may be ſeen how well his majeſty is founded in reckoning upon the juſtice of the two powers, he will give to the empire a conſoling explanation, by communicating to it the official aſſurance which was given to his ambaſſador at Paris, by M. Talleyrand, miniſter for foreign affairs. The following is word for word that aſſurance as the ambaſſador has reported it:—"You may be aſſured that we have only agreed with Ruſſia what propoſitions to make to you. We cannot even call this a plan. It is but a ſimple projet, which we ſubmit to the deliberation of the Diet, as the means which appeared to us as the beſt calculated to ſatisfy all parties as much as that is poſſible. That will be propoſed as a counſel, and by no means with a tone of authority, or with an air of a diſpoſition to force the thing."

He is confirmed, therefore, by this; that when even theſe powers may deem their counſels and friendly interference neceſſary for the arrangement of ſuch a complicated buſineſs, they do not, therefore, in any wiſe intend to diſpute the power and right of the Germanic empire to regulate by itſelf the claims to indemnities, as well as ſo many other points which nearly concern its conſtitution, and on which depends its welfare or its decline.

In this aſſurance his majeſty charges his electoral ſub-delegate of

of Bohemia to interfere, as far as he is competent, in order that the extraordinary deputation already aſſembled, open, without delay, its ſittings in the conſtitutional form; that it enter into a negotiation conformable to treaties with the French plenipotentiary, and with the intervention and co-operation of the miniſter of Ruſſia; and that it declare to theſe two plenipotentiaries, in the name of the empire, the confidence which the Germanic body has in the equitable views of the two powers, adding thereunto the aſſurance that the deputation will take their friendly propoſitions into ſerious conſideration. The electoral ſubdelegate of Bohemia is alſo charged to communicate thoſe ſentiments of his majeſty to the plenipotentiaries of France and Ruſſia, adding, that though according to the law of nations, and alſo according to the laws of the empire, the deputation cannot be reſtrained even by the head of the empire within a peremptory term, yet that his majeſty, in his quality of king and elector of Bohemia, will accelerate, as much as poſſible, the termination of the points which are to conſtitute the completion of the peace.

Note of the Bohemian Miniſter, Mr. Scharnt, delivered to the Diet at Ratiſbon on the 26th of Auguſt, on the Convention and Declaration of France and Ruſſia, which were delivered on the 24th.

"WHEN his imperial majeſty proceeded to the opening of the deputation of the empire, he hoped, by means of that meaſure, to preſerve the Germanic empire from the extremity equally prejudicial to its conſtitution as to its independence, of ſeeing the important changes in its territorial and conſtitutional relations executed by unilateral military occupations without the participation of the emperor and of the empire, a participation competent to them however, according to the treaty of Luneville and the law of nations. But his imperial majeſty had not the happineſs to attain his paternal and patriotic object. Within the time when the projects concerning theſe changes were ſtill myſteriouſly concealed from the emperor, and from the Germanic body, military operations were executed in the northern circles. The diſpoſitions made at the ſame inſtant, with the greateſt publicity in another country, in the centre of Germany, were relative to ſo great a maſs of ſtates, that not only a great part of the countries, aſſured by anterior negotiations to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, were compriſed in them, but to replace them by other ſtates, was rendered impoſſible by other arrangements. His majeſty learned at the ſame time, that conſiderable aſſemblages of Palatine troops had taken place along the Inn, and upon the frontiers of the territory of Paſſau. The Prince Biſhop of Paſſau appriſed him of the urgent danger to which he ſaw himſelf expoſed, and of the approaching invaſion of his reſidence and poſſeſſions with which he was threatened. He invoked the protection of his majeſty, the emperor and king. His majeſty reſolved, in conſequence, to prevent theſe enterpriſes, contrary to the authority and the intereſt of the

imperial court, by ſending his co-commiſſioner to the Diet, and plenipotentiary to the deputation of the empire at Munich, with the moſt preventive inſtructions.

"He was ordered to make the moſt friendly repreſentations againſt theſe meaſures, which gave the ſignal of general confuſion, and example of violence, and which obliged the imperial court to take energetic meaſures of precaution to ſecure for his Royal Highneſs the Grand Duke, the indemnities which had been ſolemnly promiſed to him by France and the empire. M. De Hugel was, in conſequence, authoriſed to propoſe a convention, by which the two courts were to abſtain from all the occupations until the deputation of the empire had entirely terminated its deliberations. He was at the ſame time authoriſed to open negotiations with the Palatine electoral court, or arrange and combine the reſpective claims of indemnity, promiſing, on the part of the imperial court, the moſt ſincere and greateſt reſpect for the intereſt of his electoral Highneſs. But all theſe repreſentations and propoſitions were thrown aſide. The Palatine electoral court refuſed to conclude an arrangement of non occupation even for three weeks. At the ſame moment the Palatine troops attempted, by paſſing the Auſtrian territory, to take the city of Paſſau by ſurpriſe. The court of Munich did not even chuſe to bind itſelf to deſiſt in future from ſuch meaſures. All theſe events confirmed and augmented the fears of his imperial majeſty, and, as he learned at the ſame time, that the entry of the Palatine troops in the city and biſhopric of Paſſau was to take place immediately, his majeſty could no longer abſtain to take the neceſſary precautions to occupy the city and principality of Paſſau, and to extend theſe meaſures to the neighbouring territories of Saltzburg and of Berchtolſgaden.

"His majeſty haſtens to make known theſe events to his co-eſtates aſſembled at the Diet, and principally to thoſe which make part of the deputation of the empire; adding at the ſame time, that the moſt ſtrict orders have been given to the imperial troops in the three principalities, not to interfere in the ſmalleſt degree, in the internal government of theſe ſtates, or in the collection of their revenues; his majeſty conceiving himſelf juſtified by the above events to protect the indemnities of his highneſs the grand duke of Tuſcany, yet, without conceiving himſelf authoriſed to take poſſeſſion of them before the entire completion of the buſineſs of the indemnities, in a manner conformable to treaties, and the Germanic conſtitution."

Note delivered into the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 28th of Auguſt, by the Miniſters of France and Ruſſia.

"THE underſigned miniſter extraordinary of the French republic, to the Diet of the empire, has juſt received from M. the ſub-delegate of Bohemia, in the official form, the manuſcript extract of a reſcript from his court, dated the 20th of Auguſt, which was read in the extraordinary ſitting of the deputation, of the 24th of the ſame month, and appeared in print yeſterday morning. This reſcript contains the order to M. the ſub-

delegate,

delegate, to make known the contents to the underſigned.

"The underſigned is under the neceſſity of obſerving upon this ſubject, that the government of the French republic, ſince the exchange of the treaty of the peace of Luneville, has had it much at heart to arrive at the accompliſhment of all the diſpoſitions conformable to that treaty, that the juſtice due to the Princes who are to be indemnified, has required that ſo many and various intereſts ſhould be viewed collectively; and that finally the declarations communicated on the one part, in the name of the Firſt Conſul of the French republic; and on the other, in the name of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, and ſigned on both ſides, in conſequence of their formal order, have a character, and contain obſervations, which are a proof of their conſtant ſolicitude for the welfare of the German empire.

"The underſigned does not think that it is neceſſary to make detailed remarks upon the ſtate of things which are ſo generally known. He refers, with full confidence, to the declaration of his government, and adds to it the demand, that this note be read, and inſerted in the protocol in the next ſitting of the deputation.

(Signed) "*Laforet.*"

"*Ratiſbon, Aug. 28th.*"

Treaty between the French Republic, Pruſſia, and Bavaria.

THE Firſt Conſul of the French republic and the emperor of Ruſſia having offered their mediation for the arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and having made known to the imperial diet, by their declaration of the 18th of Auguſt 1802, the indemnities which they thought ſhould be adjudged to each Prince in conſequence of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the king of Pruſſia haſtened to conform to the plan preſented, and, in taking poſſeſſion of the ſtates adjudged to him, confined himſelf ſcrupulouſly within the limits aſſigned in the declaration.

The emperor of Germany having, on his ſide, announced the intention of cauſing its different poſſeſſions to be occupied, the king of Pruſſia, the firſt conſul, and the emperor of Ruſſia, have ſpontaneouſly haſtened to make known to him, that it was not at all becoming that his troops ſhould paſs the limits aſſigned by the declaration, or that they ſhould occupy any territory but that appointed for the indemnification of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Yet, without regard either to this declaration, made collectively at Paris to the imperial ambaſſador by the miniſter of the three powers, nor to that which has been made at Berlin by the count de Haugwitz to M. de Stadion, the Auſtrian troops have taken poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and his imperial majeſty has informed the diet, by his plenipotentiary, that he would not withdraw his troops, unleſs the countries occupied by the other Princes were in like manner evacuated, which is an indication that his imperial majeſty ſets no value on the declaration of the mediating powers, and that he regards it as void.

In conſequence, the king of Pruſſia and the firſt conſul engage themſelves

themſelves to reiterate in concert, at Ratiſbon and Vienna, their efforts to cauſe the plan preſented to be adopted by the Germanic body, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly ſo far as it guarantees to the elector of Bavaria the preſervation of his poſſeſſions on the right bank of the Inn, and as far as it ſecures to him the town of Paſſau.

And if, contrary to their hopes and their united interpoſition, the emperor, taking advantage of the poſſeſſion of Paſſau, ſhould refuſe to evacuate it within the period of ſixty days appointed for the deliberation of the imperial diet, the governments of Pruſſia and France pledge themſelves to combine their efforts with thoſe of Bavaria, to ſecure the latter the preſervation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and the entire indemnity which has been adjudged to her.

Done at Paris, Sept. 5, 1802.

(Signed) TALLEYRAND,
MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI.
CETTO.

Decree of the Imperial Commiſſion, addreſſed to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, at Ratiſbon, Sept. 13, 1802.

THE imperial commiſſion has ſeen, by the advice of the extra-deputation of the 9th inſtant, and by the votes emitted in the two laſt ſittings, which ſerved as the baſis of it, that by their unanimous conviction and judgment, there exiſt well-founded claims againſt the plan of indemnities propoſed by the miniſters of the mediating powers; that the deputation have alſo reſerved to themſelves all the obſervations which they deem it their duty to make, and that fully convinced of the good intentions of thoſe powers towards the German empire, they promiſe the admiſſion in common of theſe claims and obſervations.—The imperial commiſſion thinks it its duty to ſet out with the ſuppoſition, that it is the intention of the deputation to make all the obſervations to which they are bound by their inſtructions, and by the duties which reſult from the direct principles eſtabliſhed in the treaty of Luneville; that the idea of modifications reſerved, includes all the amplifications and inſtructions which a legal diſcuſſion of all the parts of the plan cannot fail to give riſe to; and that at the regulating of theſe obſervations and founded claims we may expect with confidence, both from the juſtice of the mediating powers and their regard for the inviolable rights of an independent ſtate, an arrangement conformable to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Luneville. The imperial commiſſion cannot reconcile at all this point of view and this mode of deliberation, with the declaration to be made at preſent to the miniſter of the mediating powers, that the deputation accept previouſly the plan of indemnities in general.—Such an adoption makes us foreſee, that each party, whom it would be neceſſary to indemnify by the plan, would think that he had acquired a right to inſiſt upon the ſhare that ſhould be adjudged to him, and to check and impede the changes and modifications, which well founded claims might render neceſſary. It would

would be equally incompatible to reſerve expreſsly obſervations of this nature, and yet to deprive ourſelves at the ſame time of the means of ſatisfying them for the indemnities already fixed in the plan once adopted, exhauſt the maſs of indemnity to ſuch a degree, that nothing or very little remains to do juſtice in the end to claims founded upon the cleareſt principles of juſtice.—In ſhort, the nature of the affair requires, before the plan in general be adopted, that the deputation ſhould previouſly occupy itſelf with the examination of the obſervations made againſt ſeveral of its parts, and to infer from the examination of each of thoſe parts, what it will be proper to do upon the whole.—In this ſtate of affairs the imperial commiſſion has been glad to find in the ſecond advice of the deputation an opportunity of acceding to the opinion contained in it. Always diſpoſed to concur in every thing that can ſerve to accelerate the taſk of the deputation, the commiſſion declares that it is ready to tranſmit, without delay, the three claims mentioned to the miniſters of the mediating powers, and it thinks that this communication ought to be accompanied with the following declaration:—"It is acknowledged with ſenſibility, that the two powers have wiſhed to take upon themſelves the mediation in an affair ſo complicated and important, and to cauſe to be ſubmitted to the deputation by their miniſters, declarations relative to the regulating of the objects reſerved for a particular convention in the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville.—Fully convinced of the good intentions of the two powers towards the empire, and of their juſtice, care will be taken to communicate to the miniſters, the preſſing repreſentations made againſt the plan propoſed, as well as the obſervations which the deputation themſelves may deem neceſſary, and to concert with the ſaid miniſters, after having obtained the requiſite information, in order to procure with impartial juſtice for each the indemnity due to him in virtue of the treaty of Luneville, and to come to a reſolution as ſoon as poſſible, which ſhall be ſubmitted to his imperial majeſty and to the empire."—The imperial commiſſion expects to receive ſoon an ulterior advice from the deputation; it recommends it to them at the ſame time to take into conſideration, as ſoon as poſſible, the freſh claims that may be made; for the reſt, it cannot diſpenſe with making known the full aſſent of his imperial majeſty to the principles of equity and juſtice eſtabliſhed by common conſent in the firſt advice of the deputation with reſpect to thoſe who, without any fault on their ſide, ſhall be the victims of the peace.—(Signed)—*Baron De Hugel.*

Notes of the Miniſters of France and Ruſſia, addreſſed to the Extraordinary Deputation, at Ratiſbon, and dated Sept. 15, 1802.

Note of the French Miniſter.

THE underſigned miniſter extraordinary of the French republic to the diet of the Germanic empire, has taken the earlieſt opportunity of

of tranſmitting to his government the reſcript communicated by the ſub-delegate of Bohemia to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, in the ſitting of the 24th of Auguſt, and communicated alſo to the underſigned on the 28th of the ſaid month. He is charged to tranſmit to the deputation the following obſervations:—The firſt conſul has been much affected to ſee that his intentions for ſecuring the peace and proſperity of the Germanic body have been miſunderſtood, ſince they reproach him with not having anſwered the overtures made by his imperial and royal majeſty ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Luneville, and having thus retarded to Germany, that intereſting portion of Europe, the advantages of the peace, he muſt declare that the overtures which, though confidential and ſecret, are at preſent publicly alluded to by the court of Vienna, far from being calculated to procure the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of Luneville, could tend only to remove, not to promote, the means of providing for the indemnification of ſo many ſecular princes, who had ſuſtained ſuch conſiderable loſſes; their only object was to regulate the indemnification of the archduke Ferdinand, by employing lay and hereditary dominions. The projects of the court of Vienna tended to extend its territory beyond the Lech, and their effect conſequently would have been to eraſe Bavaria from the number of the powers.—Juſtice and generoſity, which are always the firſt heard in the heart of the firſt conſul, made it a law with him to forget what wrongs the elector might have done to the republic, and not to ſuffer to periſh a ſtate weakened and threatened, but however hitherto ſecured by the policy of the governments intereſted in maintaining a juſt equilibrium in Germany; for, if the equilibrium of Europe requires that Auſtria ſhould be great and powerful, that of Germany requires that Bavaria ſhould be preſerved entire and protected from all further invaſion. What would become of the Germanic body, if the principal ſtates which compoſe it ſhould ſee their independence every moment endangered? And would not the honour even of that ancient federation ſuffer, by weakening a prince whoſe houſe has concurred in ſo honourable a manner to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the Germanic conſtitution? It is not then at Paris that the inſinuations of the court of Vienna, in regard to the affairs of Germany, could be received, and, though it has ſince renewed them at Peterſburgh, they could not meet with better ſucceſs. The great and generous ſoul of the emperor Alexander could not permit him to neglect the intereſts of Bavaria, which were recommended to him alſo by the ties of blood and by every conſideration of ſound policy. Having been unable to ſucceed either at Peterſburgh or Paris, the court of Vienna nevertheleſs purſued at Munich the execution of its projects, and it was the communication of his uneaſineſs made by the elector to the French and Ruſſian governments, which contributed above all to make them feel the neceſſity of uniting their influence to protect the hereditary princes, ſecure the execution of the ſeventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and not

to

to ſuffer to fall to the loweſt rank one of the oldeſt, and not long ago one of the moſt powerful houſes of Germany.—The underſigned, therefore, is charged to declare to the deputation, that the ſtates of his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the poſſeſſions deſtined for him as indemnities, and as neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing the equilibrium of Germany, are naturally and indiſpenſably placed under the protection of the mediating powers; that the firſt conſul, perſonally, will not ſuffer the important place of Paſſau to remain in the hands of Auſtria, nor allow it to obtain any part of the territories which Bavaria poſſeſſes on the right of the Inn; for he conſiders that there would be no independence for Bavaria, the moment when the troops of Auſtria ſhould be near its capital. It remains to the underſigned to expreſs to the deputation, the regret which the firſt conſul feels for divulging negotiations which took place only under the ſeal of confidence, and the ſecrecy of which ought conſequently to have remained ſacred; but he has been conſtrained to it by juſt repriſals, and by the value which he attaches to the opinion and eſteem of the brave and upright German people.—(Signed)—*Laforêt.*

Note of the Ruſſian Miniſter.

The underſigned plenipotentiary of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, to the Germanic diet, has ſeen a note, dated the ſame day, which was tranſmitted to the extraordinary diet of the empire, in the name of the French republic, in conſequence of the reſcript communicated by the ſub-delegate of Bohemia to the deputation, in its ſitting of the 24th of Auguſt, and communicated alſo to the underſigned on the 28th of the ſame month. At preſent he can only refer to the contents of his note delivered to the deputation next day, Auguſt 29, without dwelling on the facts which preceded and rendered neceſſary the concert between Ruſſia and France. But he muſt again declare, that his imperial majeſty has manifeſted the ſentiments of juſtice by which he is diſtinguiſhed, and the intereſts he takes in the happineſs and equilibrium of the Germanic empire, in the declaration which he cauſed to be tranſmitted on the 18th of Auguſt laſt, conjointly with the firſt conſul. His imperial majeſty cannot then but expect its ſpeedy accompliſhment. He particularly conſiders the hereditary ſtates of his Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the poſſeſſions aſſigned to him as an indemnity, as indiſpenſably placed under the protection of the mediation; and has no doubt that the town of Paſſau will be immediately given up to its deſtination.—*Baron de Buhler.*

The following Votes were alſo delivered in the ſame Sitting at which theſe Notes were read.

BOHEMIA.—Before the reſult of the votes reſpecting the declarations of the two mediating powers had been converted into a *concluſum*, in the ſitting of the 8th, the ſub-delegate entered into an expoſition of the reaſons which did not permit him to accede to the plan contained in

in these declarations. But now that the *conclusum* has been come to, fresh orders from his court impose it upon him as a duty to confirm his first refusal, by a second still more formal. In one view of the question, and in that which should be considered before all others, the acceptation of the plan in its *ensemble*, is incompatible with that justice which it was the object of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, and of the mediating powers, to attain. It cannot, therefore, be looked upon by the present generation, nor by posterity, as the result of a mature examination, in which every right, and every bearing and relation have been duly weighed and considered; on the contrary, it must rather appear to be the work of precipitation and of an exclusive premeditation.—The importance of the business entrusted to our charge, and the desire, that after its being brought to a close, every thing may be established upon a durable basis, ought equally to suspend both of these decisions. In another point of view, this acceptation raises against the best grounded remonstrances, an adversary in each of the persons, who by the tendency of the plan have been favoured beyond all measure. From this instant the latter will look upon themselves as completely secure against the best grounded remonstrances; and will regard the share assigned to them, as an inviolable property, into the possession of which they have just entered. The deputation of the empire must raise by this circumstance a new obstacle between the accomplishment of its own views, and the assistance which it owes to those who have been injured.—The justness of this observation cannot escape the eye of any impartial person; and whosoever hesitates openly to assent to it, must at least secretly yield to the conviction of his own mind, and to the judgment of the public at large. If hereafter a matter of such weighty importance should come reasonably under discussion (and indeed since the treaty of Westphalia, no more important matter has been agitated) the first step will not necessarily lead into labyrinths without an out-let. It seems, however, to be adopting a step of that nature, to follow a plan which, on its first blush and developement, leaves in a great measure unexecuted the most precise obligations of the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, which establishes indemnities for a third, on the very same basis which was to complete the indemnity which the empire had bound itself to ensure to the grand duke of Tuscany, and which thus gradually breaks in upon a fourth and a fifth; a plan, in a word, which proceeds to rest upon new principles, upon new bases; which have nothing in common with either the letter or the spirit of the treaty of peace with the empire. Is not such, however, the step taken by the deputation of the empire; when, instead of exploring and of ascertaining a fixed point to guide it amidst this complicated mass of confused object, it appears, on the contrary, to yield to them in the most passive manner?—It is the interest of all parties, and even the interest of the two mediating powers, that such occurrences should not take place; and that what is necessarily called for by

the exigency of circumſtances, ſhould not appear under the ſeal and ſanction (which muſt have deſtructive conſequences) of an abſolute omiſſion of all ſpontaneous judgment.—To the end, therefore, that the affair may aſſume a better aſpect, and that this change may take place in the leaſt poſſible delay, his majeſty, the emperor and king, has already made new overtures to the two powers—overtures which unequivocally evince the moſt moderate and the moſt conciliating diſpoſitions.—His majeſty may naturally look to a happy iſſue from this his proceeding. In the mean time, his imperial majeſty ought to reſerve to himſelf, upon this occaſion, the deciſion of the deputation, in order the more ſolemnly to avail and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt every premature adoption of the plan that has been ſubmitted to him. As to the notes on the part of the miniſters of France and of Ruſſia, which have juſt been read, the contents of theſe notes, more particularly thoſe of the former, were on the one hand unexpected; and, on the other, they appear of ſo ſtrange a nature, that the ſub-delegate cannot venture to anticipate the opinion or the declarations of his court.—The character, however, of veracity, to which he profeſſes to aſpire, and of which he will afford the moſt convincing proofs as often as an opportunity ſhall offer, impoſes it upon him as a duty to affirm, that as long as he took a part in the negotiations at Paris, nothing came to his knowledge from which could be drawn an inference that there exiſted any pretentions to the Bavarian poſſeſſions of the electoral houſe of the Palatine as far as the Lech, or any project of infringing on his actual poſſeſſions; that, on the contrary, the fulleſt equivalent was uniformly offered whenever the ſubject of ceſſion or exchange was agitated; and that in general there never was conceived or harboured any project of change which was not perfectly in accord with the intereſts and the expreſſed acquieſcence of that houſe.

Saxony.—The miniſter of Saxony requires that the directory ſhall addreſs to the imperial plenipotentiary ſuitable repreſentations to induce him to accede to the concluſum of the diet. He proteſts againſt the expreſſion of the decree of the imperial commiſſion, which is at the head of the declaration of the miniſter of Bohemia, an expreſſion which would change the nature of the relations of the diet of the empire.

Brandenburgh.—After the example of Saxony, the ſub-delegate of Brandenburgh likewiſe objects to the title of *decree of the imperial commiſſion.* He declares that he does not recognize, in the moſt diſtant manner, in the ſub-delegate of Bohemia, the quality of imperial commiſſioner, and that ſuch a deſignation is inconſiſtent with the uſages applicable to an extraordinary diet, formed to treat with foreign powers. Paſſing then to the object of the deliberation, he expreſſes his ſurprize and grief, that under circumſtances ſo urgent as the preſent, the imperial plenipotentiary not only refuſes to accede to a reſolution required by the general intereſts of the empire, but did not make known his refuſal to the diet till after an interval of ſix days.—He thinks that notwithſtanding

ſtanding this refuſal, the reſolution ought to be maintained in all its force, and that the diet ought to continue tranquilly and without interruption, to deliberate and to treat with the miniſters of the mediating powers. "Extraordinary circumſtances, ſays he, require extraordinary meaſures; formalities eſtabliſhed for ordinary occaſions, cannot be rigorouſly adhered to in circumſtances of peculiar emergency. The ſub-delegate would think that he failed in his duty to Germany, and to Europe; to his cotemporaries, as well as to poſterity, if he did not unequivocally declare his opinion, that the diet ought not to interrupt their functions through any defect of formality, reſulting from the refuſal of the emperor to accede to their deciſion. He is convinced that in order to provide againſt any ſubſequent delay, the diet, in caſe of any new difficulty ſtarted by the imperial plenipotentiary, is from that moment obliged to enter into an immediate communication with the miniſters of the mediating powers."

Note, dated Ratiſbon, Sept. 17, 1802, *given in to the Auſtrian Plenipotentiary, and alſo to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, by the French Miniſter at Ratiſbon.—A ſimilar Note was given in by the Ruſſian Miniſter.*

THE underſigned envoy extraordinary from the French republic to the German diet, has ſeen from the printed protocol of the ſittings of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, that the ſaid deputation has paſſed ſeveral *concluſums* which have been tranſmitted to his excellency the Auſtrian plenipotentiary, in order that they all, without exception, and eſpecially the principal *concluſums* of the ſitting of the 8th of September, may be communicated by him to the miniſters of the mediating powers; he therefore requeſts the Auſtrian plenipotentiary, at length, to make this communication, which in the preſent ſtate of things cannot longer be deferred without great inconvenience, unleſs his excellency wiſhes to depart from the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, and would rather chuſe that the underſigned ſhould apply to the directory.—The underſigned renews to his excellency the Baron Von Hugel the aſſurance of his high eſteem.

Laforêt.

Note of M. the Baron De Hugel, Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majeſty, addreſſed, the 26th Sept. 1802, *to C. Laforet, Miniſter Extraordinary of the French Republic.*

"THE declaration delivered at Ratiſbon, in the name of the intervening powers, contained an heavy and unmerited imputation upon the delays which attended the meeting of the deputation of the empire. His majeſty owed it to himſelf, as well as to the Germanic empire, to prove by facts, that nothing had been neglected on his part to abridge theſe details. Far from wiſhing to inculpate any body, the faithful expoſition of what is paſſing had only for its object to evince the purity of the conduct of the emperor.

"Such is alſo the motive which obliges

obliges his majesty to call to mind here other facts relative to anterior conferences which had taken place upon the indemnity of Tuscany, for the purpose of opposing them to assertions contained in the note transmitted the 13th of this month to the undersigned, by C. Laforet, minister extraordinary of the French republic. His majesty willingly submits it to the judgment of all Europe, whether he can be charged with injustice or ambition, for having insisted upon the full and entire indemnity which the treaty of Luneville assures to his august Brother. As to the means which he has employed to obtain the execution of so formal a stipulation, far from entertaining a fear of exposing them in full day, he can only feel a desire for their publicity, inasmuch as all his efforts have had exclusively for their object to combine the strict execution of the peace of Luneville with the maintenance of the Germanic constitution. Some indirect insinuations made at Vienna, by a distinguished person in the service of the court of Munich, have given reason to think, that the elector palatine himself wished to settle with the grand duke of Tuscany upon the exchanges for their mutual convenience; nobody then doubting but that the indemnity of his royal highness would be such as the treaty imported. In the supposition that the complement of the indemnity of Tuscany could not be found, except in the ecclesiastical properties of Suabia, it was in question to concentrate the respective possessions by an exchange of the part of Bavaria, in the neighbourhood of the bishop of Salzburg.

"His majesty, having no motive to object to such an arrangement, did not shew himself disinclined to give effect to these overtures. Insinuations of the same kind took place at Paris at the time of the ratification of the treaty of Luneville, and they went even so far as to put in doubt what had been said to the Austrian plenipotentiary, whether the elector would be able to preserve the city of Munich; but it never had been, nor could be, a question, in these different conferences, to carry so far as the Lech the indemnity of the grand duke of Tuscany.

"Upon what title could the elector be deprived of the whole of Bavaria? Where could the means be found to indemnify him? And though his majesty should have had views so foreign from his sentiments, how could he conceive the idea solely to engage the French government to adopt them? He appeals, in this, to the testimony which he has himself furnished, to that of the court of Munich, and to that of the imperial court of Russia, to which every thing was communicated upon this subject. All those who had a knowledge of the subject, which was then in treaty, know that the only question was, that of the Iser, with the addition of the proposition made by Austria to leave to the elector a suitable extent of country, for the purpose of removing the city of Munich from the frontier: and that this projet, which surely was not exaggerated in the supposition of a full and entire indemnity for Tuscany, at the same time that his palatine highness should have obtained in Suabia a complete equivalent of cessions, to which it would be willingly carried, was

entirely abandoned by the emperor the moment it was perceived that the elector was not inclined to put his hand to it. Since that time the views of his majesty for a supplementary portion to be given to his august brother have been solely fixed upon ecclesiastical properties and free cities, situate in the circle of Suabia. The plan of it has been drawn up in Paris, and afterwards proposed by his imperial majesty of Russia, who in his wisdom adopted it in full. In confining himself to this faithful statement of every thing that passed upon the subject, he may dispense with noticing the inductions contained in the note of Citizen Laforet. Never could the emperor have entertained a thought of procuring for his august brother any part whatsoever of Bavaria in any other manner than by an arrangement of mutual consent, to the perfect convenience of the elector palatine. His majesty has already given, relative to the city of Passau, every assurance that could be expected from his justice and moderation. He is ready to surrender that city to the person who, by the legal and definitive arrangement of the indemnities, shall be acknowledged its lawful owner. It is not until then, that the present possessor shall cease to be so, and that his majesty will be disengaged from the obligation which he has contracted, at the request of the Prince Bishop, to provide for his safety until the decision of his fate. The emperor would not willingly renounce the hope, that the moderate and equitable propositions with which he has recently charged his ambassador to the French republic, shall put an end to all differences of opinion between him and the first consul; but should it be otherwise, his august brother, without having any pretensions to make to any part of Bavaria, which he never entertained an idea of acquiring, except by the way of exchange with mutual consent, will not the less retain the incontestable right, secured to him by the treaty of Luneville, to a full and entire indemnity in Tuscany; a right, of which the empire and France have solemnly bound themselves to put him in possession.

"The undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity to repeat to C. Laforet, minister extraordinary of the French republic, the assurance of his high consideration."

Note addressed the same Day to the Minister of Russia by the imperial Plenipotentiary.

"THE undersigned has not failed to make his august master acquainted with the note which M. the baron de Buhler transmitted to him the 13th of September. He is charged to inform him, in answer, that the welfare of the Germanic empire, and the most prompt arrangement of what still remains to be regulated in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, form equally the object of the most ardent wishes of his imperial and apostolic majesty and king.

"In claiming the accomplishment of what the treaty of Luneville secures to the grand duke of Tuscany, as his majesty cannot dispense with it, the means of conciliation which he has himself proposed in that respect, the moderation of his demands, notwithstanding

ing the inconteſtable rights of his royal highneſs to a full and entire indemnity, every thing unites to prove, that it is not his majeſty's fault that the iſſue of important affairs, which are at this moment treating of, ſhould not be as prompt as all thoſe intereſted in them might deſire. The emperor is convinced of the ſentiments of equity entertained by his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias: he relies with confidence upon his friendſhip; he cannot doubt but that auguſt ſovereign appreciates, at once, both the juſtice of his demands, and the ſpirit of conciliation that directs his whole conduct.

"His imperial majeſty ſhall be, no doubt, immediately informed of all the circumſtances which have rendered neceſſary the occupation of the city of Paſſau by the imperial troops. He will acknowledge in his wiſdom, that this occupation having taken place at the inſtance of him, who is ſtill its lawful poſſeſſor, his imperial, royal, and apoſtolic majeſty, has ſatisfied every thing that could be required of him, in declaring, that this city ſhould be delivered up, without any obſtacle on his part, to the perſon to whom it ſhould be legally adjudged by the definitive arrangement."

Note given in to the Deputation of the Empire by the French Legation, relative to the new general Plan of Indemnities.

THE underſigned miniſter extraordinary from the French republic to the German diet, has received of the Auſtrian plenipotentiary the *concluſum* which the extraordinary deputation of the empire voted in their ſitting of the 8th of September, with the reſerve of further modifications which might be adopted in the plan of indemnities contained in the declaration of the mediating powers of the 30th Thermidor, (18th Auguſt). He has likewiſe received the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, which, by ſubſequent concluſa, have been tranſmitted by the deputation to the miniſters of the mediating powers for their conſideration. The underſigned, in concert with the imperial Ruſſian miniſter, has carefully examined theſe, and having now received the final inſtructions of the mediating powers in conſequence of the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, that have been tranſmitted to them either immediately or by their miniſters, he has the honour to preſent to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, for its immediate and definitive acceptance, the additions made to the declaration of the 18th of Auguſt, as now modified, completed, and amended; additions conformable to the fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, and the principles by which the two powers have been guided in their interference and mediation. He flatters himſelf that the deputation will acknowledge with gratitude this new proof of the attention of the mediating powers to the welfare of the German empire. It will likewiſe ſee how uſeful have been the repreſentations which its members have made with equal zeal and patriotiſm. The underſigned, however, cannot with ſufficient

force remind the deputation, how great is the preſſure of circumſtances, and of how much importance it is, that, by a ſpeedy and final deciſion, the German empire may enjoy the effects of the friendly ſentiments of the mediating powers. The deputation will certainly not forget that the term (of two months) preſcribed by the ſaid powers for the fulfilment of the public hopes, is nearly expired.—Ratiſbon, 16th of Vendemiaire, (8th of October).—*La Forêt.*

[*A note exactly ſimilar was delivered in at the ſame time by baron Buhler for the Ruſſian legation.*]

Extract from the amended Plan of Indemnities, delivered at the 13th Sitting of the Diet of Ratiſbon, 9th October, 1802.

IT was ſaid and expected that this would be merely a ſupplementary plan to that given in on the 18th of Auguſt, but the ſupplementary matter is inſerted in the former plan, ſo as to form an enlarged general plan of indemnities. It contains thirty-four ſections, and is printed in four ſheets. It will be ſeen from the following extracts that the grand duke of Tuſcany receives by it no further indemnification. Sect. 1. contains the indemnifications of the grand duke of Tuſcany, which are the ſame as in the former plan, only that it is determined that the county of Neuberg, on the left ſide of the Inn, with all its territorial and ſeignorial rights, ſhall be united to Bavaria. Sect. 2. Bavaria ſhall receive the town and ſuburbs of Paſſau, together with all that appertains to it beyond the Inn and the Iltz, and a circle of 500 klafters from the extreme end of the ſaid ſuburbs; as alſo the abbeys of Waldſaſſen and Eberach, with exception of all rights, properties, and eccleſiaſtical revenues, which lie in the city and territory of Augſburg. Sect. 3. Pruſſia receives all the rights and property of Mentz, in Thuringia, as alſo the abbey of Kappenberg. The reſt of the biſhopric of Munſter, which is not given to Pruſſia, is allotted to ſeveral princes. Sect. 4. To the king of England and elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, for his claims to the county of Sayn Altenkirchen, Hilderſheim, Corvey, and Hoſter, and his rights and property in the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, and in the territory of the latter, as ſhall be hereafter particularly ſtipulated, and for the ceſſion of the diſtrict of Wilnſhauſen—the biſhopric of Oſnabruck. To the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, the abbeys of Ganderſheim and Helmſtadt, under condition of paying a conſtant rent of 2000 florins to the princeſs Amelia of Deſſau. Sect. 5. The margrave of Baden receives likewiſe the Neſſian diſtricts Lichtenau and Wildſtadt; the abbeys of Reichenau, Oeheningen, the provoſtſhip and chapter of Odenheim, and the immediate and mediate rights and poſſeſſions which depend on the public eſtabliſhments and corporations on the left bank of the Rhine, and to the ſouth of the Necker. Sect. 6. The duke of Wirtemburgh receives likewiſe Schonthal, Camburg, with their ſovereignties, as alſo Rothminſter, Heiligenthal, Obriſtenfeld, Holzhauſen, Margareth-hauſen, and all the abbeys, convents, and chapters in

in the ſame, on paying certain conſtant rents to different princes. Sect. 7. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel receives for his claims to Corvey, the Mentz diſtricts of Naumburg and Neuſtadt, and the town of Geirhauſen, under condition of paying a conſtant rent of 22,500 florins to the landgrave of Heſſe-Rothenburg. The landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, for ſurrendering certain rights on the cities of Wetzlar and Frankfort, and ſome Heſſian diſtricts, receives the duchy of Weſtphalia and different diſtricts of Mentz, ſubject to a conſtant rent, &c. Sect. 12. Naſſau Dillenburgh, the late hereditary ſtadtholder, receives the abbeys and provoſtſhips of Hoffen, St. Gerold, Banderen, and all the chapters, provoſtſhips, and convents ſituate in the territory aſſigned him. Sect. 25. The ſeat of Mentz ſhall be transferred to the cathedral of Ratiſbon, and the dignity of elector, archchancellor and primate of Germany, ſhall be perpetually united to it. His metropolitan juriſdiction ſhall extend over the old eccleſiaſtical provinces of Mentz, Cologn, and Treves, as far as they extend on the right bank of the Rhine, and excepting the territory of the king of Pruſſia. The elector of Mentz receives the principality and city of Ratiſbon, and Wetzlar, with the title of a county. Sect. 27. The college of imperial cities ſhall for the future conſiſt of the free and independent cities of Augſburgh, Lubeck, Nuremburgh, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh. They ſhall poſſeſs their reſpective territories in full ſovereignty and juriſdiction. They ſhall alſo enjoy a perfect neutrality in all wars of the empire, and ſhall be always exempt from any military contribution, ordinary or extraordinary; and in all queſtions of war or peace, ſhall be entirely and neceſſarily diſpenſed from acceding to the reſolutions of the empire; they ſhall alſo ſeparately receive the following indemnities, &c.

Letter of the French and Ruſſian Miniſters to the Directorial Miniſter at Ratiſbon. Dated Ratiſbon, 15th October, 1802.

AS the principles inſeparably connected with the diſtribution of the indemnities in the declarations made in the name of the mediating powers, on the 18th of Auguſt laſt, and reproduced with modifications, which they conſented to in the general plan of the 8th of October, ought to be entirely comprehended in the *concluſum*, which the extraordinary deputation is about to form immediately: in regard to the whole, the underſigned (miniſter extraordinary of the French republic, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia) take the earlieſt opportunity of propoſing, after the enlightened reflections made to them by ſeveral of the ſub-delegates, that the eleventh of theſe principles be announced in the following manner: Eleventhly, the preceding diſpoſitions render of no avail the pretenſions which exiſted, both to the territories become French, and to thoſe which exiſting to property given in the room of others on the left bank of the Rhine, ſhall not be produced, examined, and ſettled in an amicable manner within the courſe of a year. This mode of expreſſion, which at firſt ſeemed ſufficiently ex-

plicit, according to the term fixed in the twelfth principle, for every tranſaction whatever, expreſſes better indeed the provident intention of the mediating powers, and correſponds better to the ſolicitude of the deputation for the general good.

(Signed)

LAFORET.

BARON DE BUHLER.

Note addreſſed by the Imperial Plenipotentiary to the Deputation, informing them of his Acceſſion to the Concluſums of the 16th.

THE miniſter plenipotentiary of his imperial majeſty diſcovers, in the two concluſums that have been communicated to him on the part of the deputation of the empire, propoſitions well calculated to prepare the ſpeedy and definitive arrangement of the objects reſerved by the treaty of Luneville for a particular convention. Always ready to contribute, on his part, with a ſincere zeal to that ſpeedy arrangement, he has in purſuance of theſe propoſitions, under a reſtriction, however, conformable, no doubt, to the intentions of the deputation, reſpecting the adminiſtration of the objects aſſigned as indemnities to the counts of the empire, addreſſed without delay a letter, a copy of which is annexed, to the duke of Wirtemberg and the margrave of Baden; as likewiſe the two notes, copies of which are annexed, to the miniſters of the mediating powers.

(Signed)

BARON DE HUGEL.

Ratiſbon, 18th Oct. 1802.

Definitive Concluſum adopted by the Deputation of the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 21ſt of October, and the Opinion of Auſtria on the General Plan of Indemnities.

IT ſhall be declared to the miniſters of the mediating powers, that the deputation have maturely weighed, according to its importance, the new general plan which was tranſmitted to them under the date of the 8th of this month. They acknowledge, in the firſt place, the benevolent regard which the mediating powers and their miniſters have had for the repreſentations and remarks which the deputation have made upon the firſt declaration. They acknowledge beſides, with the warmeſt gratitude, not only the benevolent views and efforts by which the mediating powers have ſought to accelerate the re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity in the empire, but alſo the indefatigable zeal with which their miniſters have ſought, hitherto, to fulfil this taſk. And as the doubt which the deputation ſtill had, upon the ſubject of the new plan, is done away by the illuſtration given in the notes of the 13th and 19th of this month, they make no more difficulty in accepting, in all its extent, the general plan of the 8th. In conſequence they will adopt, without delay, conformably to that plan, the neceſſary deciſions upon the regulations to be made; they will unite the whole in one act, in order to be able to communicate it to the miniſters of the mediating powers. The preſent concluſum ſhall be delivered, in the accuſtomed forms, to the imperial plenipotentiary, with the requeſt that he will adhere to it, and communicate

municate it to the mediating powers. The minister of the Teutonic order lamented that the conclusum was drawn up, without waiting for the instructions he expected to receive. In the same sitting in which the conclusum was passed, the minister of Austria gave his vote upon the general plan of the indemnities; it is as follows;—

"In conformity with the instructions of his court, the sub-delegate considers the object of the deliberation under two points of view; that is, under that of the justice of the claims made to the deputation of the empire for his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, and next under that of the conciliatory dispositions and measures of the imperial and royal court. The sub-delegate establishes, that France, as a contracting party at the peace of Luneville, cannot conclude any convention with others, nor prescribe plans of indemnities which attack any stipulations whatever of that treaty; on the other hand, the part of mediator does not give the faculty of injuring the rights of a party interested, and the deputation cannot accede to a plan which injures the treaty of Luneville, considered as the basis and motive of their being convoked. By the treaty of Luneville, the grand duke of Tuscany is to be indemnified completely; and that indemnity is neither to be found in the first nor the second plan of indemnities; and to the surprise of the imperial royal court, no regard has been had in the modified plan to the representations made upon the subject, though measures have been taken to answer all other claims. In equity no one can put a false interpretation upon the dispositions of his imperial majesty, if he sees himself under the necessity of protecting, in the most solemn manner, the rights of his august brother, and of *protesting against the adoption of the modified plan of the mediating powers* The legitimacy of this protest cannot be invalidated by any essential reason founded upon the public law of Germany; neither by the majority of votes of the deputation, because that majority has not authorised the deputation to outstep the limits and end of its full powers; neither by the invariability of the mediating powers, because these regulations ought to be guided by the legitimacy of the demand, and not by determinations which have their source in dispositions, friendly, but not emanating from any strength of right. It could not be opposed to this demand, that the mass of the indemnities is not equal to the mass of claims; for in that case, the number ought to be restricted to that which is expressed in the treaty, and then the restriction arising from the insufficiency of the mass of indemnities should be applied not to one single part, but to all. Nevertheless, these principles are often departed from in the plan of indemnities. The sub-delegate then states, that the negotiations are still in train at Paris; that his court has lately made, by its ambassador, propositions to the French government, which prove its extreme moderation as well as its conciliatory dispositions and just regards for the parties interested, and from which it has just ground to expect a happy result. The imperial royal court flatters itself with having by such equitable propositions evidently manifested the nature of its conciliatory dispositions, and the price

which it attaches to the interference and to the friendly propoſitions of the mediating powers. After this it has ſo much the more reaſon to hope that theſe powers will have, by reciprocity, juſt regards for his royal highneſs the grand duke, and that they will pleaſe to make in their plan of indemnities ſuch modifications as the imperial royal court can agree to. It muſt be ſeen from this ſtatement, that the imperial and royal court cannot incur the leaſt reproach of delay; far from it, the ſub-delegate muſt regret that the beſt intentions and conciliatory meaſures have not been received on the part of the mediating powers, nor by any of the co-eſtates to the deputation, with that eagerneſs, which would have removed, and ſtill may remove by ſome means or other, all the difficulties. The general ſtate of things is not beſides ſufficiently preſſing to cauſe apprehenſion of danger in a more mature diſcuſſion. All Europe is tranquil, and wiſhes to maintain the peace. Germany awaits the deciſion of its fate with patience and firmneſs. France has every reaſon to be content with the advantages which ſhe has obtained from the peace, and has no reaſon to envy the royal and imperial court the execution of the ſtipulations which concern it, and ſtill leſs to refuſe it. The emperor Alexander I. is a monarch friendly to peace and juſtice; he will ſee in this extreme moderation of a faithful friend of his empire this new proof of her good intentions. Auſtria, far from envying any body his juſt pretenſions, is ready to ſacrifice more than half of her juſt claims to facilitate her ſettlement of the buſineſs of the indemnities. As to Paſſau, the imperial and royal court is diſpoſed to conſent to the abſtraction of the part of that biſhopric ſituate beyond the Inn and the Danube, provided there be given to the archduke ſome other advantage in exchange. She is alſo diſpoſed to make her troops evacuate that part of Paſſau, if the elector palatine, on his part, ſhall undertake not to occupy it, until, by ſome arrangement of indemnity, his royal highneſs the grand duke, ſhall be ſecured according to the ſentiments of moderation above expreſſed."

Note preſented at the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 25th of October, by Baron Bild, the Swediſh Deputy for Anterior Pomerania.

THE under-ſigned miniſter plenipotentiary from his Swediſh majeſty to the diet of the empire, conceives that the time is arrived which requires him to break ſilence, ſince the German empire is threatened with new dangers and diviſions, which render it neceſſary for all the members of the empire to unite with their head, to maintain their independence, without which there can be no durable tranquillity or ſecurity. The king of Sweden, who is ſo fortunate as to have loſt no territory during the war, is too generous to wiſh any augmentation of his poſſeſſions in Germany, and therefore can have no other object than the true welfare of the German empire and its legal rights and independence. Actuated by theſe ſentiments, his majeſty would have heſitated to take any part in the affairs of the empire, had he not found that foreign powers have interfered

terfered in the preſent important tranſactions. His majeſty, therefore, as a prince of the empire, and a guarantee of its conſtitution, is certainly juſtified in taking a part in the deliberations. His majeſty acknowledges the neceſſity of changes in the German empire, on the equitable principles already admitted, in order to indemnify thoſe princes of the empire who, by the mutable fortune of the war lately concluded, have loſt their territories; but ſuch changes, according to theſe ſame principles, muſt be made with all poſſible propriety and juſtice, ſo that thoſe only may receive indemnifications who have ſuffered actual loſſes. In concluſion, his majeſty conſiders it as a duty again to remind the diet of the empire, that an improper and dangerous example has been given, by the occupation of territories with an armed force, before the right to them has been legally acknowledged, and that it is neceſſary, by an expreſs declaration, to prevent the ſame in future.

BILD.

Communication from the Imperial Plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 26th of October.

HIS imperial majeſty has been pleaſed to announce, by his ſub-delegate, to the deputation extraordinary of the empire, that having, agreeably to his anxiety for the maintenance of tranquillity, removed every obſtacle which oppoſed the ſucceſs of his negotiations at Paris, and having taken for the baſis of the concluſive arrangement the ſupplement of indemnity offered by the French government itſelf, for his royal highneſs the grand duke of Tuſcany, his majeſty hopes to ſee inſtantly eſtabliſhed an amicable underſtanding, which will have for its immediate conſequence, the moſt ſatisfactory regulation of the buſineſs with which the deputation is charged. Since, from the nature of this affair, his imperial majeſty muſt reſerve to himſelf a final approbation, he has no doubt but that the co-eſtates which form a part of the deputation will content themſelves with this preliminary declaration, and will repoſe in him, on that head, the confidence which he thinks he merits, after having given ſo many proofs of the ſincerity of his views, and the moderation of his ſentiments.

[*After the peruſal of the above communication, a declaration to the ſame effect was made by the miniſter of Bohemia.*]

Note addreſſed by the French Miniſter at the Diet of Ratiſbon to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, and to the Sub-Delegate for Bohemia, and which had been communicated to him by the ſaid Miniſter, and afterwards by the Ruſſian Miniſter.

THE underſigned received on the 26th inſtant, a note of the imperial plenipotentiary and the ſub-delegate of Bohemia, containing the communication of the ſame wiſhes which they made at the opening of the extraordinary deputation of the empire: he finds with confidence, and with the moſt lively intereſt, the hope of the approaching co-operation of his imperial majeſty, in the intention of the mediating powers, and is very far from doubting that his majeſty has

has not made propoſitions the moſt proper, to remove every difficulty. That object may, however, be accompliſhed, without the deputation ſuſpending its labours, which are too neceſſary for the tranquillity of Germany, and which at the ſame time will actuate the moment ſo much deſired by his imperial majeſty himſelf. The underſigned ſeizes with true pleaſure, this opportunity of renewing, as well to his excellency the imperial plenipotentiary as to the ſub-delegate of Bohemia, the inſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed)

LAFORET.

Ratiſbon, Oct. 30, 1802.

Proclamation iſſued by the King of Pruſſia at Hildeſheim.

HIS majeſty the king of Pruſſia, &c. our moſt gracious ſovereign, after an examination of the accuſations ſpread againſt the order of La Trappe, in obedience to an order from the cabinet, of the 18th ult. has been pleaſed to allow the monks of La Trappe to remain in the country for the preſent, and till their further deſtination ſhall be arranged, but on condition that they ſhall neither take novices, nor bring into the country members of any other eſtabliſhment of monks of La Trappe. They are alſo commanded, under the ſevereſt penalties, immediately to give up their eſtabliſhment, for the education of children, and to reſtore all their pupils to their parents. All parents, and guardians, whoſe reſidence is not known, are hereby required immediately to take back their children, and to apply for that purpoſe to the magiſtracy at Paderborn, who are commanded to lend them all poſſible aſſiſtance in claiming their children.

Done at Paderborn, Nov. 1, 1802, by his majeſty's ſpecial command,

SCHULENBERG.

Royal Patent Ordinance relative to the Occupation of the Biſhopric of Oſnaburg, has been publiſhed in that Biſhopric: it is dated Hanover, Nov. 4, 1802.

WE, George the third, &c. ſignify to the canons and other clergy, to the knights, vaſſals, burgers, inhabitants, and ſubjects of the late biſhopric of Oſnaburg, our royal favour and good will. Foraſmuch as by the late relation of the indemnities in Germany, in purſuance of the peace of Luneville, adopted by the deputation of the empire at Ratiſbon, the late biſhopric of Oſnaburg, with all its dependencies, is ſecularized and aſſigned to us and our houſe, as an hereditary principality; and as ſuch has been accepted by us, and as we have agreed with reſpect to its ceſſion and evacuation, with its ſovereign, our beloved prince Frederick duke of York and Albany, we have thought good, and reſolved to take poſſeſſion of the ſaid principality of Oſnaburg, with all its dependencies, and the government of the ſame for us and our houſe; and for that purpoſe, have appointed our ſtate and cabinet-miniſter, Chriſtian-Louis-Auguſtus Von Arnſwaldt, our commiſſioner plenipotentiary, and have ordered our troops to march. We, therefore, by this patent, take on ourſelves

ſelves the government of the principality of Oſnaburg, and require the canons and other clergy, the knights, vaſſals, burgers, and other inhabitants and ſubjects, to acknowledge us as their only ſovereign, and to be true and faithful to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors. We cannot doubt but they will deport themſelves peaceably on this occaſion, and render obedience to all orders which may be ſignified to them in our name, by our miniſter plenipotentiary, and that they will tranſfer to us, the fidelity and duty they ſhewed to their former ſovereign, in which caſe they may rely with full confidence on our unwearied care for their welfare, and paternal protection and favour. —*Ad Mandatum Regis et Electoris Speciale.*

KIELMANNSEGGE,
AENWALDT,
DOCKEN.

Subſtance of the Declaration made by the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, in the 32d Sitting of the Deputation at Ratiſbon, held on the 8th of December, 1802.

HIS imperial majeſty has ſeen with pleaſure, the laudable zeal with which the deputation has ſought to provide for the ſupport of all thoſe who will ſuffer by the ſecularizations, and he accedes with all his heart, to the arrangements made in that reſpect. His imperial majeſty declares, that the archduke Anthony renounces formally, and without reſerve, all his rights reſpecting Cologne and Munſter; he declares beſides, that on the ſubject of the occupation of Paſſau, he has given aſſurances the moſt tranquilizing, and inveſted his embaſſador at Paris, with full powers and definitive inſtructions, in ſuch a manner, that in order to terminate the buſineſs, every thing depends at preſent on the diſpoſitions of the mediating powers. If, however, the deputation, contrary to all expectation, do not wiſh to wait the iſſue of that negociation, it will be neceſſary to inſert in the receſs, a clauſe in favour of the changes which may yet take place in the actual allotment of the indemnities at the concluſion of the ſaid negociation; and it is only in reſerving a ſimilar clauſe, that the ſub-delegate can accede to the receſs. His imperial majeſty ſtill thinks it is his duty to make the propoſition conferring upon the grand duke of Tuſcany and the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, the electoral dignity, and alſo to propoſe the eſtabliſhment in the college of princes, compoſed, according to the new arrangements, for the moſt part of proteſtant ſtates, a certain number of new catholic votes, ſuch a meaſure being neceſſary to preſerve the equilibrium, and a juſt proportion between the two religions.

Manifeſto of Count Mocenigo, Miniſter Plenipotentiary, on his Arrival at Corfu.

" THE emperor of all the Ruſſias, my auguſt maſter, informed of the troubles which have diſorganized the republic, and being deeply affected by learning the evils to which you have been abandoned by anarchy, has formed the generous reſolution of re-eſtabliſhing among you order and tranquillity. My auguſt ſovereign,

[illegible]ful

faithful to the treaties by which he has engaged to guarantee your political exiſtence, has ſent me to cooperate with you in his name, and to reſtore peace among you. I therefore invite all the inhabitants in general, and individually, to ſecond me, with all their power, in this enterprize. The land and naval forces which you ſee aſſembled, will unite their means to your's. They are deſtined to promote the reign of public tranquillity, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to the government, and to protect the inviolability of its members, and that of all property, both public and private. I am furniſhed with ſufficient inſtructions and full powers. Manifeſt diſpoſitions favourable to the eſtabliſhment of public order, by abjuring all hatred; range yourſelves under the protecting ægis of his imperial majeſty, and you will obtain an aſſurance, by means of his powerful intervention, of maintaining your independence, your ſafety, and general felicity. This is the only price that my auguſt ſovereign requires for all his beneficent intentions; and for myſelf I ſeek for no other reward for the care which I ſhall conſtantly employ, than that of having contributed to this end with all the fervour of my zeal.

(Signed)

"COUNT GEORGE MOCENIGO, Plenipotentiary."

Auguſt 21, 1802.

Ukaſe of the Emperor of Ruſſia.

I HAVE learned, to my extreme ſorrow, that on occaſion of the frequent fires in the city of Caſan, a citizen of that place, on whom ſuſpicions had fallen, was arreſted and examined, and as he did not confeſs, a confeſſion was extorted from him by the rack, and he was delivered over to juſtice. During the courſe of the legal inveſtigation, where it was poſſible he retracted the confeſſion ſo extorted, and aſſerted his innocence, cruelty and prejudice did not liſten to his voice, but condemned him to public puniſhment. During the execution of the ſentence, when he could no longer ſave himſelf by a falſe declaration, he appealed to God to witneſs his innocence, in the preſence of all the people, and died in aſſerting it. So crying an act of cruelty, ſo oppreſſive an abuſe of confided power, and the violation of the laws in ſo eſſential and important an object, induced me to wiſh to be ſatisfied of the truth of this occurrence, by a circumſtantial examination on the ſpot, and for that purpoſe I diſpatched expreſs to Caſan my adjutant, colonel Aldedyhl, with inſtructions minutely to examine all the circumſtances of the caſe with his known impartiality. His report, grounded on ocular demonſtration, has, to my extreme grief, not only confirmed the accounts I had received, but aſſures me, that ſuch inhuman and illegal meaſures have been frequently adopted by that government. I lay this report, and all the proofs on which it is founded, in the original, before the directing ſenate, and recommend to them immediately to enter upon the examination of them, and to try with the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws all thoſe who, upon this occaſion, ſhall be found guilty of an abuſe of power, either in giving ſuch orders, or in the execution of them,

them, or of manifeſt partiality, to have no reſpect to the perſon of any man, and to proceed to the ſuſpenſion of the parties from their offices: to propoſe candidates for the places which depend upon our confirmation, and to fill the remainder according to the eſtabliſhed order, with deſerving perſons of rank. The directing ſenate, ſenſible of the importance of this abuſe, and to what degree it violates the firſt principles of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and is ſubverſive of all civil rights, will not neglect to inculcate generally, in the ſtricteſt manner, that no one, in any reſpect, either among the inferior or ſuperior officers of juſtice, ſhall order, permit, or put in execution, puniſhments under threats, or the terrors of an inſupportable and cruel infliction; that the miniſters of juſtice, to whom the reviſion of criminal proceedings lawfully belongs, ſhall take the perſonal examinations of the accuſed according to legal principles; that there be no partial infliction during the examination; and laſtly, that all puniſhments by torture ſhall be for ever rooted out of the minds of the people, as a diſgrace and a reproach to mankind.

Ruſſian Ukaſe, publiſhed by the Senate on the 22d of September.

1ſt. THE ſenate is the ſupreme tribunal of the empire, to which all other courts of juſtice are ſubject. The ſenate, as conſervator of the laws, watches over the obſervation of juſtice in all courts, has the ſuperintendance of all the impoſts and expences of the ſtate, provides means to alleviate the wants of the people for the preſervation of the general peace and tranquillity, and for remedying all illegal proceedings in inferior judicatories. The ſupreme reviſion of all civil and criminal affairs belongs to its impartial juſtice.

2d. The power of the ſenate is limited only by that of the emperor; it has no other ſuperior.

3d. The emperor alone, in perſon, preſides in the ſenate.

4th. An ukaſe of the ſenate muſt be executed as well as one of the emperor's. The ſovereign alone, or his ukaſe, can ſtop the orders of the ſenate.

5th. Every ukaſe in the emperor's name, except thoſe which demand particular ſecrecy, muſt be delivered to the ſenate by thoſe to whom they are addreſſed.

6th. The ſenate appoints to offices, and beſtows promotions, according to the ukaſes of Dec. 16, 1790, and Aug. 1, 1801.

7th. All colleges, governors, tribunals, immediately dependent on the ſenate, are to apply to it by means of reports, in all caſes of doubt or difficulty, as the procurators or intendants to the procurator-general.

8th. The ukaſes, deſigned as reprimands, are to be publiſhed by the ſenate only after complaints have been made of the government courts. The ſenate itſelf cannot interfere in any law-ſuit till it is ſubmitted to it in the regular order of things.

9th. Should an ukaſe appear, the execution of which preſents great difficulties, which is contrary to the laws, or not clearly expreſſed, the ſenate is at liberty to make

make repreſentations on it to the emperor; but ſhould no change take place in conſequence, the ukaſe remains in force.

10th. The ſenators have a right to make the expreſs ukaſes public.

11th. A ſenator is bound to make remonſtrances concerning ſuch miſchievous events in the empire, or violation of the laws, as may come under his knowledge. When in the courſe of a proceſs he perceives a deviation from the legal order, be it even in the chancery of the ſenate itſelf, he is bound to lay it before the ſenate, that the full power and efficacy of the laws may be employed againſt the guilty.

12th. We do not expect that any member of the venerable aſſembly of the ſenate will allow himſelf to go beyond the duty of a ſenator; ſhould ſuch, contrary to expectation, be the caſe, the ſenator can be judged only in the general aſſembly of the ſenate.

13th. In the general aſſembly of the ſenate the final deciſion is regulated by a majority of votes, conſiſting of two-thirds; but in the ſeparate diviſions, or committees, unanimouſly.

14th. When there are various opinions in the diviſions, ſhould only one ſenator be againſt the opinion of all the reſt, and the procurator-general cannot bring them to unanimity, the affair ſhall be brought before a general meeting of the ſenate.

15th. The regiſtered vote of the ſenator who differed from the reſt, ſuſpends the deciſion in the diviſion, though he ſhall in the mean time have left his office or have died. The affair muſt be brought before the general meeting, and the opinion of the ſaid ſenator then heard.

16th. Affairs decided in the diviſion, by the unanimous concurrence of all the ſenators, without oppoſition from the procurator-general, ſhall be regarded and executed as finally decided, without being brought before the general aſſembly.

17th. In the diviſion, when the procurator-general, or chief procurator, do not agree with the ſenators, they muſt lay their reaſons before the ſenate in eight days. If the ſenate does not then agree, and if the procurator perſiſts in his opinion, the buſineſs muſt be laid before the general aſſembly of the ſenate. Should the procurator-general, after the affair has been heard, agree with the opinion of the general aſſembly, it is conſidered as finally ſettled. If not, he muſt give his reaſons in writing; and if he and the ſenators ſtill perſiſt in their ſeveral opinions, it muſt be referred to the emperor, one or two ſenators being choſen to explain the grounds which hinder them from renouncing their opinions.

Manifeſto publiſhed the 22d inſt. concerning the new Formation of the Department of Adminiſtration.

WE, by the grace of God, Alexander the Firſt, emperor of all the Ruſſias, &c. &c. The welfare of the people, whom an all-wiſe providence has entruſted to our care, was the firſt and moſt ſacred aim we propoſed to ourſelves, when we took upon us the burden of governing the immenſe extent of the Ruſſian empire.—An empire as various

rious in its climates, local advantages, and natural productions, as its inhabitants in religion, privileges, languages, and manners.

Inflamed by the moſt ardent wiſh to diſcover, and to employ all means that can contribute to the eaſier and more ſpeedy attainment of this object ſo dear to our heart, we have directed our attention to all the cauſes and circumſtances which may obſtruct or promote it; and after a ſcrupulous examination and compariſon of each other, we have fully convinced ourſelves that the happineſs of the people reſts upon a ſolid and durable foundation, only when the adminiſtration has in its hand the means not only to correct all ſuch evils as are evident, and ſhew themſelves by their deſtructive conſequences, but more eſpecially to extirpate them by the root, at their very origin; to remove all cauſes that might give occaſion to the diſturbance of public or private tranquillity, to diſcover and remedy the wants of the people, and with prudence, zeal, and activity, to promote in all things the obſervation of uninterrupted order, and alſo the increaſe of the riches of nature and productions of art, which ſerve for the foundation of cities, and for the ſtrength of the empire.

The examples of ancient and modern times convince every one that the more ſuitable the means applied, and the more the maxims of the adminiſtration are in conſonance, the more harmonious, ſolid, and perfect will be the whole body politic, and the more content and happy every member of it.

We, therefore, in purſuance of this rule, and the emotions of our heart, following the great genius of Peter the Firſt, who gave Ruſſia a new face, and bequeathed to us the traces of his wiſe plans, which his worthy ſucceſſors have ſtrove to continue; have thought fit to divide the affairs of the empire into ſeveral parts, according to their natural relation to each other; and for their better adminiſtration, to intruſt the ſuperintendance of them to the miniſters whom we have appointed; having given them the leading rules by which they are to be guided in the execution of every thing that their duty requires from them, and what we expect from their fidelity, activity, and zeal for the public good. On the directorial ſenate, whoſe duties and ſupreme power we have confirmed by our ukaſe of this day, we impoſe the important duty peculiar to this ſupreme tribunal, to ſuperintend the conduct of the miniſters in all the branches intruſted to their adminiſtration, and after comparing them with the ordinances of the empire, and the reports delivered directly to the ſenate from the court, to form their concluſion and make their report to us.

Having eſtabliſhed the adminiſtration according to theſe rules, we cheriſh the flattering hope that it will aſſiſt us in eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, the ſolid and indeſtructible bulwark of the ſovereign and the empire, to the maintenance and increaſe of the general welfare, and in giving to every one his juſt due; in animating labour, induſtry, and commerce, in the encouragement of arts and ſciences, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the happineſs of nations; in ſhort to bring all branches of the government into a regular durable order adapted to the end we have in view.

All

All these branches, in their natural connections with each other, all objects appertaining to them, and the first duties of the ministers to whose care we have intrusted them, are accordingly defined and laid down in the following articles.

I. The administration of the affairs of the empire is divided into eight branches, each of which comprehends every thing which by its nature appertains to it, and constitutes that particular department, under the direction of its peculiar minister, whom we now appoint or shall appoint in future. The branches are, 1. The land forces; 2. The marine; 3. Foreign affairs; 4. Administration of justice; 5. Internal affairs; 6. The finances; 7. Commerce; 8. Public instruction.

II. The three chief imperial colleges, i. e. of war, of the admiralty, and of foreign affairs, are each under the direction of its minister, who superintends all courts, and all business dependant thereon; with the last is also united the office for the regulation of ceremonies.

III. As the duties of the ministers of justice will be particularly defined in the code of laws which is now preparing, we hereby command him to be guided, till that shall be published, by the instruction of the attorney-general (procurator-general.)

IV. The minister of the interior is bound to watch over the universal good of the people, the security, tranquillity, and good order of the whole empire.

Under his direction are all the branches of public industry, except the mines; farther the erection and keeping in repair of all public buildings in the empire. It is also his duty to use his utmost efforts to prevent all scarcity of provisions, and of all the more absolute necessaries of life.

And in order to furnish him with all the means and occasions to attain this end, which we proposed in the erection of this department, we do hereby command,

1. All governors, military and civil, to instruct this our minister respecting all affairs touching the administration, police, &c. of their departments, and in the same manner to transmit to us, through his hands, as well the usual reports as those relating to extraordinary occurrences.

2. The chamber of the finance to report to him, through the governors, on every thing relative to the public buildings and their support, and also give him information respecting the amount of the population.

3. All marshals of the nobility and government to make representations concerning the general wants and general good, not only to the governors, but also immediately to this our minister.

4. We confide to his immediate superintendance, 1st. the college of manufactures, excepting the office for the preparation and preservation of paper for bills of exchange and stamped paper;

2d. The college of physicians;

3d. The chief salt office, with all places depending on it;

4th. The general post-office; and

5th. What relates to the economy of the empire.

The college for the administration of foreign colonies, and of agriculture, what concerns matters of

of finance, and the printing of bills of exchange, are excepted.

With reſpect to the miniſter of finances, the adminiſtration of the revenues muſt be on ſuch principles as may at the ſame time prevent the oppreſſion of the people, and be advantageous for the crown, tend to augment the riches of the empire, and provide that the ſources of public wealth may never be dried up; but, if poſſible, rendered more productive. To the juriſdiction of the miniſter of finance are ſubordinate—the mines, the mint, the foreſts, the imperial banks, &c. At the end of every year, the miniſter muſt draw up a ſtatement of the public expences for the year following, and preſent it, together with a general view of the revenue of the enſuing year, to the emperor for confirmation.

The functions of the imperial treaſurer remain as before, till further notice.

Thoſe of the miniſter of commerce, who is at the head of all officers of the cuſtoms, remain upon the baſis of preceding regulations.

Under the juriſdiction of the miniſter for public inſtruction, are the academy of ſciences, the univerſities, all ſchools and ſimilar eſtabliſhments, except thoſe which are particularly under the care of the empreſs mother; alſo the cenſure, the publication of the newſpapers, and all periodical works, the public libraries, &c.

Five of theſe miniſters have a colleague, or adjunct miniſter.

All places and departments ſend in weekly, to their miniſter, memoirs concerning the things in courſe.

In all difficult points the miniſter makes a report to the emperor, who lays theſe reports before the ſenate. Every miniſter muſt, at the end of the year, deliver to the emperor a memoir in writing, concerning his adminiſtration.

The ſenate examines this memoir in the preſence of the miniſter, and then delivers it to the emperor, with its opinion concerning his adminiſtration, and the ſtate of the affairs intruſted to the miniſter.

If the ſenate diſcovers any abuſes, it demands an explanation from the miniſter, and, in caſe of need, preſents a remonſtrance to the emperor.

All miniſters are members of the council, and have a ſeat and vote in the ſenate.

The miniſters muſt each, on appointed days, give audience to all thoſe who have any repreſentations to make them. The miniſters enter upon their offices immediately. The colleague of the miniſter takes his place on all occaſions, but is only anſwerable for what he has himſelf ſigned.

CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of the Life and Character of James Harris, *Esq. From the new Edition of his Works by the Earl of* Malmesbury.

A new edition of my Father's works having been for some time expected by the public, I have been induced to prefix to it the the following short memoirs of his life and character.

THERE are few readers, I believe, who do not desire to know something more of an author than is commonly to be learned merely from his own writings. What he has been in private life, and in his domestic retirement; what appear to have been his habits of study, and of relaxation; how he has conducted himself as a member of society, so as to deserve either praise or blame;—all these are natural topics of enquiry concerning every writer who has attained considerable literary eminence. To gratify a curiosity so reasonable, is one motive which has engaged me in the present undertaking, but I will confess it is not the only one.

The pride which I feel in being the son of such a father, and the gratitude and affection with which I must ever recollect him, have also powerfully induced me to pay this public tribute of respect to his memory. To his early care of my education, to his judicious introduction of me to respectable friends and patrons, to his constant good advice and excellent example, I am fond of attributing whatever credit I may have acquired in the various active employments that have fallen to my share.

I reflect with the highest pleasure on his having seen me, during many years, engaged in the service of my country; and I can with truth say, that such advantages of rank or distinction as I have been fortunate enough to acquire, which he did not live to witness, have, from that very circumstance, lost much of their value in my estimation.

James Harris, Esq. the writer of these volumes, was the eldest son of James Harris, Esq. of the Close of Salisbury, by his second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Ashley, who was third daughter of Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury, and sister to the celebrated author of the Characteristics, as well as to the Hon. Maurice Ashley Cooper, the elegant translator of Xenophon's Cyropædia. He was born

upon the 20th of July, 1709. The early part of his education was received at Salisbury, under the Rev. Mr. Hele, master of the grammar-school, in the Close, who was long known and respected in the West of England as an instructor of youth.

From Mr. Hele's school, at the age of sixteen, he was removed to Oxford, where he passed the usual number of years as a gentleman commoner of Wadham College. His father, as soon as he had finished his academical studies, entered him at Lincoln's-inn, not intending him for the bar, but, as was then a common practice, meaning to make the study of the law a part of his education.

When he had attained his twenty-fourth year, his father died. This event, by rendering him independent in fortune, and freeing him from all controul, enabled him to exchange the study of the law for other pursuits that accorded better with his inclination.

The strong and decided bent of his mind had always been towards the Greek and Latin classics. These he preferred to every other sort of reading, and to his favourite authors he now applied himself with avidity, retiring from London to the house in which his family had very long resided, in the Close of Salisbury, for the sake of enjoying, without interruption, his own mode of living.

His application, during fourteen or fifteen years, to the best writers of antiquity, continued to be almost unremitting, and his industry was such as is not often exceeded. He rose always very early, frequently at four or five o'clock in the morning, especially during winter, because he could then most effectually insure a command of time to himself. By these means he was enabled to mix occasionally in the society of Salisbury and its neighbourhood, without too great a sacrifice of his main object, the acquisition of ancient literature.

I have heard my father say, that it was not until many years after his retirement from London that he began to read Aristotle and his commentators, or to enquire so deeply, as he afterwards did, into the Greek philosophy. He had imbibed a prejudice, very common at that time, even among scholars, that Aristotle was an obscure and unprofitable author, whose philosophy had been deservedly superseded by that of Mr. Locke; a notion which my father's own writings have since contributed to correct, with no small evidence and authority.

In the midst, however, of his literary labours, he was not inattentive to the public good, but acted regularly and assiduously as a magistrate for the county of Wilts; giving, in that capacity, occasional proofs of a manly spirit and firmness, without which the mere formal discharge of magisterial duty is often useless and inefficient.

The first fruit which appeared to the world of so many years spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in habits of deep speculation, was a volume published in 1744, containing three treatises. The first concerning Art—The second concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry—The third concerning Happiness. These treatises, in addition to their merit as original compositions, are illustrated by a variety of learned notes and observations, elucidating

elucidating many difficult paſſages of ancient writers, the ſtudy and examination of whom it was my father's earneſt wiſh to promote and to facilitate. Lord Monboddo, ſpeaking of the dialogue upon Art, praiſes it, as containing "the "beſt ſpecimen of the dividing, "or diæretic manner, as the an- "tients called it, that is to be "found in any modern books with "which he is acquainted."

In the month of July, 1745, my father was married to Miſs Elizabeth Clarke, daughter and eventually heireſs of John Clarke, Eſq. of Sandford, near Bridgewater, in the county of Somerſet. Five children were the iſſue of this marriage; two of whom died young; myſelf and two daughters only having ſurvived my father.

This change in his ſtate of life by no means withdrew his attention from thoſe ſtudies in which he had been uſed to take ſo great delight, and which he had cultivated with ſuch advantage and reputation; for in 1751 he publiſhed another work, called "Hermes," or a philoſophical enquiry concerning univerſal grammar.—An eulogium ſo honourable to this publication has been made on it by the learned Dr. Lowth, late biſhop of London, that I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of here inſerting it, as of indiſputable weight and authority. "Thoſe," ſays the biſhop, in the preface to his Engliſh Grammar, "who would enter "deeply into the ſubject, (of uni- "verſal grammar) will find it "fully and accurately handled, "with the greateſt acuteneſs of "inveſtigation, perſpicuity of "explication, and elegance of "method, in a treatiſe entitled, "Hermes, by James Harris, Eſq. "the moſt beautiful example of "analyſis that has been exhibited "ſince the days of Ariſtotle."

What firſt led my father to a deep and accurate conſideration of the principles of univerſal grammar, was a book which he held in high eſtimation, and has frequently quoted in his Hermes, the Minerva of Sanctius. To that writer he confeſſed himſelf indebted for abundance of valuable information, of which it appears that he knew well how to profit, and to puſh his reſearches on the ſubject of grammar to a much greater length, by the help of his various and extenſive erudition.

From the period of his marriage until the year 1761, my father continued to live entirely at Saliſbury, except in the ſummer, when he ſometimes retired to his houſe at Durnford, near that city. It was there that he found himſelf moſt free from the interruption of buſineſs, and of company, and at leiſure to compoſe the chief part of thoſe works which were the reſult of his ſtudy at other ſeaſons. His time was divided between the care of his family, in which he placed his chief happineſs, his literary purſuits, and the ſociety of his friends and neighbours, with whom he kept up a conſtant and cheerful intercourſe. The ſuperior taſte and ſkill which he poſſeſſed in muſic, and his extreme fondneſs for hearing it, led him to attend to its cultivation in his native place, with uncommon pains and ſucceſs; inſomuch that, under his auſpices, not only the annual muſical feſtival in Saliſbury flouriſhed beyond moſt inſtitutions of the kind, but even the ordinary

ſubſcription concerts were carried on, by his aſſiſtance and directions, with a ſpirit and effect ſeldom equalled out of the metropolis. Many of the beautiful ſelections made from the beſt Italian and German compoſers, for theſe feſtivals and concerts, and adapted by my father, ſometimes to words ſelected from Scripture, or from Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, ſometimes to compoſitions of his own, have ſurvived the occaſions on which they were firſt produced, and are ſtill in great eſtimation. Two volumes of theſe ſelections have been lately publiſhed by Mr. Corfe, organiſt of Saliſbury cathedral; the reſt remain in manuſcript, in poſſeſſion of my family. His own houſe, in the mean time, was the frequent ſcene of ſocial and muſical meetings; and I think I do not hazard too much in ſaying, that he contributed, both by his own converſation, and by the company which he often aſſembled at his houſe from various parts, to refine and improve the taſte and manners of the place in which he reſided.

In 1761, by the intereſt of his near relation, and very reſpectable friend, the late Edward Hooper, Eſq. of Hum-court in Hampſhire, my father was choſen one of the repreſentatives in parliament for the borough of Chriſt-church, which ſeat he retained to the day of his death. The year following he accepted the office of one of the lords of the admiralty, from whence he was promoted, in 1763, to be a lord of the treaſury. He remained in that ſituation until the miniſtry with which he was connected went out of office in 1765; and after that time he did not hold any employment until 1774, when he became ſecretary and comptroller to the queen. This appointment was always valued by him exceedingly; not only by reaſon of the handſome and flattering manner in which it was conferred upon him by her majeſty, but alſo on account of the frequent occaſions it afforded him of experiencing her majeſty's gracious kindneſs and condeſcenſion, of which he had a very high ſenſe, and which were continued to him, without interruption, to the end of his life; for in her ſervice he died.

Although aſſiduous in the diſcharge of his parliamentary duty, and occaſionally taking a ſhare in debates, my father never contracted any violent ſpirit of party. He abhorred faction of every kind; nor did he ever relinquiſh for public buſineſs, thoſe ſtill more intereſting purſuits which had made the delight and occupation of his earlier years. If they were ſomewhat intermitted during the ſitting of parliament, he renewed them with increaſed reliſh and ſatisfaction on his return into the country. Thoſe who ſaw him in London, partaking with cheerfulneſs and enjoyment of a varied and extenſive ſociety, and frequenting dramatic and muſical entertainments, while, during his ſtay in Saliſbury, he always exerciſed a reſpectable but well-regulated hoſpitality, were ſurpriſed that he could have found time to compoſe and publiſh, in 1775, another learned work. It contains, under the title of Philoſophical Arrangements, a part only of a larger work that he had meditated, but did not finiſh, upon the Peripatetic Logic. So far as relates to the *arrangement* of ideas, it is complete; but it has other objects

jects also in view. It combats, with great force and ability, the atheistical doctrines of chance and materialism, doctrines which have lately been received in France, under the specious garb of modern philosophy, and, issuing from thence, have overspread a great part of Europe; destroying the happiness of mankind, by subverting, in every part of their progress, the foundations of morality and religion.

The last of my father's literary productions was printed in 1780, by the name of Philological Inquiries, but not published sooner than 1781. It is a more popular work than any of his former ones; and contains rather a summary of the conclusions to which the philosophy of the ancients had conducted them in their critical inquiries, than a regular and perfect system. The principles on which those conclusions depend are therefore admitted, as being of a more abstruse nature than was agreeable to his design, which was to teach by illustration and example, not by strict demonstration. Indeed this publication appears to have been meant, not only as a retrospective view of those studies which exercised his mind in the full vigour of his life, but likewise as a monument of his affection towards many of his intimate friends. I cannot, therefore, but consider it as a pleasing proof of a mind retaining, at an advanced age, a considerable degree of its former energy and activity, together with, what is still more rarely to be found, an undiminished portion of its candour and benevolence.

Before this last volume was entirely concluded, my father's health had evidently begun to be very much impaired. He never enjoyed a robust constitution, but for sometime, towards the end of his life, the infirmities under which he laboured had gradually increased. His family at length became apprehensive of a decline, symptoms of which were very apparent, and by none more clearly perceived than himself. This was evident from a variety of little circumstances, but by no means from any impatience or fretfulness, nor yet from any dejection of spirits, such as are frequently incident to extreme weakness of body, especially when it proves to be the forerunner of approaching dissolution. On the contrary, the same equable and placid temper which had distinguished him throughout his whole life, the same tender and affectionate attention to his surrounding family, which he had unceasingly manifested while in health, continued, without the smallest change or abatement to the very last; displaying a mind thoroughly at peace with itself, and able, without disturbance or dismay, to contemplate the awful prospect of futurity.

After his strength had been quite exhausted by illness, he expired calmly on the 22d of December, 1780, in the 72d year of his age.

His remains were deposited in the north aisle of the cathedral church of Salisbury, near those of his ancestors; and I cannot forbear to record tokens of unsolicited respect, honourable to my father's memory, and soothing to the recollection of his family, which were shewn from various quarters upon that melancholy occasion. Six gentlemen, his friends and

neighbours, supported the pall. At the western door of the cathedral the corpse was met by the whole choir, and a funeral anthem was performed while the procession moved towards the grave. On the ensuing Sunday, the Rev. Mr. Chaffy, who preached at the cathedral, adverted in his sermon to the recent event of my father's death with such apposite and judicious commendation as at once to mark his own sincere respect for a deceased neighbour, and strongly to excite the sympathy of his audience by the truths delivered concerning him.

A monument was soon after erected to the memory of my father, near the spot where he was interred, on which is the following inscription;

M. S.
Jacobi Harris Sarisburiensis
Viri boni, et docti,
Græcarum Literarum præcipuè periti,
Cujus Opera accuratissima
De Artibus elegantioribus
De Gramaticâ, de Logicâ, de Ethicê,
Stylo brevi, limato, simplici,
Sui More Aristotelis
Conscripta,
Posteri laudabunt ultimi.
Studiis severioribus addictus,
Communis tamen vitæ officia,
Et omnia Patris, Mariti,
Civis, Senatoris munia,
Et implevit et ornavit.
Obiit XXII. die Decembris, M,DCC,LXXX.
Anno Ætatis LXXII.

Above this inscription, a female figure of Philosophy is represented holding, over a medallion of my father, a scroll, with the following inscription:

Το Φρονειν
Μεγον αγαθον
Το δ' αφρονειν
Κακον.

It remains for me to add some farther particulars concerning my father, which, I think, are requisite to make his character completely understood.

The distinction by which he was most generally known while living, and by which he is likely to survive to posterity, is that of a man of learning. His profound knowledge of Greek, which he applied more successfully perhaps than any modern writer has done to the study and explanation of ancient philosophy, arose from an early and intimate acquaintance with the excellent poets and historians in that language. They, and the best writers of the Augustan age, were his constant and never-failing recreation. By his familiarity with them, he was enabled to enliven and to illustrate his deeper and more abstruse speculations, as every page almost of these volumes will abundantly testify. But his attainments were not confined to ancient philosophy and classical learning. He possessed likewise a general knowledge of modern history, with

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a very diſtinguiſhing taſte in the fine arts, in one of which, as before obſerved, he was an eminent proficient. His ſingular induſtry empowered him to make theſe various acquiſitions, without neglecting any of the duties which he owed to his family, his friends, or his country. I am in poſſeſſion of ſuch proofs, beſides thoſe already given to the public, of my father's laborious ſtudy and reflection, as I apprehend, are very rarely to be met with. Not only was he accuſtomed, through a long ſeries of years, to make copious extracts from the different books which he read, and to write critical remarks and conjectures on many of the paſſages extracted, but he was alſo in the habit of regularly committing to writing ſuch reflections as aroſe out of his ſtudy, which evince a mind carefully diſciplined, and anxiouſly bent on the attainment of ſelf-knowledge, and ſelf-government. And yet, though habituated to deep thinking and laborious reading, he was generally cheerful even to playfulneſs. There was no pedantry in his manners or converſation, nor was he ever ſeen either to diſplay his learning with oſtentation, or to treat with ſlight or ſupercilioufneſs thoſe leſs informed than himſelf. He rather ſought to make them appear partakers of what he knew, than to mortify them by a parade of his own ſuperiority. Nor had he any of that miſerable faſtidiouſneſs about him which too often diſgraces men of learning, and prevents their being amuſed or intereſted, at leaſt their chooſing to appear ſo, by common performances or common events.

It was with him a maxim, that the moſt difficult, and infinitely the preferable, ſort of criticiſm, both in literature and in the arts, was that which conſiſts in finding out beauties rather than defects; and although he certainly wanted not judgment to diſtinguiſh and to prefer ſuperior excellence of any kind, he was too reaſonable to expect it ſhould very often occur, and too wiſe to allow himſelf to be diſguſted at common weakneſs or imperfection. He thought, indeed, that the very attempt to pleaſe, however it might fall ſhort of its aim, deſerved ſome return of thanks, ſome degree of approbation: and that to endeavour at being pleaſed by ſuch efforts, was due to juſtice, to good nature, and good ſenſe.

Far at the ſame time, from that preſumptuous conceit which is ſolicitous about mending others, and that moroſeneſs which feeds its own pride by dealing in general cenſure, he cultivated to the utmoſt that great moral wiſdom, by which we are made humane, gentle, and forgiving; thankful for the bleſſings of life, acquieſcent in the afflictions we endure, and ſubmiſſive to all the diſpenſations of providence. He deteſted the gloom of ſuperſtition, and the perſecuting ſpirit by which it is ſo often accompanied; but he abhorred ſtill more the baneful and deſtructive ſyſtem of modern philoſophy; and from his early ſolicitude to inſpire me with a hatred of it, it would almoſt ſeem that he foreſaw its alarming approach and fatal progreſs. There is no obligation which I acknowledge with more thankfulneſs; none that I ſhall more anxiouſly endeavour to confer upon my own children, from

a thorough conviction of its value and importance.

My father's affection to every part of his family was exemplary and uniform. As a husband, a parent, a master, he was ever kind and indulgent; and it deserves to be mentioned, to his honour, that he thought it no interruption of his graver occupations, himself to instruct his daughters by exercising them daily, both in reading and composition, and writing essays for their improvement, during many of their younger years. No man was a better judge of what belonged to female education, and the elegant accomplishments of the sex, or more disposed to set a high value upon them. But he had infinitely more at heart, that his children should be early habituated to the practice of religion and morality, and deeply impressed with their true principles. To promote this desirable end, he was assiduous, both by instruction and example; being himself a constant attendant upon public worship, and enforcing that great duty upon every part of his family. The deep sense of moral and religious obligation, which was habitual to him, and those benevolent feelings, which were so great a happiness to his family and friends, had the same powerful influence over his public, as his private life. He had an ardent zeal for the prosperity of his country, whose real interests he well understood; and, in his parliamentary conduct, he proved himself a warm friend to the genuine principles of religious and civil liberty, as well as a firm supporter of every branch of our admirable constitution.

Life of William Gifford, *Esq. written by Himself.*

From his Translation of Juvenal.

I AM about to enter on a very unintersting subject: but all my friends tell me that it is necessary to account for the long delay of the following work; and I can only do it by adverting to the circumstances of my life. Will this be accepted as an apology?

I know but little of my family, and that little is not very precise. My great grandfather, (the most remote of it, that I ever recollect to have heard mentioned,) possessed considerable property at Halfworthy, a parish in the neighbourhood of Ashburton; but whether acquired or inherited, I never thought of asking, and do not know.

He was probably a native of Devonshire, for there he spent the last years of his life; spent them too, in some sort of consideration, for Mr. T. (a very respectable surgeon of Ashburton,) loved to repeat to me, when I first grew into notice, that he had frequently hunted with his hounds.

My grandfather was on ill terms with him. I believe, not without sufficient reason, for he was extravagant and dissipated. My father never mentioned his name, but my mother would sometimes tell me that he had ruined the family. That he spent much, I know; but I am inclined to think that his undutiful conduct occasioned my great grandfather to bequeath a part of his property from him.

My father, I fear, revenged in some measure the cause of my great grandfather. He was, as I have heard my mother say, "a very

very wild young man, who could be kept to nothing." He was sent to the grammar school at Exeter; from which he made his escape, and entered on board a man of war. He was soon reclaimed from this situation by my grandfather, and left his school a second time, to wander in some vagabond society *. He was now probably given up, for he was, on his return from this notable adventure, reduced to article himself to a plumber and glazier, with whom he luckily staid long enough to learn the business. I suppose his father was now dead, for he became possessed of two small estates, married my mother, (the daughter of a carpenter at Ashburton,) and thought himself rich enough to set up for himself; which he did, with some credit, at South Molton. Why he chose to fix there, I never inquired; but I learned from my mother, that, after a residence of four or five years, he was again thoughtless enough to engage in a dangerous frolic, which drove him once more to sea. This was an attempt to excite a riot in a methodist chapel; for which his companions were prosecuted, and he fled, as I have mentioned.

My father was a good seaman, and was soon made second in command in the Lyon, a large armed transport in the service of government: while my mother (then with child of me) returned to her native place, Ashburton, where I was born, in April, 1757.

The resources of my mother were very scanty. They arose from the rent of three or four small fields, which yet remained unsold. With these, however, she did what she could for me; and as soon as I was old enough to be trusted out of her sight, sent me to a school-mistress of the name of Parret, from whom I learned in due time to read. I cannot boast much of my acquisitions at this school; they consisted merely of the contents of the "Child's Spelling Book:" but from my mother, who had stored up the literature of a country town, which, about half a century ago, amounted to little more than what was disseminated by itinerant ballad-singers, or rather, readers, I had acquired much curious knowledge of Cats-skin, and the Golden Bull, and the bloody Gardener, and many other histories equally instructive and amusing.

My father returned from sea in 1764. He had been at the siege of the Havannah; and though he received more than a hundred pounds for prize money, and his wages were considerable; yet, as he had not acquired any strict habits of economy, he brought home but a trifling sum. The little property yet left was, therefore, turned into money; a trifle more was got by agreeing to renounce all future pretensions to an estate at Totnes; and with this, my father set up a second time as a glazier and house-painter. I was now about eight years old, and was put to the free school (kept by Hugh Smerdon,) to learn to read and write, and cypher. Here I continued about three years, making a most wretched progress, when my father fell sick and died. He had not acquired wisdom from his misfortunes, but continued wasting his time in unprofitable pursuits, to the great detriment of

* He had gone with Bamfylde Moore Carew, then an old man.

his

his buſineſs. He loved drink for the ſake of ſociety, and to this love he fell a martyr; dying of a decayed and ruined conſtitution, before he was forty. The town's people thought him a ſhrewd and ſenſible man, and regretted his death. As for me, I never greatly loved him; I had not grown up with him; and he was too prone to repulſe my little advances to familiarity, with coldneſs or anger. He had certainly ſome reaſon to be diſpleaſed with me, for I learned little at ſchool, and nothing at home, though he would now and then attempt to give me ſome inſight into the buſineſs. As impreſſions of any kind are not very ſtrong at the age of eleven or twelve, I did not long feel his loſs; nor was it a ſubject of much ſorrow to me, that my mother was doubtful of her ability to continue me at ſchool, though I had by this time acquired a love for reading.

I never knew in what circumſtances my mother was left: moſt probably they were inadequate to her ſupport, without ſome kind of exertion, eſpecially as ſhe was now burthened with a ſecond child, about ſix or eight months old. Unfortunately ſhe determined to proſecute my father's buſineſs; for which purpoſe ſhe engaged a couple of journeymen, who, finding her ignorant of every part of it, waſted her property and embezzled her money; what the conſequence of this double fraud would have been, there was no opportunity of knowing, as in ſomewhat leſs than a twelvemonth, my poor mother followed my father to the grave. She was an excellent woman, bore my father's infirmities with patience and good humour, loved her children dearly, and died at laſt exhauſted with anxiety and grief, more on their account than on her own.

I was not quite thirteen when this happened; my little brother was hardly two; and we had not a relation nor a friend in the world. Every thing that was left was ſeized by a perſon of the name of C——, for money advanced to my mother. It may be ſuppoſed that I could not diſpute the juſtice of his claims; and, as no one elſe interfered, he was ſuffered to do as he liked. My little brother was ſent to the alms-houſe, whither his nurſe followed him out of pure affection; and I was taken to the houſe of the perſon I have juſt mentioned, who was alſo my godfather. Reſpect for the opinion of the town, (which, whether correct or not, was, that he had repaid himſelf by the ſale of my mother's effects,) induced him to ſend me again to ſchool, where I was more diligent than before, and more ſucceſsful. I grew fond of arithmetic, and my maſter began to diſtinguiſh me: but theſe golden days were over in leſs than three months. C—— ſickened at the expence; and, as the people were now indifferent to my fate, he looked round for an opportunity of ridding himſelf of a uſeleſs charge. He had previouſly attempted to engage me in the drudgery of huſbandry. I drove the plough for one day to gratify him, but I left it with a firm reſolution to do ſo no more, and, in deſpite of his threats and promiſes, adhered to my determination. In this, I was guided no leſs by neceſſity than will. During my father's life, in attempting to clamber up a table, I had fallen backward, and drawn it after me: its edge fell upon my breaſt, and I never

never recovered the effects of the blow; of which I was made extremely sensible on any extraordinary exertion. Ploughing, therefore, was out of the question, and, as I have already said, I utterly refused to follow it.

As I could write and cypher, (as the phrase is,) C—— next thought of sending me to Newfoundland, to assist in a store-house. For this purpose he negociated with a Mr. Holdsworthy of Dartmouth, who agreed to fit me out. I left Ashburton with little expectation of seeing it again, and, indeed, with little care, and rode with my godfather to the dwelling of Mr. Holdsworthy. On seeing me, this great man observed with a look of pity and contempt, that I was "too small," and sent me away sufficiently mortified. I expected to be very ill received by my godfather, but he said nothing. He did not, however, choose to take me back himself, but sent me in the passage boat to Totness, from whence I was to walk home. On the passage, the boat was driven by a midnight storm on the rocks, and I escaped with life almost by miracle.

My godfather had now humbler views for me, and I had little heart to resist any thing. He proposed to send me on board one of the Torbay fishing-boats; I ventured, however, to remonstrate against this, and the matter was compromised by my consenting to go on board a coaster. A coaster was speedily found for me at Brixham, and thither I went when little more than thirteen.

My master, whose name was Full, though a gross and ignorant, was not an ill-natured man, at least, not to me; and my mistress used me with unvarying kindness; moved, perhaps, by my weakness and tender years. In return, I did what I could to requite her, and my good-will was not overlooked.

Our vessel was not very large, nor our crew very numerous. On ordinary occasions, such as short trips to Dartmouth, Plymouth, &c. it consisted only of my master, an apprentice nearly out of his time, and myself: when we had to go farther, to Portsmouth, for example, an additional hand was hired for the voyage.

In this vessel, (the Two Brothers) I continued nearly a twelvemonth; and here I got acquainted with nautical terms, and contracted a love for the sea, which a lapse of thirty years has but little diminished.

It will be easily conceived, that my life was a life of hardship. I was not only a "ship boy on the high and giddy mast," but also in the cabin, where every menial office fell to my lot: yet, if I was restless and discontented, I can safely say, it was not so much on account of this, as of my being precluded from all possibility of reading; as my master did not possess, nor do I recollect seeing, during the whole time of my abode with him, a single book of any description, except the Coasting Pilot.

As my lot seemed to be cast, however, I was not negligent in seeking such information, as promised to be useful; and I therefore frequented, at my leisure hours, such vessels as dropt into Torbay. On attempting to get on board one of these, which I did at midnight,

night, I miſſed my footing, and fell into the ſea. The floating away of the boat, alarmed the man on deck, who came to the ſhip's ſide, juſt in time to ſee me ſink. He immediately threw out ſeveral ropes, one of which providentially (for I was unconſcious of it) intangled itſelf about me, and I was drawn up to the ſurface, till a boat could be got round. The uſual methods were taken to recover me, and I awoke in bed the next morning, remembering nothing but the horror I felt, when I firſt found myſelf unable to cry out for aſſiſtance.

This was not my only eſcape, but I forbear to ſpeak of them. An eſcape of another kind was now preparing for me, which deſerves all my notice, as it was deciſive of my future fate.

On Chriſtmas-day, (1770) I was ſurpriſed by a meſſage from my godfather, ſaying, that he had ſent a man and horſe to bring me to Aſhburton; and deſiring me to ſet out without delay. My maſter, as well as myſelf, ſuppoſed it was to ſpend the holydays there; and he, therefore, made no objection to my going. We were, however, both miſtaken.

Since I had lived at Brixham, I had broken off all connection with Aſhburton. I had no relation there but my poor brother, who was yet too young for any kind of correſpondence; and the conduct of my godfather towards me did not intitle him to any portion of my gratitude, or kind remembrance. I lived, therefore, in a ſort of ſullen independence on all I had formerly known, and thought without regret of being abandoned by every one to my fate. But I had not been overlooked. The women of Brixham, who travelled to Aſhburton twice a week with fiſh, and who had known my parents, did not ſee me, without kind concern, running about the beach in a ragged jacket and trowſers. They mentioned this to the people of Aſhburton, and never without commiſerating my change of condition. This tale, often repeated, awakened at length the pity of their auditors, and, as the next ſtep, their reſentment againſt the man who had reduced me to ſuch a ſtate of wretchedneſs. In a large town, this would have had little effect, but in a place like Aſhburton, where every report ſpeedily becomes the common property of all the inhabitants, it raiſed a murmur which my godfather found himſelf either unable or unwilling to withſtand: he therefore determined, as I have juſt obſerved, to recall me; which he could eaſily do, as I wanted ſome months of fourteen, and conſequently was not yet bound.

All this I learned on my arrival; and my heart, which had been cruelly ſhut up, now opened to kinder ſentiments and fairer views.

After the holydays, I returned to my darling purſuit, arithmetic: my progreſs was now ſo rapid, that in a few months I was at the head of the ſchool, and qualified to aſſiſt my maſter (Mr. E. Furlong) on any extraordinary emergency. As he uſually gave me a trifle on thoſe occaſions, it raiſed a thought in me, that by engaging with him as a regular aſſiſtant, and undertaking the inſtruction of a few evening ſcholars, I might, with a little additional aid, be enabled to ſupport myſelf. God knows, my ideas of ſupport

ſupport at this time were of no very extravagant nature. I had, beſides, another object in view. Mr. Hugh Smerdon (my firſt maſter) was now grown old and infirm; it ſeemed unlikely that he ſhould hold out above three or four years; and I fondly flattered myſelf, that notwithſtanding my youth, I might poſſibly be appointed to ſucceed him. I was in my fifteenth year, when I built theſe caſtles: a ſtorm, however, was collecting, which unexpectedly burſt upon me, and ſwept them all away.

On mentioning my little plan to C——, he treated it with the utmoſt contempt; and told me, in his turn, that as I had learned enough, and more than enough, at ſchool, he muſt be conſidered as having fairly diſcharged his duty, (ſo indeed he had;) he added, that he had been negociating with his couſin, a ſhoe-maker of ſome reſpectability, who had liberally agreed to take me without a fee, as an apprentice. I was ſo ſhocked at this intelligence, that I did not remonſtrate; but went in ſullenneſs and ſilence to my new maſter, to whom I was ſoon after bound, till I ſhould attain the age of twenty-one.

The family conſiſted of four journeymen, two ſons about my own age, and an apprentice ſomewhat older. In theſe, there was nothing remarkable; but my maſter himſelf was the ſtrangeſt creature! He was a preſbyterian, whoſe reading was entirely confined to the ſmall tracts publiſhed on the Exeter controverſy. As theſe (at leaſt his portion of them) were all on one ſide, he entertained no doubt of their infallibility, and being noiſy and diſputatious, was ſure to ſilence his opponents; and became, in conſequence of it, intolerably arrogant and conceited. He was not, however, indebted ſolely to his knowledge of the ſubject for his triumph: he was poſſeſſed of Fenning's dictionary, and he made a moſt ſingular uſe of it. His cuſtom was to fix on any word in common uſe, and then to get by heart the ſynonym, or periphraſis by which it was explained in the book; this he conſtantly ſubſtituted for the other, and as his opponents were commonly ignorant of his meaning, his victory was complete.

With ſuch a man I was not likely to add much to my ſtock of knowledge, ſmall as it was; and, indeed, nothing could well be ſmaller. At this period I had read nothing but a black letter romance called Pariſmus and Pariſmenus, and a few looſe magazines, which my mother had brought from South Molton. The Bible, indeed, I was well acquainted with; it was the favourite ſtudy of my grandmother, and reading it frequently with her had impreſſed it ſtrongly on my mind; theſe then with the imitation of Thomas à Kempis, which I uſed to read to my mother on her death bed, conſtituted the whole of my literary acquiſitions.

As I hated my new profeſſion with a perfect hatred, I made no progreſs in it; and was conſequently little regarded in the family, of which I ſunk by degrees into the common drudge: this did not much diſquiet me, for my ſpirits were now humbled. I did not, however, quite reſign the hope of one day ſucceeding to Mr. Hugh Smerdon, and, therefore, ſecretly profecuted

profecuted my favourite ſtudy, at every interval of leiſure.

Theſe intervals were not very frequent; and when the uſe I made of them was found out, they were rendered ſtill leſs ſo. I could not gueſs the motives for this at firſt; but at length, I diſcovered that my maſter deſtined his youngeſt ſon for the ſituation to which I aſpired.

I poſſeſſed at this time but one book in the world: it was a treatiſe on Algebra, given to me by a young woman, who had found it in a lodging houſe. I conſidered it as a treaſure; but it was a treaſure locked up: for it ſuppoſed the reader to be well acquainted with ſimple equation, and I knew nothing of the matter. My maſter's ſon had purchaſed Fenning's Introduction: this was preciſely what I wanted, but he carefully concealed it from me, and I was indebted to chance alone for ſtumbling upon his hiding place. I ſet up for the greateſt part of ſeveral nights ſucceſſively, and before he ſuſpected that his treatiſe was diſcovered, had completely maſtered it; I could now enter upon my own; and, that carried me pretty far into the ſcience.

This was not done without difficulty. I had not a farthing on earth, nor a friend to give me one: pen, ink and paper, therefore, (in deſpite of the flippant remark of Lord Orford,) were, for the moſt part, as completely out of my reach, as a crown and ſceptre. There was, indeed, a reſource, but the utmoſt caution and ſecrecy were neceſſary in applying to it. I beat out pieces of leather as ſmooth as poſſible, and wrought my problems upon them with a blunted awl: for the reſt, my memory was tenacious, and I could multiply and divide by it to a great extent.

Hitherto I had not ſo much as dreamt of poetry: indeed, I ſcarce knew it by name; and, whatever may be ſaid of the force of nature, I certainly never "liſp'd in numbers." I recollect the occaſion of my firſt attempt: it is, like all the reſt of my non-adventures, of ſo unimportant a nature, that I ſhould bluſh to call the attention of the idleſt reader to it, but for the reaſon alledged in the introductory paragraph. A perſon, whoſe name eſcapes me, had undertaken to paint a ſign for an alehouſe: it was to be a lion, but the unfortunate artiſt produced a dog. On this awkward affair, one of my acquaintance wrote a copy of what he called verſe: I liked it, but fancied I could compoſe ſomething more to the purpoſe: I tried, and by the unanimous ſuffrages of my ſhop-mates was allowed to have ſucceeded. Notwithſtanding this encouragement, I thought no more of verſe, till another occurrence, as trifling as the former, furniſhed me with a freſh ſubject: and ſo I went on, till I had got together about a dozen of them. Certainly nothing on earth was ever ſo deplorable: ſuch as they were, however, they were talked of in my little circle, and I was ſometimes invited to repeat them, even out of it. I never committed a line to paper for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe I had no paper; and ſecondly, perhaps I might be excuſed from going farther; but in truth I was afraid, for my maſter had

had already threatened me for inadvertently hitching the name of one of his cuſtomers into a rhyme.

The repetitions of which I ſpeak were always attended with applauſe, and ſometimes with favours more ſubſtantial: little collections were now and then made, and I have received ſixpence in an evening. To one who had long lived in the abſolute want of money, ſuch a reſource ſeemed like a Peruvian mine. I furniſhed myſelf by degrees with paper, and, what was of more importance, with books of Geometry, and of the higher branches of Algebra, which I cautiouſly concealed. Poetry, even at this time, was no amuſement of mine: it was ſubſervient to other purpoſes; and I only had recourſe to it, when I wanted money for my mathematical purſuits.

But the clouds were gathering faſt. My maſter's anger was raiſed to a terrible pitch by my indifference to his concerns, and ſtill more by the reports which were daily brought to him of my preſumptuous attempts at verſification. I was required to give up my papers, and when I refuſed, my garret was ſearched, my little hoard of books diſcovered, and removed, and all future repetitions prohibited in the ſtricteſt manner.

This was a very ſevere ſtroke, and I felt it moſt ſenſibly; it was followed by another ſeverer ſtill; a ſtroke which cruſhed the hopes I had ſo long, and ſo fondly cheriſhed, and reſigned me at once to deſpair. Mr. Hugh Smerdon, on whoſe ſucceſſion I had calculated, died, and was ſucceeded by a perſon not much older than myſelf, and certainly not ſo well qualified for the ſituation.

I look back to that part of my life, which immediately followed this event, with little ſatisfaction; it was a period of gloom, and ſavage unſociability: by degrees I ſunk into a kind of corporeal torpor; or, if rouſed into activity by the ſpirit of youth, waſted the exertion in ſplenetic and vexatious tricks, which alienated the few acquaintances compaſſion, had yet left me. So I crept on in ſilent diſcontent; unfriended and unpitied; indignant at the preſent, careleſs of the future, an object at once of apprehenſion and diſlike.

From this ſtate of abjectneſs, I was raiſed by a young woman of my own claſs. She was a neighbour; and, whenever I took my ſolitary walk, with my Wolfius in my pocket, ſhe uſually came to the door, and by a ſmile, or a ſhort queſtion put in the friendlieſt manner, endeavoured to ſolicit my attention. My heart had been long ſhut to kindneſs, but the ſentiment was not dead in me: it revived at the firſt encouraging word; and the gratitude I felt for it was the firſt pleaſing ſenſation I had ventured to entertain for many dreary months.

Together with gratitude, hope, and other paſſions ſtill more enlivening, took place of that uncomfortable gloomineſs, which ſo lately poſſeſſed me: I returned to my companions, and, by every winning art in my power, ſtrove to make them forget my former repulſive ways. In this, I was not unſucceſsful; I recovered their good will, and by degrees, grew to be ſomewhat of a favourite.

My maſter ſtill murmured; for the buſineſs of the ſhop went on

no

no better than before: I comforted myself, however, with the reflection that my apprenticeship was drawing to a conclusion, when I determined to renounce the employment for ever, and to open a private school.

In this humble and obscure state, poor beyond the common lot, yet flattering my ambition with day dreams, which, perhaps, would never have been realized, I was found in the twentieth year of my age, by Mr. William Cookesley, a name never to be pronounced by me without veneration. The lamentable doggerel, which I have already mentioned, and which had passed from mouth to mouth among people of my own degree, had by some accident or other reached his ear, and given him a curiosity to inquire after the author.

It was my good fortune to interest his benevolence. My little history was not untinctured with melancholy, and I laid it fairly before him: his first care was to console, his second, which he cherished to the last moment of his existence, was to relieve and support me.

Mr. Cookesley was not rich: his eminence in his profession, which was that of a surgeon, procured him, indeed, much employment; but, in a country town, men of science are not the most liberally rewarded; he had besides, a very numerous family, which left him little for the purposes of general benevolence: that little, however, was chearfully bestowed, and his activity and zeal, were always at hand to supply the deficiences of his fortune.

On examining into the nature of my literary attainments, he found them absolutely nothing: he heard, however, with equal surprise and pleasure, that amidst the grossest ignorance of books, I had made a very considerable progress in the mathematics. He engaged me to enter into the details of this affair; and, when he learned that I had made it in circumstances of discouragement and danger, he became more warmly interested in my favour, as he now saw a possibility of serving me.

The plan that occurred to him, was naturally that which had so often suggested itself to me. There were, indeed, several obstacles to be overcome: I had eighteen months yet to serve; my hand-writing was bad, and my language very incorrect; but nothing could slacken the zeal of this excellent man; he procured a few of my poor attempts at rhyme, dispersed them amongst his friends and acquaintance, and when my name was become somewhat familiar to them, set on foot a subscription for my relief. I still preserve the original paper; its title was not very magnificent, though it exceeded the most sanguine wishes of my heart: it ran thus, "a subscription for purchasing the remainder of the time of William Gifford, and for enabling him to improve himself in writing and English Grammar." Few contributed more than five shillings, and none went beyond ten and sixpence: enough, however, was collected to free me from my apprenticeship, (the sum my master received was six pounds,) and to maintain me for a few months, during which I assiduously attended the Rev. Thomas Smerdon.

At the expiration of this period, it

it was found, that my progreſs (for I will ſpeak the truth in modeſty,) had been more conſiderable than my patrons expected: I had alſo written in the interim ſeveral little pieces of poetry, leſs rugged, I ſuppoſe, than my former ones, and certainly with fewer anomalies of language. My preceptor, too, ſpoke favourably of me; and my benefactor, who was now become my father and my friend, had little difficulty in perſuading my patrons to renew their donations, and continue me at ſchool for another year. Such liberality was not loſt upon me; I grew anxious to make the beſt return in my power, and I redoubled my diligence. Now, that I am ſunk into indolence, I look back with ſome degree of ſcepticiſm to the exertions of that period.

In two years and two months from the day of my emancipation, I was pronounced by Mr. Smerdon, fit for the Univerſity. The plan of opening a writing ſchool had been abandoned almoſt from the firſt; and, Mr. Cookeſley looked round for ſome one who had intereſt enough to procure me ſome little office at Oxford. This perſon, who was ſoon found, was Thomas Taylor, Eſq. of Denbury, a gentleman to whom I had already been indebted for much liberal and friendly ſupport. He procured me the place of Bib. Lect. at Exeter college; and this, with ſuch occaſional aſſiſtance from the country, as Mr. Cookeſley undertook to provide, was thought ſufficient to enable me to live, at leaſt, till I had taken a degree.

During my attendance on Mr. Smerdon, I had written, as I had obſerved before, ſeveral tuneful trifles, ſome as exerciſes, others voluntarily, (for poetry was now become my delight,) and, not a few at the deſire of my friends. When I became capable, however, of reading Latin and Greek with ſome degree of facility, that gentleman employed all my leiſure hours in tranſlations from the Claſſics; and, indeed, I do not know a ſingle ſchool book, of which I did not render ſome portion into Engliſh verſe. Among others, Juvenal engaged my attention, or rather my maſter's, and I tranſlated the tenth ſatire for a holyday taſk. Mr. Smerdon was much pleaſed with this, (I was not undelighted with it myſelf;) and, as I was now become fond of the author, he eaſily perſuaded me to proceed with him, and I tranſlated in ſucceſſion the third, the fourth, the twelfth, and I think the eighth Satires. As I had no end in view, but that of giving a temporary ſatisfaction to my benefactors, I thought little more of theſe, than of many other things of the ſame nature, which I wrote from time to time, and, of which I never copied a ſingle line.

On my removing to Exeter College, however, my friend, ever attentive to my concerns, adviſed me to copy my tranſlation of the Tenth Satire, and preſent it, on my arrival, to the Rev. Dr. Stinton, (afterwards Rector) to whom Mr. Taylor had given me an introductory letter: I did ſo, and it was kindly received. Thus encouraged, I took up the firſt and ſecond ſatires, (I mention them in the order they were tranſlated,) when my friend, who had ſedulouſly watched my progreſs, firſt ſtarted the idea of my going

through the whole, and publiſhing it by ſubſcription, as a means of increaſing my means of ſubſiſtence. To this I readily acceded, and finiſhed the thirteenth, eleventh, and fifteenth ſatires: the remainder were the work of a much later period.

When I had got thus far, we thought it a fit time to mention our deſign; it was very generally approved of by my friends; and, on the firſt of January, 1781, the ſubſcription was opened by Mr. Cookeſley at Aſhburton, and by myſelf at Exeter College.

So bold an undertaking, ſo precipitately announced, will give the reader, I fear, a higher opinion of my conceit than of my talents: neither the one nor the other, however, had the ſmalleſt concern with the buſineſs, which originated ſolely in ignorance: I wrote verſes with great facility, and I was ſimple enough to imagine, that little more was neceſſary for a tranſlator of Juvenal! I was not, indeed, unconſcious of my inaccuracies: I knew that they were numerous, and, that I had need of ſome friendly eye to point them out, and ſome judicious hand to rectify or remove them: but for theſe as well as for every thing elſe, I looked to Mr. Cookeſley, and that worthy man, with his uſual alacrity of kindneſs; undertook the laborious taſk of reviſing the whole tranſlation. My friend was no great Latiniſt, perhaps I was the better of the two; but he had taſte and judgment, which I wanted. What advantages might have been ultimately derived from them, there was unhappily no opportunity of aſcertaining, as it pleaſed the Almighty to call him to himſelf, by a ſudden death, before we had quite finiſhed the firſt ſatire. He died with a letter of mine unopened in his hands.

This event, which took place on the 15th of January, 1781, afflicted me beyond meaſure. I was not only deprived of a moſt faithful and affectionate friend, but of a zealous and ever active protector, on whom I confidently relied for ſupport: the ſums that were ſtill neceſſary for me, he always collected; and it was to be feared, that the aſſiſtance which was not ſolicited with warmth, would inſenſibly ceaſe to be afforded.

In many inſtances, this was actually the caſe: the deſertion, however, was not general; and I was encouraged to hope, by the unexpected friendſhip of Servington Savery, a gentleman who voluntarily ſtood forward as my patron, and watched over my intereſts with kindneſs and attention.

Some time before Mr. Cookeſley's death, we had agreed, that it would be proper to deliver out with the terms of ſubſcription, a ſpecimen of the manner in which the tranſlation was executed: to obviate any idea of ſelection, a ſheet was accordingly taken from the beginning of the firſt ſatire. My friend died while it was in the preſs.

After a few melancholy weeks, I reſumed the tranſlation; but found myſelf utterly incapable of proceeding. I had been ſo accuſtomed to connect Mr. Cookeſley's name with every part of it, and I laboured with ſuch delight in the hope of giving him pleaſure, that now, when he appeared to have left me in the midſt of my enter-

enterprize, and I was abandoned to my own efforts, I ſeemed to be engaged in a hopeleſs ſtruggle, without motive or end: and his idea, which was perpetually recurring to me, brought ſuch bitter anguiſh with it, that I ſhut up the work with feelings bordering on diſtraction.

To relieve my mind I had recourſe to other purſuits. I endeavoured to become more intimately acquainted with the claſſics, and to acquire ſome of the modern languages; by permiſſion too, or rather recommendation, of the rector and fellows, I alſo undertook the care of a few pupils: this removed much of my anxiety reſpecting my future means of ſupport. I have a heartfelt pleaſure in mentioning this indulgence of my college: it could ariſe from nothing but the liberal deſire inherent, I think, in the members of both our univerſities, to encourage every thing that bears the moſt diſtant reſemblance to talents: for I had no claims on them from any particular exertions.

The lapſe of many months had now ſoothed, and tranquilized my mind, and I once more returned to the tranſlation, to which a wiſh to ſerve a young man ſurrounded with difficulties, had induced a number of reſpectable characters to ſet their names: but alas, what a mortification! I now diſcovered, for the firſt time, that my own inexperience, and the advice of my too, too partial friend had engaged me in a work, for the due execution of which, my literary attainments were by no means ſufficient. Errors and miſconceptions appeared in every page. I had, indeed, caught ſomething of the ſpirit of Juvenal, but his meaning had frequently eſcaped me, and I ſaw the neceſſity of a long and painful reviſion, which would carry me far beyond the period fixed for the appearance of the work. Alarmed at the proſpect, I inſtantly reſolved (if not wiſely, yet I truſt honeſtly) to renounce the publication for the preſent.

In purſuance of this reſolution, I wrote to my friend in the country, (Rev. Servington Savery), requeſting him to return the ſubſcription money in his hands to the ſubſcribers. He did not approve of my plan; nevertheleſs he promiſed, in a letter which now lies before me, to comply with it; and, in a ſubſequent one, added, that he had already begun to do ſo.

For myſelf, I alſo made ſeveral repayments; and truſted a ſum of money to make others, with a fellow collegian, who, not long after, fell by his own hands in the preſence of his father. But there were ſtill ſome whoſe abode could not be diſcovered, and others, on whom to preſs the taking back of eight ſhillings would neither be decent nor reſpectful: even from theſe I ventured to flatter myſelf that I ſhould find pardon, when on ſome future day I preſented them with the work, (which I was ſtill ſecretly determined to complete) rendered more worthy of their patronage, and encreaſed, by notes, which I now perceived to be abſolutely neceſſary, to more than double its propoſed ſize.

In the leiſure of a country reſidence, I fancied this might be done in two years; perhaps I was not too ſanguine: the experiment, however, was not made, for about this time a circumſtance happened which

changed my views, and indeed my whole ſyſtem of life.

I had contracted an acquaintance with a perſon of the name of ———, recommended to my particular notice by a gentleman of Devonſhire, whom I was proud of an opportunity to oblige. This perſon's reſidence at Oxford was not long, and when he returned to town, I maintained a correſpondence with him by letters. At his particular requeſt, theſe were incloſed in a cover, and ſent to Lord Groſvenor: one day I inadvertently omitted the direction, and his lordſhip, neceſſarily ſuppoſing it to be meant for himſelf, opened and read it. There was ſomething in it which attracted his notice; and when he gave the letter to my friend, he had the curioſity to enquire about his correſpondent at Oxford; and, upon the anſwer he received, the kindneſs to deſire he might be brought to ſee him upon his coming to town: to this circumſtance, purely accidental on all ſides, and to this alone, I owe my introduction to that nobleman.

On my firſt viſit, he aſked me what friends I had, and what were my proſpects in life; and I told him I had no friends, and no proſpects of any kind. He ſaid no more: but when I called to take leave, previous to returning to college, I found that this ſimple expoſure of my circumſtances had ſunk deep into his mind. At parting, he informed me that he charged himſelf with my preſent ſupport, and future eſtabliſhment; and that till this laſt could be effected to my wiſh, I ſhould come and reſide with him. Theſe were not words of courſe: they were more than fulfilled in every point. I did go and reſide with him; and I experienced a warm and cordial reception, a kind and affectionate eſteem, that has known neither diminution nor interruption, from that hour to this, a period of twenty years!

In his lordſhip's houſe I proceeded with Juvenal, till I was called upon to accompany his ſon, (one of the moſt amiable and accompliſhed young noblemen that this country, fertile in ſuch characters, could ever boaſt), to the continent. With him, in two ſucceſſive tours, I ſpent many years: years of which the remembrance will always be dear to me, from the recollection that a friendſhip was then contracted, which time, and a more intimate knowledge of each other, have mellowed into a regard that forms at once the pride and happineſs of my life.

It is long ſince I have been returned and ſettled in the boſom of competence and peace: my tranſlation frequently engaged my thoughts; but I had loſt the ardour and confidence of youth, and was ſeriouſly doubtful of my abilities to do it juſtice. I have wiſhed a thouſand times that I could decline it altogether; but the ever recurring idea that there were people of the deſcription I have already mentioned, who had juſt and forcible claims on me for the due performance of my engagement, forbad the thought; and I ſlowly proceeded towards the completion of a work in which I ſhould never have engaged, had my friend's inexperience, or my own ſuffered us to ſuſpect for a moment the labour, and talents of more than one kind, abſolutely neceſſary to its ſucceſs in any tolerable degree. Such as I could

could make it, it is now before the public.

——— Majora canamus.

The Life of Juvenal.

From the same.

DECIMUS Junius Juvenalis, was born at Aquinum, a considerable town of the Volsci, about the year of Christ 38. He was either the son or the foster son, of a wealthy freedman, who gave him a liberal education. From the period of his birth, till he had attained the age of forty, nothing more is known of him than that he continued to perfect himself in the study of eloquence, by declaiming according to the practice of those days: yet more for his own amusement than for any intention to prepare himself, either for the schools or courts of law. About this time, he seems to have discovered his true bent, and betaken himself to poetry. Domitian was now at the head of the government, and shewed symptoms of reviving that system of favouritism, which had nearly ruined the empire under Claudius, by his unbounded partiality for a young pantomime dancer of the name of Paris. Against this minion, Juvenal seems to have directed the first shafts of that satire which was destined to make the most powerful vices tremble, and shake the masters of the world on their thrones. He composed a few lines on the influence of Paris, with considerable success, which encouraged him to cultivate this kind of poetry: he had the prudence, however, not to trust himself to an auditory, in a reign which swarmed with informers; and his compositions were, therefore, secretly handed about amongst his friends. By degrees, he grew bolder; and, having made many large additions to his first sketch, or perhaps recast it, produced what is now called his Seventh Satire, which he recited to a numerous audience. The consequences were such as he had probably anticipated: Paris, informed of the part he bore in it, was seriously offended, and complained to the emperor, who, as the old account has it, sent the author, by an easy kind of punishment, into Egypt with a military command. To remove such a man from his court, must undoubtedly have been desirable to Domitian; and, as he was spoken of with kindness in the same satire, which is entirely free from political allusions, the "facetiousness" of the punishment (though Domitian's was not a facetious reign) renders the fact not altogether improbable. Yet, when we consider that these reflections on Paris could scarcely have been published before 84, and that the favourite was disgraced and put to death almost immediately after, we shall be inclined to doubt whether his banishment actually took place; or, if it did, whether it was of any long duration. That Juvenal was in Egypt is certain; but he might have gone there from motives of personal safety, or, as Salmasius had it, of curiosity. However this may be, it does not appear that he was ever long absent from Rome, where a thousand internal marks clearly shew that all his satires were written. But whatever punishment might have followed the complaint of Paris, it had no other effect on

our author, than increasing his hatred of tyranny, and turning his indignation upon the emperor himself, whose hypocrisy, cruelty, and licentiousness, became, from that period, the object of his keenest reprobation. He profited, indeed, so far by his danger or his punishment, as to recite no more in public; but he continued to write during Domitian's reign, in which he finished as I conceive, his second, third, fifth, sixth, and perhaps thirteenth satires; the eighth I have always looked upon as his first.

In 95, when Juvenal was in his 54th year, Domitian banished the philosophers from Rome, and soon after from Italy, with many circumstances of cruelty; an action, for which I am sorry to observe, he is covertly praised by Quintilian. Though Juvenal, strictly speaking, did not come under the description of a philosopher, yet he might not unreasonably entertain some apprehensions for his safety, and, with many other persons eminent for learning and virtue, judged it prudent to withdraw from the city. To this period I have always inclined to fix his journey to Egypt. Two years afterwards the world was happily delivered from the tyranny of Domitian; and Nerva, who succeeded, recalled the exiles. From this time, there remains little doubt of his being at Rome, where he continued his studies in tranquillity.

His first satire, after the death of Domitian, seems to have been what is here called the fourth. About this time, too, he probably thought of revising and publishing those he had already written; and composed that introductory piece, which now stands at the head of his works. As the order is every where broken in upon, it is utterly impossible to arrange them chronologically; but I am inclined to think that the eleventh satire closed his poetical career. All else is conjecture; but in this he speaks of himself as an old man.

"Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem."

And indeed he had now passed his grand climacteric.

This is all that can be collected of the life of Juvenal; and how much of this is built upon uncertainties! I hope, however, it bears the stamp of probability; which is all I contend for; and which indeed, if I do not deceive myself, is somewhat more than can be affirmed of what has been hitherto delivered on the subject.

Little is known of his circumstances; but, happily, that little is authentic, as it comes from himself. He had a competence. The dignity of poetry is never disgraced in him, as it is in some of his contemporaries, by fretful complaints of poverty, or clamorous whinings for meat and clothes:—the little patrimony his fosterfather left him, he never diminished, and probably never increased. It seems to have equalled all his wants, and, as far as appears, all his wishes. Once only he regrets the narrowness of his fortune: but the occasion does him honour; it is solely because he cannot afford a more costly sacrifice to express his pious gratitude for the preservation of his friend: yet "two lambs and a youthful steer," bespeak the affluence of a philosopher; which is not belied by the entertainment provided for his friend Persicus, in that beautiful satire which I have called the last of his

his works. Farther it is uſeleſs to ſeek; from pride or modeſty, he has left no other notices of himſelf; or they have periſhed. Horace and Perſius, his immediate predeceſſors, are never weary of ſpeaking of themſelves. The life of the former might be written, from his own materials, with the minuteneſs of a contemporary hiſtory: and the latter, who attained to little more than a third of Juvenal's age, has left nothing to be deſired on the only topics which could intereſt poſterity,—his parent, his preceptor, and his ſtudies.

Account of Archbiſhop Laud.

From Coates's Hiſtory of Reading.

WILLIAM Laud was born at Reading, October 7, 1573; he was the ſon of William Laud, a native of Wokingham, who was a clothier in Reading; and of Lucia, his wife, the widow of John Robinſon, of the ſame place. She was the daughter of John Webbe, and ſiſter to Sir William Webbe, ſalter, lord mayor of London, in 1591. William Laud was churchwarden of St. Lawrence's pariſh in 1587, and died in 1594. He left his ſon, after his mother's deceaſe, the houſe which he inhabited in Broad-ſtreet, and two others in Swallowfield; 1200*l.* in money, and the ſtock in trade. His widow was to have the intereſt of half the eſtate during her life. She died in 1600.

The houſe, in which tradition tells us that the archbiſhop was born, is ſituated on the north-ſide of Broad-ſtreet, and is diſtinguiſhed by a ſemicircular termination of the brick front in the upper ſtory. Prynne affirms that the archbiſhop was born of poor and obſcure parents, in a cottage juſt over againſt the cage; and that when he was advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, the cage was removed to ſome other place, the cottage pulled down and new built. But the priſon, called the Grate, and ſometimes the Compter, near St. Lawrence's Church, was a common priſon for the town, ſo early as the fourth year of Edward VI. In 1546, the Cage, now the Compter Priſon, ſtood in the market place; and, in the churchwarden's accounts of 1551, the Cage is ſtill deſcribed to be in the market place; and the Grate, the other place of confinement, near St. Lawrence's church, is likewiſe mentioned.

This aſſertion of Prynne ſcarcely deſerves refutation; but the ſame ſort of abuſe was repeated by Lord Say, in his ſpeech reſpecting the liturgy, and thus anſwered by the archbiſhop. "I ſee his lordſhip "reſolves to rake me up from my "very birth. It is true, I am a "man of ordinary, but very ho-"neſt, birth: and the memory of "my parents favours very well to "this day, in the town of Reading "where I was born. Nor was I "ſo meanly born, as perhaps my "lord would inſinuate; for my "father had borne all offices in the "town, ſave the mayoralty. And "my immediate predeceſſor whom "I am ſure my lord himſelf ac-"counted very worthy of his "place, was as meanly born as "myſelf, his father being of the "ſame trade in Guildford that "mine was of in Reading."

Laud was educated at the free ſchool in Reading, where he continued till July, 1589, when he was admitted of St. John's college in Oxford, choſen a ſcholar on Sir

Thomas White's foundation, the following year; and fellow in June, 1593. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1594; M. A. in 1598, in which year he was chosen grammar lecturer; and being ordained deacon, January 4, 1600, and priest in 1601, he read, in the following year, a divinity lecture in the college, which was then maintained by a Mrs. May. He was the last who read it. In some of these exercises he defended the perpetual visibility of the church of Rome, as a part of the church of Christ, till the reformation: by which he incurred the displeasure of the vice-chancellor, Dr. Abbot, who maintained that the church of Christ might be traced through other channels to the time of the reformation.

In 1603, Laud was one of the proctors of the university, and, in the same year, became chaplain to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, whom he married, in 1605, to Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, the wife of Robert Lord Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick. This he did, very inadvertently, when the parties were in a state of separation only: and it exposed him to much censure, as well as to the reproaches of his own mind; for he kept the anniversary as a day of fasting and humiliation during the remainder of his life. He proceeded B. D. in 1604, and, in his exercise for this degree, maintained the necessity of baptism and episcopal government, by which he displeased the puritans: and, in a sermon before the university, in 1606, he gave great offence to the Calvinists.

In 1607, he obtained the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in 1608, the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire. He put the parsonage houses of these livings into good repair, and gave twelve poor people a constant allowance out of them, which was his settled practice in all his subsequent preferments. The following year, being D. D. and chaplain to Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester, he preached his first sermon before King James, at Theobalds, September 17, 1609. In May following, he was presented to Cuckstone, in Kent, by the Bishop of Rochester; and, in October, resigned his fellowship. Cuckstone proving an unhealthy aguish situation, he exchanged it for Norton; a living of less value, but in a better air.

In May, 1611, he was chosen president of St. John's, in the room of Dr. Buckeridge, promoted to the see of Rochester. At the time of the election, he was sick in London; and there was a strong opposition to his being chosen, partly occasioned by Archbishop Abbot's complaint of him to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, then chancellor of the university. Dr. Baylie, afterwards president, was very violent against him. His election was disputed, and brought before King James; who confirmed it after an attentive hearing of three hours at Tichbourn; and in November following, appointed him one of his chaplains. In 1614, Neile then Bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and, in 1615, the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. The next year, he was promoted by the king to the deanery of Gloucester, and attended him into Scotland; at his return, he was inducted into the rectory of Ibstock, in Leicestershire,

ſhire, when he reſigned Norton and Weſt Tilbury. In 1620, he ſucceeded to a prebend of Weſtminſter: and it was thought he would have had the deanery of that church, but Dr. Williams obtained permiſſion to hold it, in commendam, with his biſhoprick of Lincoln; and Laud, being appointed Biſhop of St. David's, had leave to hold Ibſtock and the preſidency of St. John's. The king likewiſe gave him the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonſhire; but he reſigned St. John's, in conformity to the college ſtatutes, before his conſecration. In 1622, was held the famous conference of Biſhop Laud, with Fiſher the Jeſuit; in preſence of the Marquis of Buckingham and his mother, to confirm them in the Proteſtant religion, in which they both were wavering.

By the contrivance of Biſhop Williams, the lordkeeper, and Archbiſhop Abbot, Laud was left out of the high commiſſion; but his name was inſerted afterwards, on his complaint to the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he was now a conſiderable favourite, although he oppoſed the duke's deſign of appropriating the endowment of the Charter-houſe to the maintenance of an army.

On Candlemas day, 1625, he officiated at the coronation of Charles I. in the place of Biſhop Williams, the dean of Weſtminſter, who was not in favour with the king. The biſhop was permitted to make choice of any prebendary; but, to avoid all exceptions, he ſent the names of all the prebendaries to the king, who made choice of Laud. The coronation oath was ſaid to have been altered by Laud; and in that part where the king ſwears "to maintain the "laws," that this addition was made, "ſo far forth as it ſtands "with the prerogative:" or, as it appears in Mr. H. Wharton's preface, "ſaving the king's prerogative royal." This accuſation was renewed by Lord Chief Baron Atkins, in his ſpeech to the Lord Mayor, October, 1693, with a hint that Archbiſhop Sancroft had ſtruck out much more from the coronation oath of James II. Archbiſhop Laud vindicated himſelf at his trial, by having the books of the coronation of King James and King Charles compared, which were found to agree. He was tranſlated to Bath and Wells in 1626, and appointed dean of the chapel royal; in 1627, he was made a privy counſeller, and one of the commiſſioners of Archbiſhop Abbot's ſequeſtration on account of accidental homicide; and in 1628, he was tranſlated to the ſee of London. In April, 1630, he was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.

After the Duke of Buckingham's murder, Laud became a great favourite with the king, which only increaſed the ill-will and jealouſy raiſed againſt him by the ſevere proſecutions of ſeveral libellous preachers and writers, in the ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſioned courts. His proſecuting the king's printers, for leaving out the word *not*, in the ſeventh commandment, was highly commendable. In 1633, he attended the king to his coronation in Scotland, where he was appointed a privy counſellor of that kingdom. During his ſtay there, he formed the reſolution of bringing that church to a conformity with the Church of England; a mea-

a meaſure highly unpopular, and, in ſome degree, productive of the violent death of himſelf and his royal maſter.

Upon the death of Archbiſhop Abbot, whom he had long wiſhed to ſupplant, as his enemies affirmed, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury. That very morning, Auguſt 4, 1633, one came to him to Greenwich, with a ſerious offer of a cardinal's hat, and an avowed ability to procure it. The offer was repeated on the 17th of the ſame month; but the archbiſhop's anſwer, on both occaſions was the ſame, "that ſomewhat dwelt "within him, which would not "ſuffer *that*, till Rome were other "than it is."

One of his firſt acts after his advancement to the archbiſhoprick, was an injunction, October 18, purſuant to the king's letter, that no clergyman ſhould be ordained without a title. This was one of the charges upon his trial, as deſigned "to ſuppreſs preaching, by "diſcouraging conſcientious young "ſcholars and divines from enter-"ing into the miniſtry, by putting "divers clogs and difficulties upon "them." At the ſame time, was publiſhed the king's declaration concerning lawful ſports on Sundays, which the archbiſhop was ſuppoſed to have reviſed and enlarged. This declaration, with the proſecution of ſuch clergymen as refuſed to read it in their churches, brought upon him the hatred of the puritans, and of the more conſcientious obſervers of the ſabbath. Equally offenſive was the removal of the communion table to the eaſt end of the church, and its being ſurrounded with rails, to prevent indecent accidents: in ſome places, it was alſo thought a vexatious innovation, that the communicants were obliged to receive the elements at the communion table and not in their own pews.

This year, the archbiſhop improved and ſettled the revenues of the London clergy, and obtained for thoſe of Ireland a grant of all impropriations then remaining in the crown; which was called "robbing of the crown;" and both theſe acts were part of the charges againſt him at his trial. In 1634, he was appointed one of the committee of trade and revenue, and, on the death of Weſton, Earl of Portland, he was made a commiſſioner of the treaſury and exchequer: in which ſituation he had an opportunity of ordering all the records of the Tower concerning the clergy to be collected, and tranſcribed on vellum at his own expence. "This book," ſays A. Wood, "was brought to him "finiſhed, curiouſly written, and "richly bound, on June 10, 1637. "It commences with the 20th of "Edward I. and reaches to the "14th of Edward IV. and is at "this time reſerved as a choice "rarity in the library at Lam-"beth." After continuing commiſſioner of the treaſury for a year, the archbiſhop procured the lord treaſurer's ſtaff for Dr. William Juxon, who, through his intereſt had been ſucceſſively advanced to be preſident of St. John's college, Dean of Worceſter, clerk of the cloſet, and Biſhop of London.

During this year, the canons for the Scottiſh liturgy, which had been publiſhed in 1635, were brought into uſe, and occaſioned moſt violent tumults in Edinburgh, with

with great abuſe of the archbiſhop, who was the compiler of them; and the chief promoter of the liturgy. The ſevere proſecution of Prynne, Baſtwick, and Burton, in the ſtar-chamber, about this time, added much to his unpopularity; together with the proſecution of Biſhop Williams and Lambert Oſbaledeſton, the maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool. Equally offenſive to the public was a decree of the ſame court, reducing the number of maſter printers, and ordering that no books ſhould be printed without licence from the archbiſhop, or the biſhop of London, their chaplains, the chancellors, or vice-chancellors of the univerſities. The archbiſhop fell under the queen's diſpleaſure this year, by ſpeaking with ſome warmth, at the council table, againſt the increaſe of papiſts, their reſort to Denmark houſe, and ſome endeavours to convert the king to popery. The queen was acquainted with all that he had ſaid that very night, and continued much diſpleaſed; but the archbiſhop had an opportunity of obtaining ſome particular requeſt of the queen from king Charles in 1639, when he was marching into Scotland againſt the covenanters, which reſtored him to her majeſty's favour. All theſe circumſtances were highly cenſured, and made part of the charges at his trial; as was the letter which he wrote, exhorting the biſhops and clergy to contribute liberally towards raiſing an army againſt the Scots.

In 1639, the archbiſhop employed Mr. Petley to tranſlate the liturgy into Greek; and, at his requeſt, Dr. Joſeph Hall, biſhop of Exeter, compoſed his learned treatiſe of "Epiſcopacy by divine right, "aſſerted." On December 9, he was one of the three privy counſellors who adviſed the king to call a parliament on account of the Scottiſh rebellion; at which time, a reſolution was taken to aſſiſt the king in extraordinary ways, if the parliament ſhould "prove peeviſh, "and refuſe ſupplies," which deſign and expreſſion, was particularly cenſured at his trial. The new parliament met on April 13, 1640, and the convocation on the day following; but, the commons inſiſting on a redreſs of grievances, the parliament was diſſolved: yet the convocation continued ſitting, according to an opinion of the judges that it might legally do ſo; and ſome canons made in it gave great offence. The blame of cauſing the diſſolution was charged on the archbiſhop; though, by a miſtake of the meſſenger, he came too late to the council board, and found the reſolution already taken. On June 4, by the contrivance of John Lilburn, then a priſoner in the Fleet, two papers were fixed up at the old Exchange ſigned by him, exciting the apprentices to aſſault Lambeth palace on the Monday following; when above 5000 aſſembled there. The archbiſhop had ſecured the palace as well as he could, and retired to Whitehall. One of the ringleaders was executed; another, ſays his conſtant adverſary Prynne, the archbiſhop cauſed to be racked. Among other outrages, the mob broke into the priſons, and releaſed all who were confined there.

On December 4, the archbiſhop was examined in the Earl of Strafford's caſe; and when the commons came to debate on the late canons voted by the convocation,

tion, he was repreſented to be the author, and a committee was appointed to prepare a charge againſt him, and the ſame morning he was ſtiled an incendiary by the Scottiſh commiſſioners.

On December 18, Mr. Denzill Holles, ſecond ſon to John Earl of Clare, by order of the commons, came up to the lords, and accuſed the archbiſhop of high treaſon, telling them that the Commons would bring their proofs at a convenient time; deſiring that he might be committed to ſafe cuſtody, until the articles of impeachment were fully prepared. He was then conveyed to the cuſtody of the black rod; and, after ten weeks, on February 16, Sir H. Vane produced fourteen articles againſt him, ſo that on March 1, 1640, he was committed to the Tower amidſt the inſults of the mob.

The archbiſhop's enemies now gave full vent to all their paſſions and prejudices, previous to his trial. He was ordered, with all who had been concerned in the ſentence againſt Burton, Prynne, and Baſtwick, to make them reparation; and to pay 500*l.* to Sir Robert Howard, for falſe impriſonment*. His arms were carried with great parade in carts to Guildhall, and maliciouſly repreſented as ſufficient for 2000 men; his houſe was plundered of what money could be found, and none of the wood or coal was allowed him at the Tower. His goods and books were ſeized, and the goods ſold; likewiſe an ordinance of parliament was paſſed, prohibiting his diſpoſal of any benefice without the permiſſion of both houſes. On May 31, by the authority of a warrant from the committee who were managers of the trial, Prynne went very early to the Tower, while the archbiſhop was in his bed, and robbed him of all his papers, particularly his diary; every paſſage of which, that could poſſibly be miſinterpreted, was turned againſt him upon his trial.

The Houſe of Commons had endeavoured to compel the archbiſhop to give the rectory of Chartham, in Kent, to one of their appointment; and, on his refuſal, ſequeſtered all his temporalities, by an ordinance of June 10, ſuſpended him from his office and benefice, and from all juriſdiction whatſoever. In order to inflame the populace, Prynne publiſhed his "Rome's Maſter Piece;" and thoſe who preached in the Tower reviled the archbiſhop to his face, in their ſermons.

On October 24, an order was brought to the archbiſhop, from the lords, with ten additional articles of impeachment from the Commons, adding to the charge of treaſon "other high crimes and miſde-"meanours." He petitioned for his papers, but the committee of ſequeſtrations would not grant them, nor permit any copies, but at his own expence; and as to any allowance for the charges of his trial, it was inſultingly ſaid by Mr. Glyn, "that he might plead "in *forma pauperis.*" At length Mr. Dall, his ſecretary, was appointed his ſolicitor, and Mr. Herne, of Lincoln's Inn, his counſel; and two more ſervants were ſent to him for his aſſiſtance.

* He was living in open adultery with the lady Purbeck; and both were impriſoned by an order of the High Commiſſion Court, at the King's particular command.

After

After nearly three years imprisonment, on November 13, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and put in his answer in writing, in this form; "all advantages of law against "this impeachment saved and reserved to this defendant, he "pleads not guilty, to all and "every part of the impeachment, "in manner and form, as it is "charged in the articles;" and to this answer the archbishop then set his hand.

He petitioned that his counsel might be heard, and might advise him, both with regard to law and fact; which was allowed in things not charged as treason. On January the 8th, there was an order for the archbishop's appearance, but, at his request, it was postponed to the 16th; when the committee began with the former general articles, to which the archbishop had put in no answer, nor ever joined issue; therefore he was peremptorily commanded to put in his answer both to the original and additional articles in writing, which he did, pleading, in general, not guilty.

On Tuesday, March the 12th, 1643, the trial was opened in form; the original and additional articles of impeachment were read, and, after that, the archbishop's answer, plea, and demurrer to them. He requested that the charge and evidence to all the articles might be given together; and the articles of misdemeanor separated from those of treason; to which Mr. Maynard answered, that, in the Earl of Strafford's trial, he was put to answer every day the particular evidence given that day: that they were now only to try matters of fact, not of law, and that all the articles collectively, not any one separately, made up the charge of treason. Serjeant Wilde then made a long speech, upon the charge of high treason, "in the highest pitch "and altitude," insisting chiefly on the archbishop's attachment to popery, and his intended introduction of it into England: concluding with these words, that "Naaman was a great man, but "he was a leper;" and that the archbishop's leprosy had so infected all, "as there remained no other "cure but the sword of justice." The archbishop replied to the several charges, and mentioned various persons whom he had brought back from the Romish religion, particularly Sir William Webbe, his kinsman, and two of his daughters: his son he took from him; and, his father being utterly decayed, bred him at his own charge, and educated him in the protestant religion. At the conclusion, while they were withdrawing, Hugh Peters, who stood near the archbishop, demanded of him "whether he was not "ashamed to make so bold a chal-"lenge, as he had made in the "the close of his speech, in bid-"ding any clergyman of the "church of England come forth, "and give a better account of his "zeal to the church, and conversion "of Papists:" adding, that "he "himself could produce a catalo-"gue of 120 converts."

The trial lasted above twenty days, and, on September 2, 1644, the archbishop made a recapitulation of the whole cause: but, as soon as he came into the house, he saw every lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue cover; which was his diary, printed by Prynne, with notes of his own, to disgrace

disgrace the archbishop. On Sept. 11, Mr. Brown delivered in the House of Lords, a summary of the whole charge, with a few observations on the archbishop's answer. The queries of his counsel on the law of treason, were referred to a committee; which ordered his counsel to be heard on October 11, when Mr. Herne delivered his argument with great firmness and resolution. The Lord Chancellor Finch told Archbishop Sancroft that the argument was Sir Matthew Hale's, afterwards Lord Chief Justice; and that, being then a young lawyer, he, Mr. Finch, stood behind Mr. Herne, at the bar of the Lord's house, and took notes of it, which he intended to publish in his reports.

The archbishop's counsel were confined to this point, "Whether "in all, or any of the articles "charged against him, there was "any treason by the established "laws of this kingdom." Mr. Herne pleaded that these three articles to which the charges were reducible, "an endeavour to subvert the laws; an endeavour to "subvert religion; or, a labouring to subvert the rights of parliaments, were not treasons "within the statute of 25th Edward III. or by any other particular statute." This he argued at large, and afterwards made an answer to the particular articles insisted upon in the indictment; and pleaded "that if they were but "crimes and misdemeanours apart," to prove which he recited various cases, they could not make a treason by putting them together." With respect to any declaration of law upon the statute, Mr. Herne observed, "if such declaration "look only forward, then the law "making it treason, precedes the "offence, and is no more than "an enacting law. If it look "backward to the offence past, "then it appears by the very law itself of 25 Edward III. *it should be* "*at the least a felony by the common* "*law.*" He added, that in the case of the Earl of Strafford, "there was a treason within this "law charged, and declared by "the bill of his attainder to have "been proved."

Here the trial ended for that day; but, after this, a petition was sent about London, "for bringing "delinquents to justice," and the preachers exhorted the people to sign it: so that, with a multitude of hands, it was delivered to the House of Commons, October 8. The archbishop was summoned on November 2, to the House of Commons to hear the whole charge, and to make his defence, which he did at large, November 11. On the following Wednesday, Mr. Brown replied; and after the archbishop was dismissed, the House called for the ordinance, and without hearing his counsel voted him guilty of high treason. After various delays, the Lords had a conference with the Commons, on December 24, in which they declared, "that they had diligently "weighed all things charged "against the archbishop, but could "not, by any one of them, or all, "find him guilty of treason." The judges had unanimously made the same declaration. At a second conference, on January 2, the reasons of the commons for the attainder of the archbishop were communicated to the Lords; who, in a very thin House, passed the ordinance

nance that he ſhould ſuffer death by hanging; which was fixed for Friday the 10th. He pleaded the king's pardon, under the great ſeal, which was over-ruled; and rejected, without being read. He likewiſe petitioned to have Dr. Stern, Dr. Heywood, and Dr. Martin, with him, before and at his death, and that the manner of his execution might be altered to beheading. To this the lords agreed, but the commons refuſed both; and ordered that Dr. Stern, Mr. Marſhall, and Mr. Palmer, ſhould go to him, and one of the two latter perſons be conſtantly preſent while Dr. Stern was with him. But, the next day, upon another petition from him, praying not to be expoſed to ſo ignominious a death as hanging, the commons conſented that he ſhould ſuffer death by being beheaded.

The archbiſhop continued a journal of all the circumſtances of his trial and impriſonment, to January 3; but, on hearing the news that the bill of attainder had paſſed the Houſe of Lords, he broke of his hiſtory, and prepared himſelf for death. He received the notice with great compoſure, and paſſed the time, between his ſentence and execution, in prayer and devout exerciſes. He ſlept ſoundly the night before his death, till the time came when his ſervants were appointed to attend his riſing: and then he applied himſelf to his private prayers, and ſo continued, until Sir John Pennington, the lieutenant of the Tower, came to conduct him to the ſcaffold; which he aſcended with a chearful countenance.

Before a copy of the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſpeech, or his funeral ſermon, a quarto pamphlet, in 1644, is written: "This book I "will and give unto my ſon Mi-"chael Foſtere, after my deathe." On two blank pages, next to the title page, the ſame hand has written thus;

"At the beheading of the Right "Rev. Father in God, William "Laud, Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury; I. S. F. (Simon Foſter) "was preſent with him, and ob-"ſerved theſe circumſtances fol-"lowing: About 11 o'clock, he "was brought to the ſcaffold, "ſtrongly guarded. He was in "his ordinary hat, faced with taf-"fety; a velvet cap, a narrow "band and cuffs, a cloath gowne "new and plaine, a grogerome "caſſock, a broad prieſtly girdle, "a new ſute, like ſerge, made "after an old faſhion, the doublet "with twelve ſmall ſkirts, a pair "of trunke breeches ſtreighted "above the knee, a pair of gar-"ters, a red waſtcoate tied with "green ſtrings, and edged in like "manner, a cleane ſhirt, of ordi-"nary whiteneſs and finenes. "Soon after he came to the former "part of the ſcaffold, he read this "ſpeech, or rather ſpake this ſer-"mon, looking on his paper at the "beginning of every ſentence, "ſtanding all that while leaning "upon the greatecroſſe barre of the "ſcaffold. Before he began, "when ſignes for ſilence were "made, he put off his hatt, but "preſently putt it on againe, and "after he had done reciting this to "the people, he kneeled downe "and prayed with his eyes for "the moſt part on the ſame paper, "which was folded in quarto "length, but doubled againe in "the breadth. Aſſoone as he had "ended the Lord's prayer, riſing "up

" up he putt on his hatt, looked " often on each ſide, and downe to " thoſe before the ſtage. He did " not ſo much as ſeeme once fear- " full all the while he was on the " ſcaffold, eyther in his counte- " nance, voice, or geſture. He " read without ſpectacles. He " ſpake divers times to ſome on " the ſcaffold; he gave money and " other things (I thinke, for then " his back was to me ward) out of " his pocket. Dr. Sterne and Dr. " Gauge ſpake to him whilſt he " pulled of his things. He pulled " off firſt his cuffs, then his ſilken " girdle, his hatt, band, gowne, " caſſock, doublet, and inſtead of " his black, put on a plaine, wide, " white, cleane linen cap; and ſo " kneeling downe againe in his " red waſtcoate on the further ſide " of the blocke, with his face the " ſame way it was at the firſt, he " prayed over the ſame, with his " eyes and hands lifted up, with- " oute any booke (for he before " this had given his forementioned " papers to Dr. Sterne) and then " plucking down his cap over his " eyes, he laid his head upon the " block, which was after a little " pauſe (in which an officer ſtand- " ing by, drew his knife, cut open " the archbiſhop's waſtcoate and " ſhirt from the hinder part of the " kneck downeward, and turned " the ſame backward becauſe of the " ſhortnes of his neck, and that " nothing might dull or hinder the " axe) cut of at one blow. The " executioner preſently tooke up the " head and ſhewed the face to the " people (which in bothe the Ho- " thams* was to my knowledge " omitted) I ſaw it plainly whilſt " in his hand, it looked ſtill even " as before, very freſh. It was " ſomewhat paſt twelve o'clock " when the blow was given. " There was a ſervant of the arch- " biſhop's (whoſe name I thinke " was Mr. Dell) that took and " held there on his arme all the " things his lord putt of. He " neyther had nor deſired any " pſalm to be ſung. Few mourn- " ed there, one upon the ſcaffold, " hard by my lord, laughed audi- " bly, whilſt the archbiſhop look- " ed about after his firſt prayer; " about the ſame time a poore rude " fellow, that ſtood on the ground " before the ſcaffold, called to the " archbiſhop, and praied him to " give him his hatt, or change " with him for his old one, which, " he ſaid, would ſerve his turne as " well for what he had to do. " He ſpake nothing at all expreſsly " concerning the Scots, Iriſh, or " the preſent warre, or any private " perſon as was expected. His " countenance did not once alter " all the while he was upon the " ſcaffold."

At the beginning of the printed copy of the ſpeech is written as follows; "I, S. F. noted the dif- " ferences between the paper the " archbiſhop had in his hand, and " which was printed, twice at " Oxford, in Mercurius Aulicus, " and in the brief account of his " life and death; and this, printed " at London, amidſt his enemyes " that murdered and martyred " him."

The printed account ſays, "when " the archbiſhop had finiſhed his

* Beheaded on Tower Hill, on January 1 and 2, 1644.

" firſt

" firſt prayer, he gave his paper to " Dr. Sterne, ſaying, doctor, I " give you this, that you may ſhew " it to your fellow chaplains, that " they may ſee how I am gone " out of the world; and God's " bleſſing and his mercy be upon " them." Then, turning to maſter Hinde, he ſaid, " Friend, I be- " ſeech you hear me. I cannot " ſay I have ſpoken every word " as it is in my paper, but I have " gone very neere it, to help my " memory as I could, but I be- " ſeech you to let me have no " wrong done me."

Hinde. " Sir, you ſhall not. If " I do any wrong, let it fall on " my own head. I pray God " have mercy on your ſoul."

Cant. " I thank you: I did not " ſpeak with any jealouſie as if " you would doe ſo; but I ſpake " it only as a poore man going " out of the world. It is not poſ- " ſible for me to keep to the " words in my paper; and a phraſe " may do me wrong. I did think " here would have been an empty " ſcaffold, that I might have had " room to die; I beſeech you let " me have an end of this miſery, " for I have endured it long."

When room was made, he ſpake thus; " I'll pull of my doublet, " and God's will be done; I am " willing to go out of this world; " no man can be more willing to " ſend me out, than I am willing " to be gone."

Seeing through the chinks of the boards, that ſome people were under the ſcaffold, about the very place where the block was fixed, he called for the officer to ſtop them, or to remove the people, ſaying, " it was no part of his deſires " that his blood ſhould fall upon " the heads of the people."

Sir John Clotworthy, ſtepping to him, near the block, would needs propoſe ſome queſtions to him; and ſaid, " What ſpecial " text of Scripture now is com- " fortable to a man in his depar- " ture?"

Cant. " *Cupio diſſolvi, et eſſe cum* " *Chriſto.*"

Sir J. C. " That is a good de- " ſire; but there muſt be a founda- " tion for that deſire, as aſſu- " rance."

Cant. " No man can expreſs it; " it is to be found within."

Sir J. C. " It is founded upon " a word though, and that word " would be known."

Cant. " That word is the know- " ledge of Chriſt, and that alone." Then, turning to the executioner, he gave him money, ſaying, " Here, " honeſt friend, God forgive thee, " and do thy office upon me in " mercy." The executioner deſiring him to give ſome ſign when he ſhould ſtrike, he anſwered, " Yes, I will, but let me fit my- " ſelf firſt." Then, kneeling down on his knees, he repeated a ſhort prayer, and when he ſaid " Lord receive my ſoul," which was his ſigne, the executioner did his office.

On the coffin was a ſmall braſs plate, with his arms, and this inſcription:

" In hac ciſtula conduntur Exu- " viæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiſ- " copi Cantuarienſis; qui, ſecuri " percuſſus, Immortalitatem adiit " die x Januarii, ætatis ſuæ lxxii, " Archiepiſcopatus XII."

The body was buried in the church of All-hallows, Barking;

and was removed to St. John's college, in 1663, where it was placed in a vault near the altar.

Soon after his death were publiſhed the following pamphlets. "The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's "ſpeech, or his funeral ſermon "preached by himſelf on the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday "the 10th of January, 1644, upon "Hebrew xii. 1, 2. Alſo, the "prayers which he uſed at the "ſame time and place before his "execution. All faithfully written by *John Hinde*, whom the "archbiſhop beſeeched that he "would not let any wrong be "done him by any phraſe in falſe "copies. Licenſed and entered "according to order. London, "1644;" ſmall 4to. "A full "and ſatisfactorie anſwere to the "Archbiſhop of Canterburies "ſpeech or funeral ſermon preached by himſelf, &c. Wherein is "a full and plenary diſcourſe to "ſatisfie all thoſe who have been "ſtartled with his ſuttle and "jeſuitical fallacies and evaſions "in the ſaid ſpeech, ſmall 4to. "London, printed by Jane Cobb, "1645." "A Briefe Expoſition, Paraphraſe, or interpretation upon the Lord of Canterburies ſermon or ſpeech; alſo "upon the prayer which he uſed. "Written by William Starbuck, "gentleman, to give the people a "glimmering of the biſhop's hypocriſie. London, 1645," 16 pages ſmall 4to. "The grand "Impoſtor unmaſked. By Henry "Burton." Small 4to. London, 1644. "The life and death of "William Laud, late archbiſhop "of Canterbury. By E. W. "London, 1645."

The archbiſhop left by his will, written in the Tower, to St. Paul's church, 800*l.* to King Charles, 1000*l.* and forgave his majeſty a debt of 2000*l.* To St. John's college, all his chapel plate, and furniture; what books they had not in their library; and 500*l.* in money, to purchaſe lands, the rent to be divided between every ſcholar and fellow on the 17th of October, every year. To the young duke of Buckingham, his chalice and paten of gold. He left ſeveral legacies to his brother Dr. Robinſon's children; and, to his chaplains, rings, or watches. To the poor of ſeveral places 5*l.* each; to Canterbury, Lambeth, and Croydon, 10*l.* each.

He then directs the remainder of his eſtate to be laid out in land, and ſettled to ſuch uſes, and under ſuch conditions, as his land at Bray was ſettled on the town of Reading. Of which he gives 50*l.* to Wokingham, Henley, Wallingford, and Windſor, for ever; and all above theſe 200*l.* per annum, to Dr. Baily, his ſon William, and his heirs, for ever. He had a leaſe of a farm near Wincheſter, in his ſervant Richard Cobb's name, the rent of 370*l.* per annum, of which he gives 50*l.* yearly to the city of Wincheſter, during the leaſe, for the purpoſe of binding out apprentices; the reſt to ſeveral nephews and ſervants; with the power of renewing the leaſe to Dr. Baily, he paying R. Cobb, 100*l.* for his pains in obtaining the purchaſe; and to R. Cobb he left 50*l.* more.

Dr. Baily was appointed executor; with a bequeſt of 200*l.* the biſhops Juxon, Curle, Wren, and Duppa,

Duppa, overſeers of the will, and 10*l.* to each.

The will was dated January 13, 1643, and proved by Dr. Baily January 8, 1661.

The character of archbiſhop Laud has been ſo variouſly repreſented, that it will appear difficult to exhibit it in the plain colouring of ſimple truth. He came into public notice during the reign of a prince, who had been bred up with high notions of the royal prerogative; and who, when he was upon the throne, endeavoured to carry it farther than the law allowed, or a prudent regard for his own ſafety dictated: in this court and under this monarch, to whom Laud had many private and perſonal obligations, he had his political education; and therefore we cannot wonder that he had as ſtrong a partiality for the prerogative of the ſovereign as his royal maſter. The archbiſhop lived at a time when the puritans were coming into power; who had ſuch an abhorrence of ceremonies, and ſo violent an antipathy to epiſcopacy, that, with them, every form of the eſtabliſhed church was popiſh and idolatrous; and the prelacy and papacy were the ſame. He was too obſervant of ceremonies; too fond of that ſhew and pomp which is ſo conſpicuous in the Romiſh church. This gave great advantage to his enemies, and was one of the principal charges againſt him. But it muſt be obſerved, that the witty reply of a lady, and the ludicrous account of his conſecrating St. Catharine Cree church, have as ſtrongly fixed on his character the imputation of fondneſs for popery, as the accuſations of thoſe who brought him to the block.

With theſe political and religious prejudices, he had naturally great warmth of temper, with a ſharpneſs in his language and expreſſions; ſo that he could not debate on any ſubject, without emotion, nor bear contradiction calmly, even in the council. Thoſe, who did not wiſh him well, took great advantage of his infirmities, and would often purpoſely contradict and anger him. The Lord Cottrington made a more ungenerous uſe of this artifice than any man; for, being perfectly maſter of himſelf, and capable of the moſt profound diſſimulation, he would lead the archbiſhop into a miſtake, drive him into choler, and expoſe him, even when the king was preſent. To overbalance theſe defects in temper and judgement, it muſt be allowed that the archbiſhop was a man of real piety, and unbiaſſed integrity; an encourager of learning, and a liberal benefactor to its advancement; of great parts and of exemplary virtues. He defended himſelf upon his trial, after a long impriſonment, and under the infirmities of his advanced age, with much acuteneſs; and, as his greateſt enemy confeſſed, "ſpake "as much for himſelf as was poſ- "ſible for the wit of man to "invent." Laſtly, whatever were his faults, he was condemned to death by an ordinance of parliament, in defiance of the ſtatute of treaſons, of the law of the land, and as Heylin obſerves, of Magna Charta itſelf; a ſtretch of prerogative, greater than any one of the ſovereign whom that parliament oppoſed, and which, in the preſent times, would have been conſidered as a direct infringement of the conſtitution.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S BENEFACTIONS.

To the University of Oxford, he presented a large collection of ancient coins; and more than 1400 MSS. Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, and Persian; which are in the Bodleian library. He obtained a new charter for the University, and established an Arabick lecture, which began to be read August 10, 1636. To the bishoprick of Oxford, he added the impropriation of the vicarage of Cuddesden, and prevailed on Dr. Bancroft to build a new house there, for the future bishop's residence. At St. John's College he built the inner quadrangle, which was begun June 26, 1632, and finished in 1635: he obtained from King Charles the vicarage of St. Lawrence, in Reading, for the college, with other valuable preferments; and left to it several bequests by will, already mentioned.

To the town of Reading, the place of his birth, the archbishop was equally liberal. He purchased of Sir John Blagrave, at Southcot, an estate at Bray and Shiplake, which, except certain lands devised to Simon Winch, in trust to pay yearly 40l. for an Arabick lecture, he assigned in trust to John Jennings, mayor, the aldermen of Reading and their successors, for ever, for the purpose of apprenticing 12 boys, and of portioning out six maidens in marriage; for the increase of the schoolmaster's stipend; and the augmentation of the vicarage of St. Laurence. In the deed, the archbishop directs that this charitable work should take place at his decease. Twelve boys are to be put out, giving 10l. with each, including the expence of the indenture: of this number, ten are to be natives of Reading, one of Wokingham, and one of Bray. This is to be done for two years, and every third year the 120l. is to be given to six poor maids in marriage portions, 20l. each, five being natives of Reading, and one of Wokingham. Out of the same estate, he left 20l. annually to the schoolmaster of the free school of Reading, and 5l. to the vicar of St. Laurence for ever; and appointed the visitors already mentioned, who, with the mayor and corporation of Reading, are to see this great work of charity duly executed.

In the hall of St. John's College is a portrait of the archbishop in his robes, with this inscription: "Dono D. Baynbrigg Buckeridge, de North-hall, in agro Hartford. Gen. Com. Hujus Coll. et A. B. 1695."

There is an original portrait of the archbishop at Houghton, by Vandyck; for which, Granger says, the university offered the Wharton family four hundred pounds. There are various engravings of the archbishop by several hands.

Account of Sir Thomas White.

(From the same.)

SIR Thomas White is said by Fuller, in his Worthies of England, to have been born at Wood-Oaks, in the parish of Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, which account is followed by Sir Henry Chauncy, and Mr. Pennant. But Griffin Higgs, who was of Saint John's

John's college, in Oxford, and afterwards a fellow of Merton, in his Latin poem, entitled, "Nativitas, vita, et mors, honoratiſſimi illus triſſimique viri, Thomæ White," gives the honour of his birth to Reading. He was the ſon of William White, a native of Rickmanſworth, who ſettled at Reading, and followed the clothing buſineſs there, and married Mary, the daughter of John Kibblewhite, of South Fawley, in Berks.

Sir Thomas White was born in 1492, and had his education at Reading, but at the age of twelve years was placed in an apprenticeſhip at London, in which he continued ten years; and behaved ſo well, that his maſter, at his death, left him a hundred pounds. This, with the patrimony bequeathed to him by his father, who died in 1523, enabled him to enter into trade, which in a few years he enlarged to a conſiderable extent, and became a diſtinguiſhed and wealthy merchant. Toward the end of Henry VIII's reign, he married a lady, whoſe chriſtian name was Aviſia, or Avis; but whoſe family is unknown. He was ſheriff of London in the firſt year of Edward VI. and lord mayor in the firſt of Queen Mary, by whom he was knighted for his ſervices during the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, at which time he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt prudent meaſures for the defence of the city. In 1557 Lady White died, and left no child. She was buried, with great magnificence, on the 2d of March, in the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where was placed a hearſe, ornamented with achievements of arms; the lord mayor, Sir Thomas Offley, with twenty aldermen, following the corpſe, and the companies attending in their liveries. Black gowns were diſtributed to a number of poor men and women. Three maſſes were ſung, and, after the maſs of requiem, the lord mayor, aldermen, and gentlemen, who had attended the interment, returned to Sir Thomas White's houſe, where a ſumptuous dinner was provided for them. His ſecond wife was Joan, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of John Lake, of London, Gent. firſt married to Sir Ralph Warren, Knight, twice lord mayor of London; by whom ſhe had children. Having ſurvived Sir Thomas, ſhe died Oct. 8, 1573, and was buried in the church of St. Bennet Sherehog, by her firſt huſband.

Some accounts of Sir Thomas White relate, that towards the latter end of his life he fell into extreme poverty; a circumſtance that ſeems very improbable, as by his will he left 400 marks to his ſurviving wife Joan, being the remainder of her marriage ſettlement; 3000 pounds to St. John's College, to purchaſe lands; with ſeveral legacies to the children of his brother Ralph, and the Merchant Taylors' company, of which he was a member; with other conſiderable bequeſts. He died February 11, 1566, in the 72d year of his age, and was buried at St. John's College, in a private manner, as he directed by his will.

His laſt letter to the preſident and fellows, of which he requeſted that every member of the college ſhould have a copy, is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1794, p. 893.

Sir Thomas White's charities

began to take place in the very prime of his life; they continued to the close of it, and still remain the memorials of his extensive liberality.

In 1542, the 34th of Henry VIII. he gave to the corporation of Coventry 1000l.; which, with 400l. of their own, was laid out in the purchase of lands, parcel of the late dissolved priory of that city; reserving to the king, and to his successors, an annual rent of 7l. 13s. 2d. In 1551, an indenture was executed between the corporation and the master and warden of the company of Merchant Taylors', reciting that the corporation of Coventry had purchased of King Henry VIII. lands to the yearly value of 70l. settled, in trust, to give 24l. a year to twelve poor men; and, after one year from the decease of the said Sir Thomas White, yearly, upon the tenth of March, or within three months after to pay and deliver, by way of free loan, the sum of 40l. to industrious young men of Coventry, to enable them to set up in trade. After 30 years, the towns of Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, were to have the sum of 40l. for the like purpose, in rotation; which was duly received by those cities. A quarrel among the corporation of Coventry, in 1692, discovered a great improvement of the estate; and a bill in chancery was filed against them. In 1705, it was discovered that the rents of the estates amounted to near 800l. a year, besides fines for renewals; and, four years after, to 930l. a year clear; and a decree was made, that they should account for more than 2000l. which they had received. The corporation tampered with the several towns; and, under the pretence of paying them costs of suit, though none had been decreed, offered to them, and to the master and wardens of the Merchant Taylors' company, the sum of 825l. and, from March 10, 1703, 50l. yearly to Coventry, and the other corporations.

But, it being found that they had let long leases to their own members, and their families, at small rents, several public spirited gentlemen filed an information on behalf of the poor, and to set aside the private agreement; when it was decreed, February 27, 1710, that instead of 24l. annually divided between 12 men, 243l. 3s. should be divided between 61 men, 4l. a piece to 60, and 3l. 3s. to the odd one. The corporation being unable, or unwilling, to refund the arrears, which amounted to the sum of 2241l. the cause was finally heard, and the court decreed, March 4, 1711, that the estate should be conveyed to the Honourable William Bromley, Esq. and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and a sequestration issued against the corporation estates (upwards of 700l. per ann.) to levy the above sum, which was at last raised by sale of part of their estates; and then, in 1722, they applied to the court of chancery to have the sequestration taken off, and to have the trust estates re-conveyed to them. This was opposed by the new trustees, and the towns of Leicester, Northampton, and Warwick. The chancellor, however, in 1725, thought fit to order a re-conveyance, the several charities being augmented as by the former decree, and the corporation are

now in poſſeſſion of the eſtate. Sir Thomas White gave this town a farther ſum to pay 40l. a year to two fellows of St. John's.

Sir Thomas White had ſome intention of founding a college at Reading, his native place, but relinquiſhed that deſign; and obtained licence from King Philip and Queen Mary, on the firſt day of May, 1555, that he might, to the praiſe and honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptiſt, erect and found a certain college, for the learning of the ſciences, divinity, philoſophy, and good arts, on the ſite of a certain meſſuage called Bernard College, in the pariſh of St. Mary Magdalene, without the north gate of the city of Oxford, to be called St. John Baptiſt College, in Oxford. Having received this licence, he obtained a grant of the ſaid meſſuage, with ſo much of the grove as then belonged to it, from the dean and chapter of Chriſt-church, for the annual payment of twenty ſhillings; but, with this condition, that the firſt preſident of St. John's ſhould be choſen out of the canons or ſtudents of Chriſt-Church, and for ever after, when the fellows of the college ſhould not agree in their choice. The preſident, however choſen, was to be admitted and eſtabliſhed by the dean and chapter; in the deans abſence, by the chapter only; and, in the abſence of the dean and chapter, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, within ten days after his nomination by the fellows. The dean and chapter then demanded that they and their ſucceſſors might be viſitors of his college; to which Sir Thomas, after much importunity, is ſaid to have conſented.

Griffin Higgs has inſerted in his poem the well-known ſtory of Sir Thomas White's dream, that he ſhould build a college where he could find two elms of equal height, growing out of one ſtem, and a third near them, not ſo lofty.

" Æquo ibi preterea ſeſe duo vertice tol lent
" Arborei fœtus, breviorque his tertius aſtat,
" Hæc tibi quæſitæ ſint ſigna fidelia ſedis,
" Hic facias attolle domos."

Upon this he went to Cambridge, but found no ſuch trees: on farther conſideration, he viſited Oxford, and there diſcovered them. It is ſaid in a MS. note on this paſſage, that one Triplet, an old man, the college maſon, held Sir T. White's bridle when he alighted from his horſe, and gave God thanks for this diſcovery.

On the fifth of May, 1555, Sir Thomas compleated the eſtabliſhment of his college, for one preſident, and three graduate ſcholars, in the name of more which were to be added afterwards; and, for their immediate maintenance, he endowed the college with a yearly rent charge of 36l. due to him from the corporation of Coventry, and with ſeveral manors in Berks and Oxfordſhire, together with the advowſons of ſeveral churches. In 1557, he enlarged the revenues of the college with the rents of ſeveral other eſtates, and ſettled the eſtabliſhment of a preſident, three graduates, and ſixteen other ſcholars. The number of ſcholars, now of Sir Thomas White's foundation, are fifty; of which are elected,

from Tunbridge, one; from Reading, Coventry, and Briſtol, two; from Merchant Taylors' ſchool, 37; and ſix of the kindred of the founder. The ſtatutes of St. John's were compiled from thoſe of New College; but are ſuppoſed to have been drawn up at the founder's deſire by Sir William Cordell, ſolicitor-general to the queen, and maſter of the rolls.

Sir Thomas alſo gave to the mayor and corporation of Briſtol, by deed, the ſum of 2000l. to purchaſe lands of 120l. of yearly rent; and to raiſe the ſum of 2000l. of which, 800l. is to be lent in ſums of 50l. each to 16 young clothiers, for ten years, without intereſt, ſufficient ſecurity being given by them for the ſame; and 200l. are reſerved for the purchaſe of corn, for the neceſſary relief of the poor in times of ſcarcity. After ten years, the ſum of 104l. was to be ſent, by the city of Briſtol, to 23 other cities and towns, by rotation; the 100l. to be lent to four poor young men who were clothiers; and the ſurplus of four pounds to diſcharge the neceſſary expences.

In the year 1577, this bequeſt began with the city of York; and, in rotation, was delivered to Canterbury, Reading, the Merchant Taylors' company, Glouceſter, Worceſter, Exeter, Saliſbury, Weſt-cheſter, Norwich, Southampton, Lincoln, Wincheſter, Oxford, Hereford, Cambridge, Shrewſbury, Lynn, Bath, Derby, Ipſwich, Colcheſter, and Newcaſtle; each receiving the donation four times in ninety-ſix years.

Sir Thomas White made a ſimilar donation to the town of Leiceſter, which is ſaid to amount, at preſent, to the ſum of 7,500l. which is lent, without intereſt, to tradeſmen who are freemen of Leiceſter, in ſums of 40 and 50l. no perſon being allowed to have more than one ſum of 50l. and one of 40l. during his life; and theſe ſums never at one time. The corporation have been very careful in not lending their money on hazardous ſecurity: and few inſtances have happened detrimental to the intereſt of ſucceeding generations.

In the town hall of Leiceſter is a portait of Sir Thomas White, in the habit of a lord-mayor of London, with a gold chain and a collar of SS, a black cap, pointed beard, his gloves in his right hand, and, on the little finger of his left, a ring. Over his head is this inſcription:

"Quum viginti quatuor urbes hujus regni
Angliæ ſuis detâſſet opibus,
Annis et honore plenus obiit Feb. 10.
Anno Domini 1566, ætatis ſuæ 72."

On the right hand corner:

"Cernitur hic Thomas Whitus ſub imagine pictâ;
Cernitur hac vitâ melius ſub imagine verâ;
Et pater et prætor Londini, miles in illo;
Providus Oxoniæ fautor, fundator in illâ;
Briſtolii decus eximium; laus prima Redingæ;
Gloria Tunbrigiæ; tibi cauſa, Coventria, famæ;
Urbis honos, orbis prudentia, gemma ſenectæ."

The

or. The arms are, gules, an annulet or, within a border ſable, charged with eight eſtoiles of the ſecond. In a canton dexter, ermine, a lion rampant ſable—creſt, a ſtork argent, beaked and membered or.

There is a ſmaller portrait in the town hall at Saliſbury, at Reading, Merchant Taylors', and in the hall of Saint John's college. It has been engraved in mezzotinto, by Faber.

Character of Frederic the Great.

From Segur's Hiſtory of the Reign of Frederic William the Second.

FREDERIC, feared by his enemies and by his officers, was beloved by his ſoldiers and by the people. A ſkilful deſpot, his arbitrary power was directed by juſtice. No one knew better how to form and encourage talents, of which he was nevertheleſs jealous. An enemy of pomp, his taxes appeared leſs inſupportable, becauſe they were always employed to increaſe the glory and the territory of Pruſſia, to augment its population, and to recompence uſeful ſervices. Near to him, intrigue was deſtitute of force, and merit of fear. He has been reproached with having adulterated the money of the country, and incommoded commerce by impolitic prohibitions: the criſis of the war pleaded his pardon for the firſt wrong; the ſecond, proves that no man can ever unite in himſelf all the qualities of a ſtateſman. Frederic was quite as confined in all his ideas on commerce, as he was expanded in thoſe in policy and on war. The code which he publiſhed cannot aſſign him a diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt celebrated legiſlators. But experience has only too often proved, how much more wiſe it is for the happineſs of nations to amend their old laws, than to give them new ones. Frederic, as a philoſopher, as a warrior, and as a politician, ſhed a luſtre on his country, eclipſed his rivals, and would deſerve, perhaps, that his name ſhould be given to the century that was witneſs to his birth, his reign, and his death.

Character of Frederic William the Second.

From the ſame.

FREDERIC William, heir of the power, but not of the glory, of Frederic the Great, had received from his uncle all the knowledge requiſite for a throne; but he was deſtitute of talent to render it efficient. A ſoldier, bred in the greateſt military ſchool, but without genius, he waged war with method, but without ſucceſs. Surrounded by able miniſters, poſſeſſing the plans of his predeceſſor, he diſturbed all Europe by his projects, exhauſted his country by his preparations, terrified his enemies by his threats, and aſtoniſhed his friends by his verſatility. Incited by vanity, reſtrained by indolence, enſlaved by ſuperſtition, enervated by pleaſures, he executed nothing which he was deſirous of undertaking, finiſhed nothing which he had begun; and after having ſucceſſively deceived and irritated every power in Europe, at a time when all the paſſions were inflamed to the higheſt degree. Fate, who frequently delights in baffling the moſt profound political combinations,

tions, produced, from his weakneſs, a reſult which ought only to have been the fruit of the moſt conſummate ability. He enlarged his dominions, and died, leaving his kingdom at peace in the centre of an embroiled world.

Ruſſia menacing the Ottoman empire with total deſtruction; Catherine II. in danger of being driven from her capital by Guſtavus; Auſtria defeated by the Turks, threatened by the Pruſſians, alarmed by the troubles in Hungary, exhauſted by the revolt in Brabant; the revolution of Holland, aiming at the deſtruction of the ſtadtholder, but compelled by the Pruſſian arms to ſubmit to his yoke; the efforts of Poland to attain independence, the misfortunes and the total partition of that kingdom; laſtly, the exploſion of the democratic ſpirit of the French, the war of a people againſt kings, nobles, and prieſts; the cruſade of princes againſt liberty; the invaſion of France, the unforeſeen reſiſtance of the French, and their almoſt fabulous conqueſts, at the moment when every thing portended the diſmemberment and ruin of their country; ſuch are the principal events of the epoch of which I have undertaken to write a ſuccinct hiſtory.

Although the experience of every age has taught that the ſucceſſors of great men do not ſupply their places—Frederic William had given his ſubjects reaſon to conceive the moſt flattering hopes. It was believed that his reign would be as glorious, and more mild, than that of his uncle;—that he would enjoy the ſame military glory, without exerciſing the ſame ſeverity.—It was recollected that his education had been entruſted to M. de Borck, an informed military man, and to M. Bequelin, a diſtinguiſhed academician. His campaign againſt the Auſtrians in the war for the ſucceſſion of Bavaria was not forgotten, nor the eulogy beſtowed on him by Frederic. This prince, ſo ſevere towards his family, ſo avaricious of praiſe, or jealous of the talents he employed; and ſo great a connoiſſeur in the art which he had perfectionated; had charged his nephew to withdraw from Bohemia a body of the army menaced by ſuperior force; the poſition was critical; the retreat was difficult and dangerous. Frederic William performed it with equal courage and ſkill. The king, tranſported, exclaimed, as he embraced him in preſence of the army, "I no longer conſider you as my nephew, but as my ſon: you have effected all that I could have done in your place." The prince-royal, admiring the great qualities of his uncle, but diſapproving his unjuſt rigours, was ſuppoſed never to have broken his word—his probity excited confidence; it was ſaid he deſired to merit the ſurname of Well-beloved.—The part which he is known to have taken in the Germanic league, augured well of his political conduct, and he had given the firſt idea of this league, which flattered the vanity of the Pruſſians, by making them the protectors of the liberty of Germany againſt the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. —In a word, every thing conſpired to render the *début* of the new monarch eaſy and brilliant; peace reigned every where, and towards it all hearts were open.

The

The firſt moments of his reign anſwered the general expectation: each word he dropped, every letter he wrote, and the firſt orders which he gave, repeated every where, and every where approved; ſpread an univerſal joy, and confirmed the hopes which his acceſſion to the throne had generally inſpired. Without affecting to be learned, the general opinion was, that he had ſtudied a great deal, and that he would patronize letters. His endeavours to retain the Abbé Raynal in Berlin had done him much honour, and his eagerneſs to ſee that bold and profound author, led to a belief that he loved to be told truth.

All his intentions, all his conduct, at the commencement of his reign, were mild, wiſe, and beneficent. It were to be wiſhed this firſt zeal had continued; but, as hiſtorians, we ſhall ſoon have to fulfil a rigorous duty: and to this ſmiling proſpective, which impartiality obliges us to preſent, we ſhall be compelled to *ſubſtitute* the ſad picture of a total abandonment, of a ſhameful careleſſneſs, and of an unbounded weakneſs; obſcenity in pleaſures, intrigue in council, prodigality in expences, blindneſs in choice, the moſt ſuperſtitious credulity, the moſt puerile vanity, joined to the moſt evident incapacity; ſoon aſſumed the place of that activity, juſtice, and wiſdom, which, in the firſt ebullition of fervour, the new king had been forced to diſplay. His zeal cooled almoſt as faſt as the body of his illuſtrious predeceſſor; and it was not long before Pruſſia perceived the immenſe void left by this immortal ſhade.

Symptoms of the king's weakneſs were quickly perceived; he could ſcarcely endure, even for a ſhort time, the conſtraint which he had impoſed upon himſelf. It was ſoon underſtood, that his hours of buſineſs and of retirement were regular only in appearance; that his days were idle, and his nights dedicated to infamous orgies. He had repudiated his firſt wife, the Princeſs Elizabeth of Brunſwick, on account of miſconduct. The prudence of the Princeſs of Heſſe, his ſecond wife, did not ſhelter her from diſgrace; but though ſhe was not diſmiſſed, ſhe ſuffered, perhaps, more from the public triumph of her rivals. The king had loved a Madame de Rietz, celebrated for the licentiouſneſs of her manners, the baſeneſs of her character, and the infamy of her huſband. He never could break this ſhameful connection, but laviſhed titles and treaſures on this courtezan, and on a ſon whom ſhe bore to him, for whoſe death he was inconſolable.

Notwithſtanding this ſcandalous ſubjection, having become paſſionately enamoured of Mademoiſelle de Voſs, the niece of Count Pink, he was on the point of marrying her. This he communicated to the queen, and conſulted the prieſts, who replied, that it was better to contract an illegal marriage, than to run inceſſantly from one error to another; an anſwer which, perhaps, degrades thoſe who gave it, as much as him by whom it was ſolicited. This marriage, however, did not take place. Mademoiſelle de Voſs choſe rather to ſacrifice her virtue than the glory of her lover. But, a few years after, he renewed the ſame ſcandal more completely, by marrying

marrying the Counteſs d'Enhoff, thus retaining three legitimate wives and one miſtreſs, whilſt he baniſhed the French comedians from Berlin, whom he accuſed of corrupting the public manners. The alliance of voluptuouſneſs and ſuperſtition conſtantly aſtoniſhes reaſon, and is conſtantly renewed. At the ſame time that the king abandoned himſelf, without reſtraint, to the charms of his miſtreſſes, the *Illuminati* acquired an unbounded empire over his mind: he muſt have been, or ſeemed to be, an apoſtle of this ſect, in order to gain or preſerve its favour; for while, on one hand, he treated the Duke of Brunſwick, Prince Henry, Mollendorf, and even Hertzberg, Schulemberg, and Fink, who managed his affairs, coolly and without regard; he abandoned himſelf entirely to Welners, to Biſchofswerden, to the princes of Deſſaw and Wurtemberg; to Frederic of Brunſwick, the Duke of Weymar, and other viſionaries, who made Moſes and Jeſus appear to him; and who, it is ſaid, carried the impoſture ſo far as, at ſupper, to trace to him the ſhadow of the ghoſt of Cæſar.

Character of Joſeph II.

From the ſame.

TRAVELLING and military fatigues had impaired his conſtitution; toil had exhauſted his ſtrength; grief inflamed his blood, and haſtened the concluſion of his days. His character preſented a ſingular mixture of qualities, from which he derived ſome glory; and of defects, by which that glory was tarniſhed. Simple in his manners; auſtere in regard to himſelf; indulgent in reſpect to others; affable towards all his ſubjects; continually engaged in the duties of his rank; indefatigable in labour; ſupporting cenſure of his conduct without caprice; deſpiſing effeminacy; braving dangers, he took an intereſt in cheriſhing all the arts, and ſhewed favour to all talents.

Initiated in the military art by Laudon and Laſcy; formed to politics by Kaunitz; verſed in ancient and modern literature; the merchant, the ſoldier, the philoſopher, found his converſation equally intereſting and inſtructive. His mind was not fettered by any prejudice; and, under ſuch a prince, every thing promiſed to his people a glorious reign: but ſerious defects annihilated theſe brilliant hopes.

Ambitious without genius, enterpriſing without conſtancy, and warlike without ſucceſs, he never ſuffered Europe to be at reſt; was continually changing his plans, and miſcarried in almoſt all his projects. His Bavarian war added ſome laurels to the crown of Frederic the Great, and he gained nothing by it: he threatened Holland, which diſarmed him by a few cannon ſhot and a light tribute. He endeavoured to compel the Duke des Deux-Ponts to conſent to the exchange of Bavaria for the Low Countries; and was ſtopped in this deſign by the threats of the King of Pruſſia, who, from that time, has been regarded as the protector of the empire againſt Auſtrian ambition. The dread of the Pruſſian arms impelled him to make impolitic ſacrifices

crifices to Ruſſia, in order to purchaſe her alliance. He became the courtier of Catherine; facilitated for her the conqueſt of the Krimea, graced the triumphal pomp of her journey into Tartary, and ſuffered her to hurry him into a diſaſtrous war, which coſt him two hundred thouſand men, exhauſted his treaſures, and expoſed the houſe of Auſtria to the dangers of a ruin that had been certain, if Frederic William had known how to profit by his errors.

Joſeph II. was avaricious, but ruined his country; he was a philoſopher in his opinions, but a deſpot in his conduct; he had, by enlightening them, cured his ſubjects of their prejudices; he irritated them, by wiſhing to lead them to reaſon by force; and at the ſame time that France roſe to deſtroy the power of nobles and prieſts, he contrived to loſe the Low Countries, by there ſuppreſſing, by authority, the ſeigniorial judges, and eſtabliſhing, by conſtraint, a tolerance of worſhip.

Forgetting that he governed ſeveral nations, who had neither the ſame knowledge, manners, nor genius, he wiſhed, in ſpite of their propenſities, habits, and privileges, to ſubject them uniformly and ſuddenly to the ſame law, and the ſame form of government; to inſpire them with the ſame principles; to make them adopt the ſame education. The ſad reſult of theſe abſurdities was, that on his death-bed he ſaw his armies beaten, his finances ruined, his influence in the empire loſt, his frontiers threatened:—Hungary in a fermentation, the Belgic provinces in a ſtate of revolt, and his perpetual rival, Pruſſia, at the head of a menacing league, ready to overturn his throne on his tomb.

The death of this prince ſeemed to open a more extenſive career to the ambitious deſigns of the Pruſſian cabinet. The houſe of Auſtria ſaw itſelf threatened at once with the loſs of its dominions and the imperial throne; but fortune, although ſhe has been deified, depends on men; ſhe is fickle to temerity, and conſtant to prudence. The Auſtrian power, ready to fall, was quickly ſaved by the wiſdom of Leopold, the ſucceſſor of Joſeph, by the verſatility of Frederic William, and by the unreflecting ardour of the French, who wiſhed every where to extend a liberty they were themſelves far from poſſeſſing.

Account of Solomon Geſſner.

From the Tranſlation of his Works.

SOLOMON Geſſner, the German Theocritus; was born at Zurich in the year 1730, and was the ſon of a reſpectable printer and bookſeller, from whom he received a liberal, and even a learned education, whoſe profeſſion he adopted and whom in due time he ſucceeded. Fortunately the houſe of Orel, Geſſner, and Company, into which he was received, had been long eſtabliſhed, and was known over Europe, by the extent of its correſpondence, and by the choice and elegance of the works which it gave to the world. Geſſner was not therefore involved in the cares of a new eſtabliſhment, nor was it neceſſary for him to engage in the details

details and fatigues of buſineſs; and the bent of his genius being obvious, his partners, by whom he was beloved and eſteemed, freely indulged him in his favourite ſtudies and purſuits.

In the twenty-ſecond year of his age he made a tour through Germany, in part for the purpoſe of extending the connexions of his houſe, but chiefly with a view to his own improvement. In the courſe of this journey, he became acquainted with the greater part of the German men of letters of that day, and his talents were doubtleſs ſtimulated by the ſympathy and the emulation which ſuch intercourſe is ſo particularly calculated to excite. On his return to Zurich in 1753, he gave his firſt publication to the world, a ſmall poem in meaſured proſe, entitled, *Night;* and this meeting a favourable reception, he ſoon afterwards publiſhed his paſtoral romance of *Daphnis*, in three cantos. In the firſt of theſe poems he contrived to introduce a compliment to Gleim and Hagedorn, from whom he had received civility and kindneſs in the courſe of his tour. To Daphnis he prefixed a letter to himſelf from Mademoiſelle ——, with his reply, both written in a playful and animated ſtile, from which we are led to believe, that the heroine of this paſtoral was a real perſonage. "Yes," ſays Geſſner, in the language of gallantry, and perhaps of truth, "while I deſcribed Phillis I thought of you, and the happy idea of writing a romance, ſupplied me with a continual dream of you, which rendered our ſeparation leſs intolerable." In theſe early productions, with ſomewhat of the irregularity and the extravagance of youth, we find that luxuriance of imagery, and that ſoft amenity of ſentiment and of expreſſion, by which almoſt all his other writings are characterized. At this period of his life, Ovid ſeems to have been a favourite with Geſſner. In his *Night*, we have a fable on the origin of the glow-worm; and in his *Daphnis*, an epiſode on the amours of a water-god and a nymph, entirely in the manner of that poet.

The ſucceſs of theſe publications encouraged Geſſner to indulge his taſte in rural poetry, and to give to the world his Idyls, in which, as he himſelf informs us, he took Theocritus for his model. The Idyls procured their author a high reputation throughout Switzerland and Germany. They were the principal and favourite objects of his attention, on which he exerted great taſte and ſkill. They are deſcribed by himſelf as the fruits of ſome of his happieſt hours; of thoſe hours, when imagination and tranquillity ſhed their ſweeteſt influence over him, and excluding all preſent impreſſions, recalled the charms and delights of the golden age.

The *Death of Abel*, which is already well known to the Engliſh reader, by the tranſlation of Mrs. Collyer, made its firſt appearance in 1758. Its reception was ſtill more flattering. Three editions of it were publiſhed at Zurich in the courſe of a ſingle year, and it was ſoon tranſlated into all the European languages. In moſt of theſe it has gone through various editions; and there are few of the productions of the century that has juſt elapſed, which have been ſo generally popular.—After this he

he publiſhed ſeveral of his leſſer poems, among which was *The Firſt Navigator*, which is perhaps the moſt beautiful of his works. He made ſome attempts likewiſe in the paſtoral drama, of which his *Evander and Alcimna* is the chief. His *Eraſtus*, a drama of one act, was repreſented with ſome applauſe in ſeveral ſocieties, both at Leipſick and Vienna.

The poems of Geſſner were almoſt all given to the world before he had completed his thirtieth year. About this [illegible] he married; and, as he [illegible] informs us, his father-in-law [illegible]r. Heidigger, having a beautiful collection of paintings, conſiſting chiefly of the works of the great maſters of the Flemiſh ſchool, he devoted his leiſure to the ſtudy of their beauties, and became deeply enamoured of their art. Geſſner, who in his youth had received ſome leſſons in drawing, reſumed the pencil, but with a timid hand. At firſt he ventured only to delineate decorations for curious books printed at his office, but by degrees he roſe to bolder attempts. In 1765 he publiſhed ten landſcapes, etched and engraved by himſelf. Twelve other pieces of the ſame nature appeared in 1769; and he afterwards executed ornaments for many publications that iſſued from his preſs, among which were his own works, a tranſlation into German of the works of Swift, and various others. The reputation which he acquired by his pencil, was ſcarcely inferior to that ariſing from his pen. He was reckoned among the beſt artiſts of Germany, and Mr. Fuſeli, his countryman, in his "Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Painters, Engravers, Architects, and Sculptors, who have done honour to Switzerland," gives a diſtinguiſhed place to Geſſner, though then alive.

The private character of Geſſner was in a high degree amiable and exemplary. As a huſband, a father, and a friend, his virtues were equally conſpicuous.—His caſt of mind was penſive, and even melancholy; his manners gentle.—In converſation he was mild and affable, and where the ſubject admitted of it, often highly animated, riſing into great elevation of ſentiment, and beauty of expreſſion. But in every part of his deportment, there was that unaffected ſincerity, that ſimplicity and modeſty, by which true genius is ſo generally diſtinguiſhed. With qualities ſuch as theſe, Geſſner could not fail to be loved and reſpected; and uniting to taſte and literature the talents requiſite for active life, he was raiſed by the ſuffrages of the citizens of Zurich to the firſt offices in the republic. In 1765 he was called to the great council; in 1767 to the leſſer. In 1768 he was appointed bailiff of Eilibach; that of the four guards in 1776; and in 1781 ſuperintendant of waters, all offices of truſt and reſponſibility, the duties of which he diſcharged with ſcrupulous fidelity.

The fame of the accompliſhed and virtuous magiſtrate of Zurich, ſpread to the remoteſt parts of Europe. The Empreſs of Ruſſia, Catharine II. ſent him a gold medal as a mark of her eſteem; and ſtrangers from all countries viſiting Switzerland courted his ſociety, and gave him the moſt flattering proofs of their reſpect and admiration. In the height of his reputation

reputation he was cut off by the ſtroke of a palſy, on the 2d of March, 1788, in the 56th year of his age.

Origin and Progreſs of Methodiſm.

From Brewſter's Secular Eſſays.

ABOUT the commencement of the reign of George II. the ſociety of METHODISTS began to be eſtabliſhed in this country. No ſociety of more importance has, in this age, ariſen among us, nor any whoſe merits in many reſpects are more difficult to be appreciated. The prejudice which generally attends the appearance of a new ſect, renders the world at large unable, and perhaps unwilling, to judge of its true character. But prejudice muſt be removed; the mind muſt be cleared of its obſcurities; and then many of the difficulties attending the diſcuſſion will vaniſh.

In conſequence of the effects which the writings of the deiſts appear to have produced in the univerſity of Oxford, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, in the year 1729, iſſued an edict to check the increaſing influence of their pernicious principles; an edict, which, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, was attended with beneficial conſequences. In one reſpect, its conſequences were probably of more importance than could poſſibly have been foreſeen; as it tended to aſſociate together ſome pious perſons whoſe exertions laid the foundation of a ſociety which is now diſſeminated in various climates, and over various countries. Mr. Charles Weſley, ſtudent of Chriſt-church, was the firſt perſon to whom the name of *Methodiſt* was attributed, in conſequence of the exact *method* which he obſerved in ſpending his time, regulating his conduct, and attending on the public duties of religion. In a ſhort time John Weſley, an elder brother of Charles, and fellow of Lincoln-college, and ſome other ſtudents of the univerſity, met together for mutual edification. This religious aſſociation began to extend its influence, by viſiting the priſoners in the caſtle, and ſick perſons in the city. The ſociety was ſoon increaſed by Mr. Hervey, who never became an itinerant preacher, and Mr. George Whitefield, who was afterwards reckoned among the moſt eminent of them. Actuated by the zeal which originally produced this connection, in 1735 the Weſley's undertook a voyage to America, for the expreſs purpoſe of propagating the Goſpel; but no regular ſettlement of an eſtabliſhed ſociety was, at that time, formed. In 1737, the celebrated Count Zinzendorf arrived in England, to endeavour to procure an union between the church he had founded, under the name of the *Moravian Brethren*, and the church of England in Georgia. A connection ſoon took place between him and the Weſley's; but that which gave an important turn to Mr. John Weſley's future proceeding, aroſe from an acquaintance formed the following year with Peter Bohler, a young Moravian teacher. In conſequence of this interview, Mr. Weſley ſays, "that after ten years of painful labour, his experience convinced him that his notions were not evangelical; that he had conſidered as cauſes, things that were only placed as fruits of the faith in the goſpel economy;

nomy; and, therefore, that he neither poſſeſſed ſaving faith, nor had a right notion of it." By the inſtructions of Bohler, his notions of faith were changed; and he, as he ſays, was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are ſaved: it immediately occurred to his mind, "Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others, who have not faith yourſelf?" He conſulted his friend Bohler; who ſaid, "By no means; preach faith *till* you have it, and then, *becauſe* you have it, you will preach faith."

Mr. Weſley's firſt regular ſociety was holden in Fetter-lane, London, in conjunction with the Moravian brethren. About two years after (1740) he ſeparated from his aſſociates by whom he had been inſtructed in the goſpel method of attaining preſent ſalvation, in conſequence of ſome alterations he perceived in their creed. In 1741, another diviſion took place; and Mr. Whitefield, who had hitherto been employed in the ſame cauſe, formed a ſeparate ſociety, from a difference in their religious opinions alſo. Mr. Weſley had adopted the Arminian doctrine of the free agency of man, and was attached to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church of England. Mr. Whitefield's principles were ſtrictly Calviniſtic. The followers of each, to this day, hold the ſame diſtinction. Both are denominated *Methodiſts*, but nothing is common to the two ſocieties, except the order of worſhip in their meeting-houſes, which has been adopted from the diſſenting model.

The leaders amongſt the Methodiſts, having been refuſed the uſe of many pariſh churches, began to preach in the fields and ſtreets: and miniſters of the eſtabliſhment not being always found, lay preachers were received into their congregations. But notwithſtanding theſe innovations, the Weſleys, with the majority of the ſocieties under their direction, ſtill continued to hold communion with the church of England. Indeed many warm altercations among the lay preachers aroſe upon this ſubject, but the original leaders, *to the laſt*, decidedly oppoſed a ſeparation.*

In 1743 general rules were circulated for the direction of the united ſocieties, in which the nature and deſign of a Methodiſt meeting is ſtated to be, "a company of men, having the form and ſeeking the power of godlineſs; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation and to watch over one another in love, and that they may help each other

* "1786, Aug. 26. I went to Brentford, but had little comfort here. The ſociety is almoſt dwindled to nothing. What have we gained by ſeparating from the church here? Is not this a good leſſon for others?"—"1787, Jan. 2. I went over to Deptford, but it ſeemed I was got into a den of lions. Moſt of the leading men of the ſociety were mad for ſeparating from the church. I endeavoured to reaſon with them, but in vain, they had neither ſenſe nor good manners left: at length, after meeting the whole ſociety, I told them, If you are reſolved, you may have your ſervice in church hours, but remember, from that time you will ſee my face no more."—"1787, Nov. 4, London. The congregation was, as uſual, large and ſerious, but there is no increaſe of the ſociety. So that we have profited nothing by having our ſervice in church hours."

Weſley's laſt Journal.—WHITEHEAD.

to work out their ſalvation." From theſe rules it appears that each ſociety is divided into ſmaller companies, called *claſſes*, which conſiſt of about twelve perſons each, one of whom is ſtyled a *leader*, whoſe buſineſs it is to adviſe, reprove, comfort, and exhort his claſs, as he finds occaſion. Beſides theſe, there are others, who *being juſtified by faith, and having peace with God*, are ſubdivided into *bands*, who receive at every quarterly viſitation a ticket marked B, which will admit the holder into theſe ſelect meetings. They obſerve a love feaſt once a month, and occaſionally have a cuſtom of praying together by night, which they call a watch night. Annual conferences are held by the preachers in ſome central ſituation of the kingdom, when the affairs of the ſociety are diſcuſſed, different circuits allotted to different preachers, and the principal buſineſs of the connection arranged.

It will not be expected that I ſhould purſue every change which has occurred in the hiſtory of methodiſm. The death of the founders, though it has in ſome meaſure altered the government of the ſociety, and in ſome of its branches introduced innovations which *they* would not have introduced; has not tended to diminiſh the numbers; which, in England, at this time are ſuppoſed to amount to 100,000.*

Soon after the death of Mr. John Weſley, the governors of the ſociety in his connection found themſelves entangled in a queſtion, which, doubtleſs, they would gladly have avoided, as it tended in its conſequences to ſeparate thoſe who adopted the practice, ſtill further, if not altogether, from the communion of the Church of England. The deciſion of the leaders is made known by an addreſs to the members of the Methodiſt ſocieties throughout England, from the conference aſſembled at Leeds, Auguſt 6, 1793.—"Our venerable father," ſays the addreſs, "who is gone to his great reward, lived and died a member and friend of the Church of England. His attachment to it was ſo ſtrong and unſhaken, that nothing but irreſiſtible neceſſity induced him to deviate from it in any degree. In many inſtances God himſelf obliged him to do this; he powerfully called him forth into the ſtreets and open fields, and afterwards raiſed to his aſſiſtance hundreds of men who never paſſed through the uſual forms of ordination. To all theſe evident providences of God Mr. Weſley ſubmitted, though at firſt with great reluctance. In conſequence, he found himſelf obliged to erect chapels which were neither conſecrated according to the uſual method of the Church of England, nor ſubject to the direction of the national epiſcopacy. A dilemma

* From the minutes of the conferences, Dr. Whitehead gives the increaſing numbers as follows:—

1767	25,911
1770	29,046
1775	38,150
1780	43,830
1785	52,433
1790	71,568
1795	83,368

of

of difficulty, of a ſimilar kind, has been experienced by us ſince the death of Mr. Weſley. A few of our ſocieties have repeatedly importuned us to grant them the liberty of receiving the Lord's Supper from their own preachers. But, deſirous of adhering moſt ſtrictly to the plan which Mr. Weſley laid down, we again and again denied their requeſt. The ſubject, however, is now come to its criſis. We find that we have no alternative, but to comply with their requiſition, or entirely to loſe them!—We therefore weighed this delicate ſubject with great ſerioufneſs and deliberation, feeling the greateſt pity for thoſe of our brethren who thought themſelves aggrieved; and came finally to the following reſolution;—"That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ſhall not be adminiſtered by the preachers in any part of our connection, except where the whole ſociety is unanimous for it, *and will not be contented without it;* and even in thoſe few exempt ſocieties, it ſhall be adminiſtered, as far as practicable, in the evening only, and according only to the form of the Church of England."

Notwithſtanding the regular arrangement with which the ſociety of Methodiſts is conſtituted, it does not appear that there are any common principles, or written articles of faith, to diſtinguiſh their profeſſion. The doctrines more generally inculcated among thoſe, not of the Calviniſtic perſuaſion, are *ſalvation by faith only, inſtantaneous and perceptible converſion*, and *aſſurance* of reconciliation to God, which they term the *new birth*.

Meſmeriſm.

From Acerbi's Travels.

THE Baron Silfverkielm was a very amiable man, who had paſſed a great part of his life near the perſon of King Guſtavus, had travelled and ſeen much of the world. He was an excellent mechanic, amuſed himſelf with chemiſtry, poſſeſſed an admirable Engliſh electrical machine, made experiments, and was fond of reading and the ſtudy of the Belles-Lettres. He was a man of no ceremony, and (which will not be believed by every one) a moſt famous magnetiſer, and one of the greateſt proficients among the diſciples of Meſmer. I have ſeen the baron give proofs of his ſkill in animal magnetiſm, which, I confeſs, ſhook my incredulity a little, both in reſpect to the efficacy of his principles, and the exiſtence of the magnetic fluid, or whatever elſe it may be called, which is ſuppoſed to operate upon individuals. The effects it produces cannot eaſily be attributed to ordinary cauſes, nor ſupported by reaſons derived from the known laws of nature. Although he was unable to affect me with his magnetical powers, yet he wrought upon perſons whoſe probity and good faith I am not at liberty in any degree to queſtion. He repeated to me experiments he had made in different places, on different individuals, and in different circumſtances; and I find myſelf ſatisfied as to the exiſtence of ſome natural cauſe or principle which has hitherto remained unknown; it is wrapt up in obſcurity, and is as yet inexplicable to

the underſtanding. I am very far from attempting, after the baron's example, to account for it; though I think that a ſolution of this problem may be reſerved for a period of higher improvement in the knowledge of nature, the ſtudy of which has been ſo ſucceſsfully purſued, and ſo rapidly advanced in the courſe of the preſent century. I ſaw my fellow-traveller, as incredulous as myſelf, fall into a profound ſleep by the mere motion of the magnetiſer's fingers; I heard him ſpeak in his ſleep, and reply to whatever queſtions I propoſed to him; I ſaw him again awake by the ſimple motion of the magnetiſer's fingers, while I was unable to rouſe him from his ſomnolency, though I brought fire cloſe to his hand, an experiment to which he was as inſenſible as a dead body. He awoke, after ſleeping from five to ſix hours, remembering nothing of what he had ſaid, denying obſtinately that he had been aſleep, and yielding with difficulty at laſt to the authority of his watch, and the teſtimony of all thoſe who had witneſſed the circumſtance. I might mention a number of facts relative to this ſubject, by which I ſhould be able to prove, that in theſe trials there could be neither connivance nor impoſture, nor previous arrangement; but this doctrine ſtill lies too much under ſuſpicion for me to dwell any longer upon it. I ſhall only add, that two Engliſh travellers, better informed, and, if poſſible, greater infidels than myſelf reſpecting meſmeriſm, happening to paſs by Uleoborg at the ſame time, ſtopped a day, that they might obſerve ſome of the magnetical performances. From previous concert, one of them was to aſſume the appearance of being affected; but at the moment when the magnetiſer ſhould ſeem confident that his art had taken effect, he who was to feign himſelf aſleep, at a ſign given him by the other, was to awake in ſurprize, and thus diſappoint the credulity of the operator and his audience. The experiments accordingly began, one of them was unſuſceptible of the magnetic impreſſion, the other was actually affected, and his companion might make what ſigns he pleaſed; he was deaf, incapable of underſtanding any thing, and in ſuch a languid and lethargic ſtate, that every act of volition was entirely ſuſpended. The two gentlemen will probably give ſome account of their travels, and poſſibly confirm the truth of my relation of theſe almoſt incredible experiments.

It is to be regretted, that the meſmerians in general have their minds ſo heated by the extraordinary, I had almoſt ſaid ſupernatural, aſpect of thoſe phenomena, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo hurried away by the imagination, as to mount to the ſkies, in order to find the phyſical cauſe of thoſe effects among the clouds, inſtead of conſulting and inveſtigating nature in the practice of frequent experiments, and with that ſobriety of mind which ought to be the faithful guide of philoſophy in all her enquiries into the cauſes of things. The imagination, faſcinated and enſlaved by the charm of ſomething preternatural, tries, while bewildered with confuſed conceptions, to divine the meaning, the purpoſe, and the end of objects; and

and while it rambles about in the obſcure and boundleſs regions of conjecture, the true ſpirit of enquiry loſes the thread of its obſervations and of its analyſis, and bounding from one imperfect impreſſion to another, is incapable of ſtopping to obſerve, compare, and judge: this was the infirmity of the good baron. He fancied to himſelf, that the ſoul of the perſon aſleep was tranſported to regions of which the human mind, in conjunction with the body, can form no idea. He went into particulars ſtill more ridiculous, and aſſerted, for inſtance, that there all the ſouls were dreſſed in white, and that they enjoyed in that ſcene of delights ſuch agreeable ſenſations as ſurpaſs all conception. He believed, that in that ſtate of ſleep they foreſaw future events: and that their ſouls, being exalted to a higher ſphere of perception, they could ſee many things that are inviſible to the material organs of our imperfect viſion. Inſtead of interrogating the ſleeper as to the nature of his feelings during his torpor; inſtead of trying to ſound the condition of his phyſical faculties, or queſtioning him as to intelligible objects, his queries were always concerning the white robes, the paradiſe, and thoſe elyſian fields, where, according to his theory, the ſouls are in the fruition of every ſpecies of pleaſure, ever perfectly at eaſe, and clothed in their *robe de chambre*. He was deſirous to receive intelligence from his anceſtors, his great grand-father, or his late father; and they, very kindly in general, ſent him their compliments by the mouths of thoſe couriers in white jackets.

From the manner in which I have ſtated my remarks, the reader will be able to judge of the light in which I viewed this ſubject. Having ſucceeded in our reſearches concerning the electrical fluid, and what is called *galvaniſm*, I think it not impoſſible but we may diſcover ſome other fluid, or material ſubſtance, which ſhall have its particular laws, relations, and affinities. I am of opinion, that in animal magnetiſm we meet with appearances which cannot be traced to the imagination as their cauſe, nor indeed to any cauſe known or ſtated by the enemies of this doctrine. The French academicians themſelves, in their report on animal magnetiſm, ſhew, perhaps, that they beſtowed upon it neither the time nor the candour and impartiality, which a ſubject ſo difficult, and ſo much entangled in the groſſeſt prejudices, had a right to obtain from them. Upon the whole, I conclude that we are ſtill entirely in the dark as to this unknown cauſe, which, though we cannot as yet aſſign to it any name or determinate qualification, is not on that account leſs poſſible,

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Account of the Magicians, or Shamans, among the Yakuti.

From Sauer's Expedition to the Northern parts of Ruſſia.

MEN and women are both admitted to this order; but very few of the latter, as particular circumſtances attending their birth or infancy can alone authoriſe their inauguration. Young men are inſtructed by an old profeſſor, who accompanies them by day and night to the moſt ſolitary parts of the woods; ſhews them the favourite

ſpots of the ſpirits of the air, and of the pit; and teaches them to cite their appearance and claim their influence. I have heard moſt wonderful relations of their power, even from the Ruſſians; but, notwithſtanding I have ſeen their inchantments or incantations many times, I never could diſcover any of their feats equal to that of a common conjurer in England. The following is an account of their performance:

When a ſick ſocha ſends for a ſhaman to appeaſe the wrath of the evil ſpirits that torment him, the ſorcerer takes a ſwitch, ties a few hairs from the mane of a horſe to the end of it, walks and jumps about the ſick perſon, waves his ſwitch, and conjures the demons to appear and relate the cauſe of their tormenting him, and how they are to be appeaſed.

After ſome time has paſſed in this invocation, he ſtarts, pretends to ſee the ſpirits, and, liſtening to their admonition for ſome time, turns to the patient, and tells him whence the ſpirits came; and that it was with a view of deſtroying him, but that they might be induced to accept as a ſacrifice, inſtead of him, a fat mare or a cow, mentioning the particular colour. This is immediately procured; for whoever has one anſwering the deſcription readily gives it.

The offering being procured, the ſhaman dreſſes himſelf in full form, walks with his ſwitch to the poſſeſſed, embraces him, and commands the demons to leave him; then, riſing in great agitation, he ſuddenly ſprings upon the offering, raving and ſhouting as much as he poſſibly can: the beaſt now ſtarting, and being reſtleſs, is a proof of the pain that it indures from the demon.

The following morning the ſacrifice is led to the place appointed, which is always on a riſing ground at the entrance into a wood. Four poles are driven into the ground, on which they erect a ſtage covered with twigs, whereon the offering is ſlain and ſkinned. The fleſh is dreſſed and eaten on the ſpot; the bones collected, wrapped up in the twigs that were on the ſcaffold, put inſide the ſkin of the animal, and ſtuck at the top of ſome tree on the ſpot: if the ſacrifice was to the aërial ſpirits, the head is directed upwards; if to the ſpirits of the pit, the head is looking downwards. The ſorcerer then, arrayed in his magic robes, takes his tambour, and begins his formal ſpells; beating his tambour, raving, jumping, and uſing an unintelligible jargon in the moſt extravagant manner; his long hair hanging over his face, he conjures the ſpirit of the ſacrifice to its demons, and the demons to their proper place of retirement; ſeems ſeveral times during his incantations to faint, during which paroxyſms he receives the inſpired power of prognoſticating the fate of the diſeaſed, and the day either of his reſtoration to health, or of his death. If he prove miſtaken, it is not regarded as ariſing from want of ſkill, but the unacceptableneſs of the ſacrifice, which is occaſionally renewed till he dies or recovers.

If a ſhaman acquaints any family that ſome demon is intent on inflicting a puniſhment, offerings are made to avert the evil; not of live beaſts, but the rich ſkins of animals,

animals, which are hung up in a conſpicuous part of the hut, and buried with the owner when he dies.

The magician's dreſs is a leather jacket, with ſleeves from the ſhoulder to the elbow; along the outer ſeam, long ſlips of leather are ſown, as alſo round the bottom, hanging to the ground. The jacket is covered with iron plates, and pieces of iron and braſs hanging, which makes a diſmal noiſe while he is leaping about and beating his tambour. He has alſo a piece of leather, like a long apron, reaching from his chin to his knees, tied before, and ornamented in the ſame manner. His tambour is very large, and alſo ornamented in the edges and croſs bars with iron and braſs; and his ſtick is covered with the ſkin of ſome ſhort-haired animal. He alſo wears, at the commencement of his incantations, a fur cap; but this he throws off almoſt as ſoon as he begins his magic ſpells.

Of the Magic Art practiſed by the Laplanders: Runic Drum, Ganic Flies, Juoige, and Noaaid.

From Acerbi's Travels.

THE magic art is ſaid to have been introduced into the north by Odin, who brought it with him from the eaſt, and inſtructed the Finni; which people becoming great proficients in the art of directing the agency of ſpirits, obtained the name in theſe countries of *Finne-Cunſt*, that is to ſay, the ſcience of the Fins. The early chronicles of Norway record the extraordinary feats of magic performed by their Kings Haldan and Gunner, how that the firſt cauſed a banquet to vaniſh from before his gueſts, and that the laſt, by his inviſible agents, procured ſuch intelligence of the ſecret practices of his enemies, as to enable him to fruſtrate all their deſigns. They make mention likewiſe of Eric Windus, a king of Sweden, who could change the wind with a turn of his hat; and of Siwald, another Swediſh monarch, who had ſeven ſons, all equally ſkilful in the arts of magic.

It is unneceſſary to mention the great knowledge which the female ſex have attained to in this ſcience: there is ſcarcely a perſon who has not heard of Lapland witches. A ſorcereſs produced a number of infernal ſpirits before Habin, a king of Norway, and another, named Kraka, prepared a meſs of pottage of ſuch admirable virtue, that it would have rendered his ſon Rollo wiſe and eloquent, if, unfortunately for him, it had not been intercepted and eaten up by his younger brother Eric, who thereby obtained the benefit deſigned for his elder brother, and afterwards got the crown for himſelf. In ſhort, there would be no end of reciting the various ſtories which ancient writers have left of the magicians, male as well as female, in paſt times. Mr. Leems therefore confines his narrative to the preſent ſtate of the magic art in Lapland.

The viſible inſtrument of magic, as now practiſed in Lapland, is the *runic drum;* and the inviſible agents employed in this are called *ganic flies*. The miſſionary ſhews the uſe made of each of theſe, and gives ſome account of the noaaid, or re-

gular bred magician, together with the *juoige* or ſong of incantation uſed by him, and the methods he takes to reſtore loſt property to its right owner.

The runic drum, which may be conſidered as a compendium of Lapland paganiſm, has the appearance of the head of a common drum, the wooden frame of which is hung round with braſs rings, ſo cloſe together that they ſtrike and rattle upon the leaſt touch of the inſtrument. Upon the ſkin which is ſtretched over the drum, certain characters are painted, repreſenting the Radiens or Lapland Jupiter, with the reſt of the deities, beſides other myſtical figures of animals, &c. to the number of forty-five ſymbols. On ſome drums more have been counted; the noaaids, or magicians, not perfectly agreeing in this reſpect in different parts of Lapland: they, however, all coincide in the principal or leading deities. The runic drums are of the more value as they are of greater antiquity; and if they can be proved to have been delivered from father to ſon, in a long line of ſucceeding magicians, they are conſidered above all price: they are preſerved with great care and ſecrecy, and are hidden from ſight except at the time they are uſed. A woman dares not approach the place where one of theſe drums lies concealed, much leſs does ſhe preſume to touch it.

Before a Laplander ſets out upon a journey, or undertakes any matter of moment, he conſults his drum, which he does in the following manner. He places a ring, which is uſed for this purpoſe only, upon the drum, and then ſtriking upon it a ſmart ſtroke with a ſmall hammer, made from a deer's horn, the ring is ſhaken, or driven over the ſurface from ſide to ſide, which, as it touches certain figures of good or bad omen, he conceives the better or worſe opinion of his ſucceſs in what he is about to undertake. As for example, if the ring move according to the courſe of the ſun, he pronounces that he ſhall ſucceed; if contrarily to the ſun's courſe, that he ſhall fail in his enterprize, whatever it be, of hunting, fiſhing, or the like. In the ſame manner he judges of every event upon which he is diſpoſed to conſult this oracle.

Families in general poſſeſs ſuch a drum, to which they refer for advice in the retirement of their habitation, conſidering it as their guide and director upon common occaſions; but in matters of greater moment, ſuch as ſickneſs, a mortality amongſt the cattle, or the like, they apply to privileged ſoothſayers or magicians; theſe are called in the Lapland tongue *noaaids*, and are regularly educated in the art. Theſe men are completely initiated by frequent interviews with the ſpirits in *Jabmeaimo*; beſides which they pretend to be in poſſeſſion of runic drums which have deſcended to them from anceſtors famous in remote times for their ſkill in divination. The noaaid obſerves much the ſame method with that already deſcribed, except that he makes uſe of ſome previous ceremonies with a number of very frightful grimaces and contortions, in which he is helped out by the immoderate quantity he takes of brandy and tobacco during his operation. By the

effect

effect of these aids to inspiration, he at length becomes so intoxicated that he fall into a deep sleep, which the standers by suppose to be a trance. When he awakes he pretends that his soul has been conveyed away to some *passe warck*, or holy mountain, which he mentions by name, and attempts to reveal his interview and discourse with the deities. At the same time he names a sacrifice which must be offered on a certain day, consisting, for the most part, of a well-fed rein deer; and this being complied with, he encourages the hopes, that the deity who is concerned will prove favourable. The noaaid's injunction never fails to be obeyed: and if the sacrifice of a valuable rein-deer be not succeeded by the good effects which are hoped for from it, the simple Laplander (like those poor unhappy people who run for a cure from one doctor to another, until they have expended the last farthing of their money) has recourse to another noaaid and another. Now as every consultation is followed by a fat sacrifice, at which the gluttonous soothsayer presides as butcher and principal guest, it happens that the poor Laplander finds himself suddenly reduced to want, his stock of cattle being wasted in riotous scenes of superstitious infatuation.

The *ganic flies* are evil spirits entirely under the direction of the noaaid, and ready at all times to execute his orders: they have been delivered over to him by the noaaid his father, who received them from his, and so on through a long series of magicians. These ganic flies are invisible to all but the magician, who keeps them shut up in a box until he has occasion for their services.

The *juoige*, or song of incantation, is used by the noaaid whilst in the exercise of his magical function. To say it is sung, is to give an imperfect idea of the magician's manner of delivering it, which he does in the most hideous kind of yelling that can be conceived. It is also frequently employed by those who are not professed magicians; for the juoige is supposed to have the power to drive away the wolf, and is considered as a protection for the herd. Indeed, if the wolf be within hearing when they sing it, it is no wonder if he should be frighted away by the noise. The words of this song are very simple; we here present them to the reader, accompanied with an exact translation:

Kumpi don ednak vahag lek dakkam
Ik shjat kalka dam packest orrot
Mutto dast erit daukkaa
Mailme kiætzhjai mannat,
Ia don kalkak dai
Pazlijatallah, dacheke jetzhja lakai hæwanet.

Accursed wolf! far hence away!
Make in these woods no longer stay:
Fly hence! and seek earth's utmost bounds,
Or perish by the hunter's wounds.

The method taken by the noaaid to recover stolen goods is no more than this. He comes into the tent where he has reason to suspect the

the thief is to be found, and pouring a quantity of brandy into a diſh, which then reflects the features of any perſon looking into it, he makes a number of grimaces over it, and appears to conſider it with very great attention. After ſome length of time employed in this way, he takes the ſuſpected Laplander aſide, charges him with the fact, declares he ſaw his face plainly figured to him in the diſh, and threatens to let looſe a ſwarm of ganic flies upon him, who ſhall torment him until he makes reſtitution. Thus does the magician work upon the fears and apprehenſions of the ſuſpected perſon, who, if he be the real thief, never fails to replace whatever he has ſtolen with the ſame ſecrecy as he took it away.

The egregious folly of believing that certain perſons were endowed with ſupernatural power, and that they were aſſiſted by inviſible ſpirits, was univerſal ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, and began not to be generally diſcredited till the ſixteenth century. In England we even find witchcraft ſupported by royal authority: by James I., countenanced by the great Lord Bacon. The belief in ſpirits not leſs abſurd, even the vigourous mind of Dr. Johnſon was not exempt from. But theſe ridiculous, miſchievous, and cruel deluſions, are happily baniſhed almoſt from the habitations of the moſt ignorant, and we already begin to wonder at the credulity of our anceſtors.

Account of Madrid.

From Fiſcher's Travels in Spain.

MADRID is ſituated in the centre of Spain, and on all ſides almoſt equally diſtant from the ſea. It ſtands higher than any other town, on an unequal plain, at ſome diſtance from the river Manzanares. It preſents three principal views, the one toward the road to San Sebaſtian, a ſecond from the heights before the gate of Alcalà, and the third from a hill before the port of Segovia. They have all different characters, but the laſt appears to me the fineſt. It is from thence, that the city is ſeen in its greateſt extent; to the eaſtward the gardens of the Retiro, the Prado, and the other plantations on the bank of the river, to the weſtward the new palace, the rows of trees along the river, and ſome country houſes. The eye then purſues the courſe of the Manzanares with its bridges and canals, and in the diſtance appear the lofty mountains of Guadarrama covered with ſnow.

Madrid forms an irregular ſquare, of which two ſides look toward the river, and the other two to the country. The town is ſurrounded by a wall of no great thickneſs, but tolerably high, and built of mud. It is eaſy to walk round it in three hours and a half. A line drawn from the *Puerta de Fuencarral* to that of *Toledo* divides the city in two parts lengthways, and the diſtance is an hour and a quarter. Another line drawn from the *Puerta de Alcalà* to that of *Segovia* divides the city tranſverſely, and is a walk of nearly three quarters of an hour. According to the laſt accounts by Lopez, in his *Geografia Moderna*, the number of inhabitants, excepting the garriſon, the hoſpitals, and children, amounts to 130,980, occupying 7100 houſes, and it contains

tains 77 churches, 44 monaſteries, and 31 convents. Moſt of the churches and monaſteries are not detached buildings, but adjoining to other edifices.

The old houſes are almoſt all of wood, but the new ones of granite, which is brought from a diſtance of ſixteen or eighteen leagues. The old houſes rarely exceed four ſtories, but the new have five or ſix. The former are decorated with paintings repreſenting bull-fights, dancers, &c. in which the ancient coſtume is diſplayed. The others are quite ſimple, and almoſt all painted yellow. The old windows are high and narrow, the balconies ſmall, the frontiſpieces projecting, but the new are quite the contrary, they are all in the Italian ſtyle, but there is no ſcarcity of images of ſaints, crucifixes, and madonnas.

This mixture of old and new buildings is particularly ſtriking in places remarkable for their magnificence or deformity, thus for inſtance, in the ſtreet of *Alcalà*, or near the cuſtom houſe, which is a ſuperb edifice, you find an old mean building, and oppoſite to it awkward unſightly erections; and in the ſtreet called *Strada de la Concepcion*, are ſeveral magnificent edifices by the ſide of others that reſemble old barracks. The ſtreet of *Acalà*, the *Red de San Luis*, the ſtreet of *San Hieronimo*, are undeniably the fineſt and moſt animated, but they are diſfigured by many old bulidings; the ſtreets of *Toledo*, *Segovia*, and the *Calle Mayor*, with its low arcades, conſiſt in great meaſure of old and diſpleaſing buildings, though here and there we find a few new and tolerably regular edifices. In the firſt of the ſtreets are even ſome waſte ſpots. The celebrated ſquare of *Puerta del ſol* is decorated on one ſide by the great and magnificent building of the poſt-office, called *el Coireo*, but the two others are full of diſguſting old houſes, two of which were till lately ſhored up, though they are at laſt pulled down: and as for the *Plaza mayar*, deſcriptions of which are every where to be found, to admire it we muſt forget the fine ſquares of other capitals. But all compariſons apart, a ſquare, cloſed on all ſides, and deſtitute of every proſpect, does not appear to me calculated to embelliſh a great city. However, as I am not giving you a topographical deſcription of Madrid, I ſhall refer you to the map ſold here by every print-ſeller, and to which the following work ſerves as a key; "Madrid a la viſta, o deſcripcion general compendioſa que mueſtra quantos tiemplos, fundaciones religioſas, quarteles, barrios, manzanas, calles, caſas, edificios, tiendas, y operarios contiene, arreglado el dia 10 de Dixiembre de 1797." This map is ſuperior to the copy of it in Bourgoanne, on account of the names that have been added, as well as of its neater execution; and the work, which is cloſely printed, contains the moſt modern accounts, more particularly thoſe of Ponz in his travels, and of Lopez in his deſcription of the province of Madrid.

Let us now take a view of one of the moſt animated ſtreets, as for inſtance the Red de San Luis. What a varied crowd! What a confuſion of ſounds! Women in black and veiled, men in long cloaks water-carriers, fruit-ſellers, magnificent equipages, duſty diligences

gences, light caleſas, waggons drawn by mules, and groaning under an enormous weight, a multitude of aſſes, with their pack-ſaddles and bells, and herds of goats, with peaſants going from door to door to milk them. Further on blind muſicians ſinging their tornadillos, or popular ſongs, and alguazils crying the order of police, a crowd of gallegos or porters, proceſſions of chaplets, guards following the drum, or confraternities eſcorting a funeral and ſinging pſalms, the tinkling of bells at all the neighbouring churches, and laſtly the ſolemn proceſſion of the *venerabile* or hoſt, when the bells of the children of the choir being heard, every one kneels down, all tongues are ſilent, and all hats are off, all the carriages ſtop, and the tumultous maſs ſeems inſtantaneouſly petrified; but two minutes are ſcarcely elapſed before the accuſtomed clangor is renewed.

In the centre of Madrid, a ſpot which is uſed as a place of aſſemblage by all the inhabitants, and as a general rendezvous by all perſons of buſineſs, is the ſquare I have already mentioned, called *La Puerta del Sol*, (or Sun-gate) in which the moſt frequented ſtreets terminate, as the Red de San Luis, the Calle Mayor, and that of San Hieronimo.

The public ſquares are uſed throughout Spain as promenades and places of aſſemblage. The ſmall towns, and even the villages, are not without ſuch an open ſpace, which is generally in front of the church. It is there the Spaniards recreate themſelves after their labours, or enjoy the warmth of the ſun in winter, and even thoſe who ſcarcely ever quit the town, regularly reſort there. From this you may eaſily conceive the appearance of ſuch a ſpot in the centre of the metropolis.

It has ſtruck eleven, and a troop of officers of the guard with brilliant accoutrements, monks in black cloaks, charming women in veils embroidered with gold holding the arms of their *cortejos*, and a party-coloured crowd of all kinds, wrapped up in their cloaks, pour forth from every ſtreet to read the advertiſements and poſting bills (noticias fueltas:) "To day there will be a ſermon and muſic at the Franciſcans: there will be an opera and ſuch and ſuch plays: to-morrow there will be a bull-fight, or the novena of San Felipo commences: Loſt yeſterday at the prado a little girl, and this morning a chaplet: ſtolen three days ago ſuch and ſuch a jewel; if it has been taken through want, and if the thief will reſtore it by his confeſſor, he ſhall receive a handſome reward: the day after to-morrow will be ſold by auction a large crucifix, an image of the Madonna, and a nacimiento (or caſe containing the infant Jeſus with the two other perſons of the trinity, in wood, plaſter, &c.) This evening the proceſſion of the roſary will ſet out about eight o'clock."

Meanwhile the ſquare is conſtantly filling, ſo that it becomes very difficult to paſs. Here are criers of journals ſtunning the paſſengers with their noiſe, people reading the gazette for a quarto (farthing), walloon and ſwiſs guards offering goods for ſale, hackney coaches plying for fares, old clotheſmen, coblers, ſharpers, ſellers of images and cigars, and huckſters of all kinds

kinds tormenting the paſſengers; there a numerous circle crowd round an ingenious memorialiſta or notary, a very profitable occupation, and abounding in every ſtreet, for nothing is to be obtained by verbal applications, even to a paſſport, for which a *memorialito* muſt paſs through an infinity of offices; and there a loto with a dial to be pulled, next him a juggler with dancing monkeys, and farther on goods ſelling by auction; women ogling the paſſengers alſo mingle in the crowd, while capuchins with long beards parade with gravity and ſolemnity. Here you are attacked by a couple of ballad-ſingers, and there annoyed by an importunate beggar; to all which is added the noiſe of carriages and caleſas, and of the neighbouring fountain re-echoing with the loud hallooing voices of the water-carriers.

This place is far more noiſy ſtill on Sundays and holidays, when crowds of people are flocking to the neighbouring churches. It is the faſhion to paſs theſe days in the ſquare, and many a fair who has miſſed her lover at church is ſure to find him here. The groups then crowd upon each other to the very gates of the church, and every one appears in his beſt apparel.

But it ſtrikes *one*, and the crowd diſappears; the porters range themſelves near the houſes to ſleep the ſieſta or eat their dinner,—all the ſhops are ſhut, at the corner of the ſtreets the huckſters ſtretch themſelves beſide them on the pavement, the place is cleared, the moſt noiſy ſtreets are quite deſerted and dead, and a ſolitary paſſenger is rarely ſeen. But no ſooner do the bells ring for veſpers, than all is life again, and at four o'clock the place is crowded anew.

At this time ladies of eaſy acceſs iſſue forth from their retreats, ſpreading on all ſides, and no moſt women dares be ſeen abroad without her cortejo or her duenna, and frequently both. The former is the ſame as a cicisbeo. The latter was formerly a ſevere governeſs or guardian of the wife, paid by the huſband, and frequently choſen from among his relations, but now a mere lady's maid. The women I was ſpeaking of however are free from this ſlavery. Their light and bold walk, their ſhort and fluttering petticoats, of which the long and tranſparent fringe expoſes to view at every ſtep a delicate and beautiful leg, whoſe enticing veils which rather diſplay than conceal their charms, their large noſegays, and the coquettiſh play of their fans, characterize theſe dangerous ſyrens. A word or a look, however curſory, ſuffice to produce an aſſignation, which is afterwards ſettled more at leiſure in ſome neighbouring ſtreet.

The firſt-rate demireps, who ſtill keep up external appearances, generally take with them a little girl, eight or ten years old, who ſerves as their duenna, and, proud of their charms, they wait till due homage is paid them. Thoſe of the ſecond claſs, who go alone, uſe leſs reſerve; they ſmile with grace, and employ the moſt ſeducing allurements they poſſeſs.

At this time come the venders of cool water. Theſe men carry on their ſhoulders a large ſtone pitcher, faſtened on with leather thongs, and keep goblets in tin veſſels to drink out of: it is ſold

at a farthing the glaſs. Alſo orange-girls, flower-girls, chaiſe-drivers, news-venders, and laſtly the beggars. Then by degrees the various equipages go to the theatres or the prado, and on all ſides company in chariots, on mules, and on borricos. At length it is twilight, the bells ring for the Angelus, the lamps are lighted before the madonas, and in the houſes, while the wine-ſellers and lemonade-ſellers light up their ſhops, and every where are ſeen little tables with French rolls and paper lanterns. The noiſe of the paſſengers, the rumbling of carriages increaſes every moment, and the whole ſquare is full of people. Here guitars and voleros are heard, there a ballad-ſinger ſinging the laſt new ballad and ſtories of men hanged, then a vigorous copper-coloured miſſionary preaching to a penitent populace, while his audience are appointing aſſignations.

National Character of the Swedes.

From Acerbi's Travels.

THERE is, perhaps, no country in Europe where inſtruction is ſo univerſally diffuſed among the very loweſt of the people as in Sweden, except Iceland, Scotland*, and the late ſmall republic of Geneva. All the people in towns, villages, and hamlets, without exception, are taught to read. It was not without reaſon, therefore, that Guſtavus III. who kept a watchful eye on every event that might influence the ſtate of ſociety, interdicted all mention in the Swediſh journals of a French revolution, either good or bad. He wiſhed the people not only to be prevented from thinking of it, and reaſoning about it; but as much as poſſible to be kept in the dark as to its very exiſtence. The effects to be deſired or dreaded in any country from the productions of the preſs, are, no doubt, in proportion to the degree and extent of education which the people at large have received. It does not follow, from the circumſtance of the Swedes being all taught to read, and attached to eſtabliſhed tenets and modes of worſhip, that they ſhould be an honeſt and good ſort of people: this however is the caſe. The Swedes, I mean the peaſantry, (for as to the inhabitants of towns, they are corrupt in proportion to their population, their commerce, and their luxury) are a frank, open, kind-hearted, gay, hoſpitable, hardy, and ſpirited people. It would be difficult to point out any nation that is more diſtinguiſhed by a happy union of genius, bravery, and natural probity of diſpoſition. They are repreſented by their neighbours as the *gaſcons* of Scandinavia. This charge, when due allowance is made for the mutual jealouſy and antipathy of neighbouring nations, amounts to no more than this, that they are actuated by that ſenſibility

* In Scotland I find there is ſcarcely any perſon, no not even a beggar, who cannot both read and write; nor any in Iceland who cannot read, write, and caſt accounts. In every family in Iceland the children are inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic at home, by their parents or other relatives. When the boys are ſent to ſchool, it is to acquire Latin and other accompliſhments, ſuch as ſome knowledge of geography, and of the elements of mathematics.

lity to fame, and love of diſtinction, which generally predominate in the breaſts of brave, generous, and adventurous people.

Hunting and Fiſhing in Finland.

From the ſame.

HUNTING and fiſhing are alſo avocations that are attended to in winter. Their mode of fiſhing is as follows: a couple of openings are made in the ice, and by means of ropes and long poles they then contrive to paſs their nets from one opening to the other: the drawing out of the net is attended with infinite labour. They have another method of fiſhing on the ice, which ſeemed to me extremely curious, at leaſt the novelty of it excited my ſurpriſe. It is by catching fiſh by a ſtroke of a mallet or club. In autumn, when the froſt begins to ſet in, the fiſherman courſes along the rivers; and when he obſerves a fiſh under the ice, in ſhallow water he ſtrikes a violent blow with his wooden mallet perpendicularly over the fiſh, ſo as to break the ice. The fiſh, ſtupified by the blow communicated to it by the water, in a few ſeconds riſes quite giddy to the ſurface, where the man ſeizes it with an inſtrument made for the purpoſe.

I ſhall now give ſome account of the mode of attacking the bear. This is a kind of ſport, which requires great preſence of mind and intrepidity, and it muſt be acknowledged that the Finlander diſplays theſe virtues in an eminent degree.

It is but very lately that ſome few individuals have began to uſe fire arms in this chaſe; but there are ſtill many among the peaſantry, particularly in the inland part of the country, who will not expoſe their life to the uncertain ſhot of a muſket, which is ſo liable to be prevented by damp; nor be poſſeſſed of an inſtrument which they think too coſtly, even when of a very ordinary quality. The favourite weapon of a Finlander in hunting the bear, is an iron lance fixed at the end of a pole. At about the diſtance of a foot from the point of the lance is fixed a croſs-bar, which prevents the inſtrument from penetrating too far into the body of the bear, or paſſing through both ſides. When the Finlander has diſcovered where the bear has taken up his winter quarters, he goes to the place and makes a noiſe at the entrance of his den, by which he endeavours to irritate and provoke him to quit his ſtrong hold. The bear heſitates and ſeems unwilling to come out; but continuing to be moleſted by the hunter, and perhaps by the barking of his dog, he at length gets up and ruſhes in fury from his cavern. The moment he ſees the peaſant, he rears himſelf upon his two hind legs, ready to tear him to pieces. The Finlander inſtantly puts himſelf in a proper attitude, that is to ſay, he brings back the iron lance cloſe to his breaſt, concealing from the bear the length of the pole, in order that he may not have time to be upon his guard, and conſequently to parry with his paws the mortal blow which the hunter means to aim at his vitals. The Finlander then advances boldly

towards

towards the bear, nor does he ſtrike the blow till they are ſo near each other, that the animal ſtretches out his paws to tear his antagoniſt limb from limb. At that inſtant the peaſant pierces his heart with the lance, which, but for the croſs-bar, would come out at his ſhoulder; nor could he otherwiſe prevent the bear from falling upon him, an accident which might be highly dangerous. By means of the croſs-bar the animal is kept upright, and ultimately thrown upon his back; but what may ſeem to ſome very extraordinary is, the bear, feeling himſelf wounded, inſtead of attempting with his paws to pull out the lance, holds it faſt, and preſſes it more deeply into the wound. When the bear, after rolling upon the ſnow, ceaſes from the laſt ſtruggles of death, the Finlander lays hold of him, and calls for the aſſiſtance of his friends, who drag the carcaſe to his hut; and this triumph terminates in a ſort of feſtival, where the poet aſſiſts, and ſings the exploits of the hunter.

The Finlanders are employed in ſummer in cutting down their hay and corn; the laſt they threſh out in winter; they build their boats, go a fiſhing, frequently a fowling, and in the ſpring time they hunt the ſquirrel, which they ſhoot from a croſs-bow.

The figure of the bow has a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe with which the Dalicarlian mountaineers were armed before the time of Guſtavus Vaſa. It is extremely heavy, and requires great ſtrength to bend it, even with the aſſiſtance of a thong, which the Finlander carries about with him tied to his leather girdle. The ancient uſages, ſtill preſerved in the country, are an inconteſtible proof of the ſimplicity of the natives, and of the little knowledge they had acquired of our modern inventions. Theſe uſages are however worthy objects of the travellers attention, and are now the more intereſting, becauſe they are falling every day into oblivion, giving place to others of recent date.

In ſhooting the ſquirrel they employ, as has been intimated, a ſort of blunt, pointleſs arrow, that they may kill the animal without injuring the ſkin: and what is deſerving of being noticed, they do not take aim as we commonly do, by bringing the handle of the croſs-bow near the eye, but ſet it upon the belly; and yet by this method, which appears ſo aukward to us, they ſeldom or never miſs hitting the object. The arrow is too valuable to be loſt, for the moment it falls it is picked up for another occaſion.

But the ſpecies of hunting which ſets the courage and enterpriſe of the Finlander in the very ſtrongeſt light, is that of the ſeal, or *phoca vita lina* of Linnæus. The ſeaſon of this chaſe begins when the ſea breaks up, and the ice floats in ſhoals upon the ſurface. Four or five peaſants will place themſelves in an open boat, with one trifling maſt, ſet off to ſea, and be more than a month abſent from their families. Thus they expoſe themſelves to all the dangers of the high-ſeas, have a ſmall-fire which they kindle on a ſort of brick hearth, live upon the fleſh of the ſeal, which is extremely good, and bring home the fat and the ſkins.

The

The perils which thoſe voyagers have to ſtruggle with are incredible: they are every inſtant between maſſes of ice, which threaten to cruſh their bark to atoms: they get upon the floating ſhoals, and, creeping along them, ſteal cautiouſly upon the ſeal, and kill him as he repoſes upon the ice. Seven years ago, two Finlanders only ſet out in a boat for this chaſe. Having got ſight of ſome ſeals on a little floating iſland, they quitted their boat and got upon the ice, moving on their hands and knees to get near them without being perceived. They had previouſly faſtened their boat to the little iſland of ice they diſembarked upon; but while they were buſily engaged in their purſuit, a guſt of wind tore away their boat, when meeting with other ſhoals, it was broken to pieces, and, in a few minutes, entirely diſappeared. The hunters were aware of their danger when it was too late; they were now left without help, without reſource, without a ray of hope, on their little floating iſland. They remained two weeks on this frail fragment: the heat, which diminiſhed its bulk, and alſo its prominent ſurface, rendered their ſituation more alarming every moment. In the anguiſh of hunger, they gnawed the fleſh of their arms: they ſaw the gulph of death opening gradually under their feet; they embraced each other, determined to plunge together into the ſea, and put an end to their miſery, from which they had no proſpect of eſcaping: they had hailed the day for the laſt time, when they diſcovered a ſail. How great muſt have been their joy! One ſtript off his ſhirt, and ſuſpended it on the muzzle of their gun. The veſſel was a whale-fiſher which obſerved them, and putting out her boat, ſaved theſe two men from impending death.

The Arabs.

From Reynier's State of Egypt.

THE Bedouin Arab, wandering in the deſert, feeding his herds, and living on their milk, gives us, at this very day, a picture of the lives of the antient patriarchs. Their manners, cuſtoms, and mode of life are the ſame. The country they inhabit, permitting of no other, they could not change. If certain authors had lived among theſe people, if they had ſtudied men formed for this paſtoral life, they would have ſpared themſelves much declamation.

The Arab has a great veneration for old people; very extenſive are the limits which paternal authority has among them. The children remain under the dominion of the head of the family; when that becomes numerous, after many generations, it forms a tribe, of which the deſcendants of the firſt patriarch are the hereditary chiefs. Veſted with the powers of government, they become powerful and wealthy. They aſſume to be of a ſuperior claſs, and uſurp a ſpecies of feudal authority over the reſt of the tribe.

The ſheiks repreſent the father of the family, and decide the differences of their children; but the more the family or tribe is extended, the leſs are the ſentences of the ſheik reſpected. Quarrels

ariſe; and man in this ſtate, when he thinks himſelf injured, has recourſe to his perſonal ſtrength.

Jealouſies among brethren, the conſequences of inequality in the love and regard they inſpire, or of the property they enjoy, are extremely frequent, eſpecially after the death of the father; and, although the birth-right of the eldeſt is acknowledged among the Arabs, it is not uncommon to ſee brothers go to war, when they are ſufficiently powerful to extend their quarrels to that iſſue. The conteſts between neighbouring families or tribes are no leſs frequent encroachments on paſturage, and the taking away of cattle, are the cauſes and pretexts. No ſupreme authority exiſts to judge between the parties, or to impoſe an accommodation upon them; and this primitive and paſtoral life, which has been fabled ſo peaceable, is no better than a ſtate of perpetual warfare.

There is no principle among the Arabs to unite the individuals and tribes in one general ſociety. Their religion, which, as a common principle, ought to be a means of union, produced that effect only during the fanatical impulſe given by Mahomet to his followers, and continued under his immediate ſucceſſors, by a ſeries of aſtoniſhing conqueſts, which conqueſts afterwards changed the manners of theſe people. Each tribe has its religious chief, who, in matters concerning the tribe too important to be referred to the ſheik, decides according to the principles of the Koran. But theſe miniſters of religion do not poſſeſs an influence powerful enough to ſuppreſs diſſenſions between tribes.

Quarrels among the Arabs are inveterate. Hereditary animoſities occaſion combats, mutual ravages, and aſſaſſinations eternally reviving, ſince blood muſt be anſwered with blood. Local circumſtances, common intereſts, and like hatreds, ſometimes unite for a time different tribes and families under one head; but the concluſion of the war that brings them together, and the diviſion of ſpoils, break theſe temporary ties, no longer of force when the ſame dangers no longer preſs on the members of which the union was formed.

Although ſwayed by the jealous and angry paſſions engendered by this habitual ſtate of war, the Arabs poſſeſs fine moral qualities. They exerciſe hoſpitality, even towards their enemies. This virtue ſeems more common among men approaching a ſtate of nature, notwithſtanding their wants, than among civiliſed men in the midſt of abundance. With the latter it loſes its purity, from the oſtentation that enters into all their actions, and perhaps becauſe hoſpitality in ſome degree grows out of the want which men in a rude ſtate frequently have of an aſylum from the many ſtorms to which they are expoſed.

Enamoured of their independence, the Arabs deſpiſe the huſbandman and the inhabitants of cities. They have a degree of fierceneſs of character, but not unmingled with elevated ſentiments. It is even a queſtion ſtill to be reſolved, if the diſſimulation and treachery with which they are reproached, particularly in their individual and political relation with more civiliſed people, ſpring from their own manners, or reſult from their-

their experience of the bad faith of civiliſed nations*.

The qualities the Arabs hold in the higheſt eſtimation are frankneſs and courage. One of the greateſt eulogiums they can give a man is to ſay of him—that "*he has but one tongue.*"

No title is ſo noble in the eyes of theſe people as that of father. As ſoon as an Arab has a ſon, he changes his name, aſſuming one which expreſſes that he is *father of this ſon.* That which the Arabs moſt deſire, is the increaſe of their family and tribe, becauſe their power and influence increaſe in the ſame proportion. It is according to the number of children their wives bear that they honour them. Reduced to houſehold cares and to tending their herds, the women have ſeldom any public influence. There are, however, examples of women who, from their reputation and talents, have ſucceeded their huſbands in the office of ſheik.

Frequent conteſts determined the various families or tribes to draw the limits of the territory, and to define the wells of the deſert, which ſhould belong to each. This ſpecies of property is common to the whole tribe. Perſonal property conſiſts of herds, the ſale of which produces them corn, arms, and tobacco; the hire of their camels, and a few inconſiderable branches of commerce, ſuch as charcoal, gum, ſalt, natron, and alum, which commerce local circumſtances confine to certain tribes. The Arabs levy no taxes to defray general expences. The ſheik is uſually the richeſt of the community. It is his duty to ſupport his cavalry, and provide for the expences occaſioned by general hoſpitality, and the aſſembling of other chiefs. Except in theſe inſtances, he lives as ſimply as the reſt of the tribe.

To pillage is a paſſion inſeparable from the Arabs. Their ſpoils are divided among the families by eſtabliſhed regulations. Is this ſpirit of plunder inherent to their degree of civilization? Is it the reſult of wars they make upon one another? Or is it engendered by the jealouſy which they bear towards the more civiliſed people who inhabit the cultivated lands? I do not attempt to decide among theſe queſtions. The Arabs juſtify themſelves by maintaining that pillage is a right of conqueſt. They regard what they ſeize as military trophies, and conſider themſelves in a ſtate of eternal warfare with all who are not of their nation.

The Arab, habituated from his infancy to reſpect all the actions of the aged, and his parents, forms his opinion wholly upon theirs. Nothing is able to excite in him new ideas; and thus his manners

* I have frequently been ſurpriſed to hear Arabs, educated in the deſert, with a ſavage aſpect, and coarſely clothed, ſcarcely able to read a few paſſages in the Koran, employ in certain negociations a ſubtlety in their argument, and a fineſſe worthy of the moſt able ſtateſmen, and flatteries that the moſt poliſhed courtier might avow; while they embelliſhed their diſcourſe with beautiful and grand images. In general, the lively and elevated ſentiments of the Arabs form a wonderful contraſt with the ſterile ſoil they inhabit, and with the ſimplicity and even frequent diſtreſs of their mode of life. In their poetry they ſing the praiſes of love; although their inſtitutions, their habit of polygamy, and the abject ſtate to which their wives are reduced, it might be ſuppoſed, would nearly extinguiſh that paſſion.

are perpetuated. He believes that there is nothing more valuable or noble than himself. Occupied with his horſes, his camels, his journeys, his expedition and plunders, while his wives tend their herds and weave their coarſe garments, he contemplates with diſdain the reſt of men, and thinks it degrading to his dignity to cultivate the land or inhabit a houſe. His contempt of all foreign inſtitutions conſtantly oppoſes the influence they might gain upon him.

Theſe habits have preſerved a national character in all the Arabs, even in thoſe who have had the moſt intercourſe with civiliſed people, and adopted part of their cuſtoms. But although the character of the Arabs is not ſenſibly modified by their intercourſe with other people, their habitation of cultivated territories has been followed with changes in their political condition. Let us examine the various ſtates of this people, from the Arab remaining in the deſert, to him who is become the lord of cultivated territories.

The Bedouin Arab, living in the deſert on the produce of his flocks and his plunder, is deemed the moſt noble and of the pureſt blood. The wealthieſt perſons of his nation, living in plenty on their cultivated lands, are accuſtomed to ſpeak of the Arab in the deſert with the higheſt veneration, and conſider it as an honour to be deſcended from him, however little they imitate his mode of life.

There are, in ſome tribes, a claſs compoſed of the deſcendants of foreign families, or of *fellahs (cultivators)*, who, worn out with oppreſſion, have fled from cultivated territories to the deſert, and embraced the Arab's life. This laſt is not admitted to partake of the noble idleneſs and the military life of the Bedouins. He is reſtricted to the tending of herds, to the guiding of camels, and to labouring the earth, when theſe tribes have any cultivated land. Such are the Hatemah in Charkiah. Some ſheiks of tribes, neighbours of cultivated territories, having greatly augmented their power and wealth, have reduced the reſt of their tribe to this ſubordinate condition; and their own families, being alone conſidered as of noble origin and of purely Arab blood, are alone exempt from labour.

The Arabs make no ſlaves in their wars. Having no hard labour to perform, ſlaves would be uſeleſs to them; and as no purchaſers could be found, they could not be made an object of commerce. When their enemies fall into their hands, they put them to death, or are ſatisfied with plundering of them, according as they ſuppoſe them to poſſeſs importance among their enemies. Sometimes they retain them as hoſtages.

They are not, however, wholly without ſlaves. They even ſometimes purchaſe negroes from the interior of Africa. With them, as with moſt of the people of the eaſt, ſlavery is only a ſpecies of adoption. When the ſlave is purchaſed, he is received into the family. At firſt he is employed only in domeſtic ſervices; but as ſoon as his years and ſtrength permit, he accompanies his maſter in war; he has every thing in common with the Arab's children; and often his maſter joins to the gift of liberty the

the herds neceſſary to his eſtabliſhment, and obtains a wife for him. Deſcendants of negro-ſlaves have been known to partake of authority and influence in common with other Arabs, and ſeveral have arrived at the rank of ſheik. The tribes of the deſert purchaſe fewer ſlaves than the Arabs who are neighbours of the cultivated lands, and have occaſion for a conſiderable armed force to protect themſelves and enlarge their power.

Several tribes have ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed themſelves upon the common ſkirts of the cultivated land and the deſert; and others in the ſandy plains, which form a ſpecies of iſles in the midſt of cultivated territories. They continue to live under tents, or in cabins made of reeds, and preſerve their original manners. They retain alſo their diſtrict in the deſert, where they ſend their camels to paſture, and to which they may retire with their herds when they have any attack to fear. Their vicinity to the cultivated lands induces habits and wants from which the Bedouins are exempt. Theſe Arabs live better than the tribes of the deſert, and cultivate ſome portions of ground, by employing either inferior claſſes or the fellahs.

Other Arabs have quitted their tents to live in villages, where they are diſtinguiſhed from the fellahs by their idleneſs, by the military life of ſuch as are of the families of the ſheiks, and by a ſpecies of independence. Become proprietors and cultivators, they are more within the reach of government; yet many are ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt government, and others to make themſelves feared. Some poſſeſs territories which they govern as maſters. The Sheik Hamman was the real ſovereign of Upper Egypt when Ali Bey annihilated his power. Since that time no ſheik has ariſen to the ſame degree of grandeur; but there are many who poſſeſs intire villages, either as proprietors and lords of the place, or as proprietors of free lands. They maintained their dignity by a numerous cavalry, and were feared and reſpected by a weak and divided government.

The Arabs conſider themſelves as maſters of Egypt by right of conqueſt. The various tribes have divided among themſelves the intire country by provinces and juriſdictions*, in which they reſpectively govern, and have their particular territories. The regard the fellahs as vaſſals, whoſe duty it is to cultivate the land neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the Arabs; and pay a tribute for what they cultivate on their own account; while they, on their part, protect the cultivators by their arms againſt hoſtile tribes. They preſerve all the pride of the conquering Arabs; treat with the government of Egypt as one ſovereign with another; and deem it unworthy of their grandeur to pay a fixed tribute, purchaſing their tranquillity by preſents conſecrated by cuſtom, and conſiſting chiefly of

* I uſe the word *juriſdiction* becauſe there are ſtill traces to be found of the inſtitutions of the Arabs, the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, who eſtabliſhed a kind of juſtices of the peace, named Sanagar, who, as arbitrators, terminated quarrels in their juriſdiction. This office was hereditary in the chiefs of certain families. The Arabs ſtill ſometimes conſult thoſe chiefs; but the inſtitution is almoſt abolished, ſince the mamalukes have uſurped all power in Egypt.

horſes and camels, but very rarely of money. They retreat into the deſert rather than ſubmit intirely. Dreaded by the cultivators, and ſetting the government at defiance, in their rapid flights and rapid return, they equally compel the fellahs to purchaſe their protection.

The title of Arab ſheik is highly venerated in Egypt. As ſoon as the ſheik of a village is ſufficiently rich to maintain an eſtabliſhment and a certain number of cavalry, he procures himſelf a genealogy, which traces his deſcent from ſome Arab family, and takes the title of *Sheik el Arab*. If the quarrels and inveterate animoſity of the Arab tribes did not prevent their union, the ſheiks could aſſemble 40,000 horſe, and would be maſters of Egypt. But their diſſenſions protect the country from their domination.

The Arab families who inhabit the villages, particularly the Aouarah in Upper Egypt, appear to be deſcended from the conquerors of Egypt, under the ſucceſſors of Mahomet. The eſtabliſhment of other tribes is more modern. I have not been able to diſcover the epoch of their arrival, nor that of the diſtinction of their provinces. The old men of the tribes dwelling near the cultivated lands, aſcribe their emigration to the eleventh or twelfth century. From the earlieſt time the Nile has attracted the inhabitants of the deſert to its banks. On the ſide of Charkieh dwell the tribes that came from Arabia. The tribes from Barbary proceeded no further than Bahirah, which lies to the Weſt of the Nile. Theſe are more warlike and better armed than the former.

Beſides alliances among tribes, there exiſts among the Arabs numerous confederacies or leagues, of which powerful ſheiks are the leaders. Every tribe, and every family, belong to one of theſe confederacies, and thoſe who are of the ſame party reciprocally aid each other in war. When a quarrel ariſes between two tribes of the ſame league, that which is deſerted by the other members of the league for the time joins the oppoſite party.

I have not been able to trace the origin of theſe confederacies. They are very ancient, and exiſt among all the nations of Arabs. In Lower Egypt one of theſe leagues is named *Sath*, and the other *Haran*. In Syria their names are *Kiech* and *Yemani*. The families of fellahs and the villages are attached to one or other of theſe leagues. The beys, when they are divided into two great parties, ſtrengthen themſelves in their diſſenſions by an alliance with one or other of them. When the French army arrived in Egypt, Ibrahim Bey was of the league called *Sath*, and Murad Bey of that called *Haran*. In general, the Sath league was attached to the governor of Cairo.

The Arabs may be ſaid to form a frame in which the population of Egypt is incloſed. They conſtitute an empire within an empire. And I have deſcribed their political condition and character with ſome minuteneſs, becauſe traces of theſe are found in all the other claſſes of Egypt.

The

The Fellahs, or Cultivators in Egypt. From the ſame.

THE Fellahs, or cultivators of Egypt, have a great reſemblance in character to the Arabs, and are probably deſcended from a mixture of the firſt irruption of Arabs with the ancient inhabitants. They preſerve the ſame diſtinction of families; and thoſe that live together in a village form a ſpecies of tribe. The animoſities between families or villages are as ſtrong as thoſe among the Arabs; but the extreme dependence of the fellahs has robbed them of the lofty and independent temper of the Arabs. The fellahs vegetate under feudal power, the more rigorous becauſe it is divided, and becauſe their oppreſſors form part of the government which ought to protect them. But, with all the diſadvantages of their ſituation, they endeavour inceſſantly to imitate the independence of the Arabs, and are proud of calling them anceſtors.

The fellahs are bound by families to the lands they cultivate. Their labour is the property of the *mukhteſims*, or lords of villages. Although the fellahs cannot be ſold, their condition is more wretched than abſolute ſlavery. They indeed poſſeſs and tranſmit to their children the land allotted to their families, but they cannot alienate them, and can ſcarcely let any part of them without the permiſſion of their lord. If, wearied out with oppreſſion, a fellah quits his village, the mukhteſim has the right to purſue and arreſt him. The hoſpitality practiſed by the fellahs, in common with the Arabs, opens an aſylum to the fugitives in other villages, where they hire themſelves as labourers, and remain in ſafety, if the proprietor is not ſufficiently powerful to wreſt them from the place. They are alſo received and ſheltered among the Arabs.

The fellahs who remain in a village partially deſerted by the cultivators are more unfortunate than the fugitives. They are compelled to ſupport all the labour, and pay all the dues of the fugitives; and, often reduced to deſpair, they intirely abandon the village, and engage themſelves as domeſtics of the Arabs of the deſert, if they can find no other ſecure refuge. Many villages are to be ſeen wholly deſerted, and the lands belonging to them uncultivated; the inhabitants taking this method to puniſh the exceſſive avidity of their lords.

The mukhteſims, or proprietors of villages, may be compared to the feudal lords of Europe. They receive the greater part of the produce of the lands, which they afterwards divide into unequal proportions, the ſmaller, which bears the name of the *miri*, is the territorial impoſt due to the grand ſeignor; and the larger, known by the name of *fays*, of *barani*, &c. they reſerve to themſelves. Beſides theſe rights, the mukhteſim, like the feudal lord, has the immediate property of land called *ouſſieh*, which the fellahs are compelled to cultivate *without hire*, in the manner of our ancient feudal duties.

A village does not always belong to a ſingle proprietor; many villages having ſeveral lords. To mark clearly the boundaries of this ſpecies of property, the village is ſuppoſed to be divided into twenty-four parts, named *karats*, of which

each mukhtefim has a certain number. Each *karat*, cultivated by one or more families, has a sheik chosen by the mukhtefim among their chiefs. The sheik who poſſeſſes the greateſt wealth, maintains the greateſt number of horſe, and has acquired the principal influence in war, is acknowledged as principal ſheik, and manages the general affairs of the village. But he has no direct authority, except in his own family; and his counſels are followed in the reſt of the village only in proportion as he is perſonally reſpected or feared.

Beſides the ſheiks there are other functionaries in the villages;—the *oukil*, to whom the proprietor commits the charge of the produce of the ouſſieh, or his particular land; the *chahed*, and the *kholi*, who are ſelect chiefs, and are the keepers of the ſmall number of records of the village; the *mechaid*, the *mohandis*, a ſpecies of ſurveyors, &c.

The mukhtefim ſometimes appoints a *kaimaikan*, or his deputy, in the village, whoſe office it is to preſerve the police, and to ſuperintend the cultivation of the ground and the payment of the contributions. When the kaimaikan is attended with a force to induce obedience, when he does not ſeek merely the making of his own fortune, and when the proprietor is ſufficiently informed of his own intereſts not to make him an inſtrument of oppreſſion, this officer is uſeful to a village, becauſe quarrels are then the more eaſily appeaſed; and the police being better adminiſtered, the fellahs give themſelves up almoſt wholly to the cultivation of the land.

The fellah's being the cultivators of the land, more ſubjects of diſpute ariſe among them than even among the Arabs. Their ſheiks having no direct authority among them, except in their own families, there exiſts no central municipal authority in a village. If ſome one of the ſheiks does not gain the aſcendancy, if the mukhteſims do not mutually appoint a *kaimaikan* with a ſtrong armed force, anarchy pervades the village, and every family becomes the avenger of its own quarrels. The neceſſity of cultivating the ground, however, impoſes accommodations upon them, and they chooſe arbitrators. But there is no force charged with the execution of the deciſions of theſe judges. It often happens that one of the parties, concluding himſelf to be aggrieved by the ſentence, refuſes obedience to it till ſome powerful man compels him to ſubmit.

The cadis, eſtabliſhed in each province to determine diſputes according to the Koran, have a very feeble hold on the public opinion. They are ſeldom referred to, except for general affairs concerning various villages, or in diſputes about property ſubject to judicial proceedings. The mukhteſims, whoſe intereſt it is to be judges in their own villages, and the Arab ſheiks, deſirous to preſerve their juriſdictions, have drawn almoſt all buſineſs away from the cadis, and the mamalukes have finally aſſiſted to deſpoil them of all conſideration. The wretched and unprotected ſtate of the fellahs compels them, when they are tired of their quarrels, to have recourſe to arbitrators ſufficiently powerful to enforce their deciſions, who uſually are the principal

cipal ſheiks of their village or neighbouring villages, Arab ſheiks, the mukhteſims, or, finally, the *kiachef*, or bey, who is governor of the province.

The quarrels of the fellahs ſometimes interrupt the labour neceſſary to irrigation and the culture of the land. Each fellah ſeeks an opportunity to plunder or kill an enemy. The offender is not purſued; frequently he is unknown; but his whole family remain reſponſible for the offence; and then they draw into their quarrel their allies, entire villages, and even ſometimes the great confederacies themſelves. Hence ariſe thoſe wars which the moſt powerful mediator has alone the means of terminating.

The government, ſeldom ſtrong enough to prevent or repel the attacks to which the villages are conſtantly expoſed from the Arabs, or ſilence the wars engendered by the animoſities of families, permits the cultivators to poſſeſs arms. According to their means, they carry ſorry muſkets with matchlocks, poignards, ſabres, lances, and clubs. When they deem themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withhold the tribute they pay the Arabs for protection, they go armed to cultivate the fields or reap the harveſt. The appearance of an Arabian mare, the courſer of the Arab ſheik, is always to the fellahs, while they are at work, the ſignal either of flight or battle.

Every village places guards to watch its dykes during the inundation. When the inundation is leſs abundant than uſual, the fellahs frequently contend for the water. An incloſure flanked with ſmall towers, ſituated near the wells that are diſtant from the villages, ſerves to protect their herds at the appearance of an enemy*.

Almoſt all the villages are ſurrounded with mud walls, having battlements; and are ſo many citadels to which the fellahs retire with their herds, and ſtand upon the defenſive, if they are not ſufficiently ſtrong in horſe to keep the field. Theſe petty fortifications are conſidered almoſt as impregnable by the Arabs and the fellahs, who have no artillery, and very few fire arms. Even the mamalukes decline an attack upon the villages, when they can gain them by perſuaſion or ſurpriſe them by treachery.

The wars of the fellahs are no more than ſkirmiſhes. They conſiſt rather of aſſaſſinations than battles. But, it being the maxim that blood muſt be avenged by blood, theſe hoſtilities would be interminable, if the government, the great proprietors, or the powerful Arab ſheiks, did not interfere as armed mediators, and if the cuſtom of paying a compenſation for blood (by which the families who have loſt the moſt men receive indemnities) did not ſuſpend animoſity propagated from family to family.

This almoſt continual ſtate of warfare, theſe alliances, and general confederacies, accuſtom the fellahs to reſiſt the oppreſſions of their proprietors, and even of the government, when exigencies do not permit them to keep up a ſufficient force to overawe the villages; and hence revolts are very frequent

* Similar towers are to be ſeen in many parts of Europe, where the feudal ſyſtem has exiſted longeſt.

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in certain provinces, and especially where the Arabs are numerous.

It would be difficult to conceive men in a more unhappy condition than the fellahs, if they were acquainted with any medium of comparison, if their character and religious prejudices did not incline them to resignation, and if they were not persuaded that the cultivator of the land is destined to enjoy no milder fate. It is not enough that they pay to the government and the mukhtesims the larger share of their harvest, that they are compelled to cultivate without hire the ousieh or the particular land of their lords, that the mukhtesims daily lay heavier impositions upon them; the governors of the provinces moreover require subsistence for their troops, forced presents, and almost every species of arbitrary exaction, the names of some of which add insult to oppression, such as *raffel medzalim*, the composition for tyranny. It is comparatively little that the laws are feeble and ill-administered, that redress is not to be obtained by the cultivators without bribes, that being unable to purchase redress, and assuming the right to obtain it for themselves, they are obliged to pay for that offence, and that even flight cannot always screen them from these oppressions; to aggravate the evil, the Arabs who immediately surround their lands, tax them for their protection against other tribes; —a protection in words only, since, notwithstanding the contribution, they do not the less plunder the harvests of their tributaries; and when the government pursue and disperse the Arabs, punishments and new exactions fall upon the heads of the unfortunate cultivators, whom the Arabs always force into their party.

To this miserable condition is to be attributed the general indolence of the fellahs, their temperance, their distaste for every species of enjoyment, and the habit of burying their money; which last custom, however, is common to them with all the other classes. Certain to draw upon themselves by an appearance of easy circumstances new contributions, often beyond their means, they are peculiarly careful to disguise what they possess. Very different from the European farmers, who put on their gayest apparel when they visit their landlords, the fellahs studiously cover themselves with the worst of their apparel when they appear before their lords.

The Psylli of Egypt.

From Denon's Travels.

THE serpent, though not winged, is still the object of some sorcery in Egypt. I was with the commander in chief one day, when the psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appeared to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: "Can you tell us," said the general, "whether there are any ser-"pents in the palace, and if there "are, can you oblige them to come "forth from their retreats?" They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to

to the proof: on which they ſearched all the rooms, and preſently after they declared that there was a ſnake in the houſe; they then renewed their ſearch to diſcover where he was hid, made ſome convulſions in paſſing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where indeed we actually found one. This was a true Comus's trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

Being always curious to obſerve the means by which men command the opinions of others, I regretted that I was not at Roſetta at the proceſſion of the feaſt of Ibrahim, in which the convulſions of the pſylli form the moſt entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loſs, I addreſſed myſelf to the chief of the ſect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the franks; I flattered him; and he promiſed to make me a ſpectator of the exaltation of one of the pſylli, as ſoon as he ſhould have *blown into his ſpirit*, as he expreſſed it. From my curioſity he thought I bid fair to be a proſelyte, and he propoſed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand maſter ſpits in the mouth of the neophyte; this circumſtance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myſelf to go through this trial; ſo I gave my money to the high prieſt, and he promiſed to let me ſee one of the inſpired.

They had brought with them their ſerpents, which they let looſe from a large leather ſack in which they were kept, and made them erect their bodies and hiſs, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally cauſed their anger, for as ſoon as they were returned into the ſack their paſſion ceaſed, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was alſo curious to obſerve, that, when angry, the neck for ſix inches below the head, was dilated to the ſize of one's hand. I ſoon ſaw that even I could manage the ſerpents perfectly well, without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked that the pſylli, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, ſeized it on the back of the head with the other: I did the ſame with one of the ſerpents with equal ſucceſs, though much to the indignation of the performers themſelves. After this, they proceeded to the grand myſtery: one of the performers took a ſnake, which he had previouſly diſabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate was deſtroyed; he then graſped it with the appearance of paſſion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the *ſpirit*, that is to ſay, after uttering ſome myſterious words, blew into his mouth; and, at the inſtant, the other was ſeized with a ſacred convulſion, his arms and legs diſtorted, his eyes ſeeming to ſtart from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilſt the two attendants, appearing to commiſerate his ſufferings, reſtrained his ſtruggles with difficulty, and ſnatched from his hand the ſerpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As ſoon as the ſnake was removed, he remained as if ſtupid; but the chief approached him,

him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling.

Egyptian Dancers.

From the same.

WE requested of the sheiks a sight of the *almés*, a description of female dancers similar to those of India. These chiefs, a part of whose revenues they probably constituted, made some difficulty in allowing them to be brought into our presence. If polluted by the inspection of infidels, their reputation might suffer, and they might perhaps even be obliged to forfeit their condition in life. The vileness of a christian in the eyes of a mussulman may be estimated from this anecdote, since the objects which are the most dissolute and abandoned in this sect, may notwithstanding be profaned by the view of an European. The presence, however, of a general, together with that of two hundred soldiers, and some old offences for which the sheiks had an atonement to make, soon removed every obstacle. The *almés* arrived; and we could not perceive that they participated in the slightest degree in the political considerations and religious scruples of the sheiks. They made some difficulty, however, and that with a tolerable share of grace, in granting us what we should have considered as the smallest of their favours, that of uncovering the eyes and the mouth. In a little time their forms were completely displayed through coloured gauze, fastened by a sash, which they tightened from time to time negligently, and with an air of levity by no means disagreeable, and somewhat *à la française*. They had brought with them two instruments, a pipe and tabour, and a kind of drum, made from an earthen pot, on which the musician beat with his hands. They were seven in number. Two of them began dancing, while the others sung with an accompaniment of castanets, in the shape of cymbals, and of the size of a crown piece. The movement they displayed in striking them against each other gave infinite grace to their fingers and wrists. At the commencement the dance was voluptuous: it soon after became lascivious, and expressed, in the grossest and most indecent way, the giddy transports of the passions. The disgust which this spectacle excited was heightened by one of the musicians, of whom I have just spoken, and who, at the moment when the dancers gave the greatest freedom to their wanton gestures and emotions, with the stupid air of a clown in a pantomime, interrupted, by a loud burst of laughter, the scene of intoxication which was to close the dance.

These dancers swallowed large glasses of brandy as if it had been lemonade.

lemonade. Accordingly, notwithſtanding they were all young and handſome, they were haggard and jaded, with the exception of two of them, whoſe beauty bore ſo ſtriking a reſemblance to that of two of our Paris *belles*, that we all joined in a general exclamation when they diſcloſed their features. So truly is grace a pure gift of nature, that Joſephina and Hanka, who had received no other education than that which is beſtowed on the moſt infamous profeſſion in the moſt diſſolute of cities, when the dance was ended, poſſeſſed all the delicacy of manners of the women whom they reſembled, and the ſoft and endearing voluptuouſneſs which they, no doubt, reſerve for thoſe on whom they laviſh their ſecret favours. I could have wiſhed, I muſt confeſs, that Joſephina had not reſembled the others in her ſtyle of dancing.

Notwithſtanding the licentious life of theſe females, they are introduced into the Harems to inſtruct the young perſons of their ſex in all that may render them agreeable to their future huſbands. They give them leſſons of dancing, ſinging, gracefulneſs, and, in general, of all voluptuous attainments. It is not ſurpriſing, that with manners which make the principal duty of women to conſiſt in beſtowing pleaſure, thoſe who follow the profeſſion of gallantry ſhould be the teachers of the fair ſex. They are admitted to the feſtivals which the grandees give to thoſe of their own rank; and when, from time to time, a huſband wiſhes to entertain his harem in a particular manner, they are alſo ſent for.

Character of the Sultan Mahmud.

From Maurice's Modern Hiſtory of Hindoſtan.

SULTAN Mahmud, it is recorded, poſſeſſed many great and princely virtues; among them principally predominated a dauntleſs fortitude, profound political wiſdom, and, on ſome occaſions, he manifeſted a laudable ſpirit of inflexible juſtice; but they were all darkened by his execrable bigotry and his inſatiable avarice. No man ever had ſuch ample opportunities of gratifying it in its fulleſt extent. The wealth he amaſſed in his various wars, but particularly in his invaſions of India, was of an enormous amount; and independently of theſe, he had other occaſional ſources to fly to for obtaining treaſure. In particular, at the ſtorming of Bagdad, he extorted from the Caliph Al Kader Billa, at once, five millions of dirhms. The ſplendour of his court attracted thither the moſt celebrated ſcholars and poets from all parts of Aſia. Here they were hoſpitably and ſplendidly entertained out of the overflowings of wealth too vaſt to feel the deduction, and contributed to ſwell the pomp of a monarch, more oſtentatious than really generous; and far more eager to obtain praiſe than anxious to reward it. Of this his conduct towards the great poet Ferduſi, the Homer of Aſia, was a ſtriking proof. The reader will eaſily pardon me for tranſcribing the whole relation from the authentic page of Sir William Jones, who, with much of the poetic fire of Ferduſi, at an early period of

of life, experienced from a great European ſovereign a ſimilar ill-treatment with that bard.

"This moſt learned man, happening to find a volume of Perſian hiſtory, of a very ancient date, read it with eagerneſs, and found it involved in fables, but bearing the marks of high antiquity; the moſt ancient part of it, and principally the war of Afraſiah and Khoſro, or Cyrus, ſeemed to afford an excellent ſubject for an heroic poem, which he accordingly began to compoſe. Some of his epiſodes and deſcriptions were ſhewn to the ſultan, who commended them exceedingly, and ordered him to comprize the whole hiſtory of Perſia in a ſeries of epic poems. The poet obeyed; and after the happieſt exertions of his fancy and art, for near thirty years, he finiſhed his work, which contained ſixty thouſand couplets in rhyme, all highly poliſhed, with the ſpirit of our Dryden, and the ſweetneſs of Pope. He preſented an elegant tranſcript of his book to Mahmud, who coldly applauded his diligence and diſmiſſed him. Many months elapſed, and Ferduſi heard no more of his work: he then took occaſion to remind the king of it by ſome little epigrams, which he contrived to let fall in his palace: but where an epic poem had failed what could be expected from an epigram? At length the reward came, which conſiſted only of as many ſmall pieces of money as there were couplets in the volume. The high-minded poet could not brook this inſult: he retired to his cloſet with bitterneſs in his heart, where he wrote a moſt noble and animated invective againſt the ſultan, which he ſealed up and delivered to a courtier, who, as he had reaſon to ſuſpect, was his greateſt enemy, aſſuring him, that it was a diverting tale, and requeſted him to give it to Mahmud when any affair of ſtate or bad ſucceſs in war ſhould make him more uneaſy and ſplenetic than uſual. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he left Gazna in the night, and took refuge in Bagdad, where the caliph protected him from the power of the ſultan, who demanded him in a furious and menacing letter."

We are the more aſtoniſhed at this unworthy treatment of the prince of Aſiatic poets, becauſe we are informed by all his biographers that Mahmud himſelf was a poet, and, at an early period of life, tranſlated into verſe a ſublime treatiſe on government, compoſed by the Brahmins of India.

Of the power, indeed, of elegant poetry to attract and mollify him, we have already given a ſtriking proof in the pacificatory verſes addreſſed to him by the rajah of Callinger. His hiſtorians record another inſtance of its effect in ſoothing his turbulent paſſions, which is too curious to be paſſed over unnoticed. Mahmud ſeems, like other poets, to have occaſionally indulged in the pleaſures of the flowing goblet. In a moment of intoxication he one night cut off the beautiful treſſes of his favourite miſtreſs. In the morning he was extremely afflicted for the outrage he had committed. The diſtracted ſtate of his mind ſhewed itſelf in his wild and furious geſtures. Nobody dared approach the agitated monarch. At length a celebrated philoſopher and poet of the court addreſſed him in ſome beautiful lines,

lines, artfully adapted to the ſorrowful occaſion. The ſovereign's grief gradually ſubſided, and as the bard proceeded, he became ſo delighted with the effuſion, that he ordered his mouth to be three times filled with jewels; an admirable mode of rewarding poetical merit, never, I believe, before or ſince practiſed! The ſultan then, in ſpite of his zeal for the doctrines of the Koran, called aloud for wine, and ſeating the favourite poet by his ſide, forgot his cares in the renovated pleaſures of the banquet.

Of his inflexible juſtice the following inſtance is inſerted in Herbelot from the NIGHIARISTAN, compoſed by Al Kaſwani.

A perſon one day, in great agony of mind, abruptly ruſhed into his preſence, while the king was ſitting at his tribunal, and called loudly for juſtice. Mahmud deſired him inſtantly to declare his complaint. He ſaid that he was a man in but indigent circumſtances, but bleſt with a handſome wife, whoſe beauty had unfortunately excited the paſſion of an omrah of great wealth and rank; that the ſaid omrah, with armed attendants, came frequently, at midnight, to his houſe, and after ſeverely beating him, turned him into the ſtreet, while he gratified, by force, his libidinous deſires. Tears of reſentment and compaſſion ſtarted from the eyes of Mahmud, and he ſeverely reprimanded the poor ſufferer for not ſooner preferring his complaint. The man replied, that he had often attempted it, but could never gain admittance. "If," ſaid Mahmud. "that omrah ſhould ever trouble you again, let me know it without a moments delay." Then ordering the guard to admit him at any hour, however unſeaſonable, he diſmiſſed him. The third night following the former outrage being renewed, the complainant hurried to the palace; but the king having retired to the haram, was refuſed admittance. Encouraged by the promiſes of Mahmud, he now ſet up the moſt violent outcries, in hopes that the noiſe would alarm the court, and reach the ear of the king. The attempt ſucceeded, and Mahmud ſnatching his robe in haſte, followed the poor man to his houſe, attended by part of his guard. When arrived thither, he immediately ordered the light to be extinguiſhed, and cut the inſolent omrah to pieces. After the execution he commanded a flambeau to be lighted, and then looked earneſtly at the face of the criminal; this done, he proſtrated himſelf, returned thanks to God, and called for ſome refreſhment. The houſe of poverty afforded no other than ſome barley bread and a little ſtale wine, which however the ſultan was contented with, and on the point of returning to his palace, was, after the moſt fervent expreſſions of gratitnde, humbly ſolicited by the avenged huſband to declare, why he ordered the light to be extinguiſhed; why he proſtrated himſelf after the death of the omrah; and laſtly, how the faſtidious appetite of a great king could put up with ſo beggarly a repaſt? The ſultan with great condeſcenſion replied, that after his firſt complaint he conjectured that none of his numerous ſubjects, except his own ſon, would dare to commit an act of ſuch horrible enormity in the capital where he reſided;

reſided; that determined to ſacrifice ſo atrocious an offender to the juſtice of the laws, he ordered the light to be extinguiſhed, leſt compaſſion at the ſight of ſo dear a relative ſhould arreſt his hand in the execution of that juſtice; that, finding it was not his ſon, he proſtrated himſelf with grateful humility before God; and that he had eaten cheerfully of his repaſt, however humble, becauſe he had, on the inſtant of hearing his complaint, made a vow not to eat or drink till he had avenged himſelf on the baſe adulterer.

Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whoſe empire extended from the ſhores of the Caſpian to the mouth of the Indus; and from the Tigris to the Ganges. No Mohammedan prince before him, ever attained to ſo exalted a point of power and ſplendour, ever rolled in ſo much wealth, or was ever ſtained with ſo much blood. The liberal patron of the arts, at Gazna; at Delhi, the remorſeleſs deſpoiler of their proudeſt monuments! affecting towards the great creator the moſt zealous piety, but acting towards his creatures with ferocious barbarity. So ſingular a compound of qualities the moſt oppoſite, has ſeldom occurred in the hiſtoric page; though, in *theſe* pages, but too many characters will hereafter paſs in review, polluted with all the vices, unmitigated by the virtues of Mahmud. Of the atrocities that marked a Gengis, a Timur, and an Aurengzeb, it will ſoon be my painful taſk to give the black details, and to trace through deſolated India their blood-ſtained ſteps. I ſhall attempt neither to diſguiſe nor palliate their crimes; but diſplay them for the contemplation of future depredators, in all the horrors of native deformity; under whatever ſounding title concealed, endeavour to detect and expoſe the ſordid baſeneſs of avarice, to enſanguined ambition hold up the genuine mirror. This is the duty of the hiſtorian at all times, but more particularly of an hiſtorian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may ſo term it, of ravaged Aſia, the Aceldama of the earth.

Account of the Back Settlers in America.

From Prieſt's Travels.

DURING my reſidence in Jerſey, I was at no little pains to inform myſelf of the difficulties attending a back ſettler. We will ſuppoſe a perſon making ſuch an attempt to poſſeſs one hundred pounds, though many have been ſucceſsful with a much leſs ſum: his firſt care is to purchaſe about three hundred acres of land, which, if it is in a remote weſtern ſettlement, he will procure for about nineteen pounds ſterling: he may know the quality of the land by the trees, with which it is entirely covered. The hickory and the walnut are an infallible ſign of a rich, and every ſpecies of fir, of a barren, ſandy, and unprofitable ſoil. When his land is properly regiſtered, his next care is to provide himſelf with a horſe, a plough and

and other implements of agriculture; a rifle, a fowling piece, ſome ammunition, and a large dog, of the blood-hound breed, to hunt deer. We will ſuppoſe him arrived at the place of his deſtination in ſpring, as ſoon as the ground is clear of froſt. No ſooner is the arrival of a new ſettler circulated, than, for many miles round, his neighbours flock to him: they all aſſiſt in erecting his hut; this is done with logs; a bricklayer is only wanting to make his chimney and oven. He then clears a few acres by cutting down the large trees about four feet from the *ground**, grubs up the underwood, ſplits ſome of the large timber for railing fences, and ſets fire to the reſt upon the ſpot; ploughs round the ſtumps of the large timber, and in May, plants maize or Indian corn. In October he has an harveſt of eight hundred or a thouſand fold. This is every thing to him and his family. Indian corn, ground and made into cakes, anſwers the end of bread, and when boiled with meat, and a ſmall portion of a ſort of kidney bean (which it is uſual to ſow with this grain), it makes an excellent diſh, which they call *hominy*. They alſo coarſely pound the Indian corn, and boil it for five hours; this is by the Indians called *muſh*; and, when a proportion of milk is added, forms their breakfaſt. Indian corn is alſo the beſt food for horſes employed in agriculture in this climate: black cattle, deer, and hogs, are very fond of it, and fatten better than on any other grain. It is alſo excellent food for turkies and other poultry.

When this harveſt is in, he provides himſelf with a cow, and a few ſheep and hogs; the latter run wild in the woods. But for a few years he depends chiefly on his *rifle* and *faithful dog*; with theſe he provides his family with deer, bear, racoon, &c. but what he values moſt are the black and grey ſquirrels; theſe animals are large and numerous, are excellent roaſted, and make a ſoup exceedingly rich and nouriſhing.

He gradually clears his land, a few acres every year, and begins to plant wheat, tobacco, &c. Theſe, together with what hogs, and other increaſe of his ſtock he can ſpare, as alſo the ſkins of deer, bear, and other animals he ſhoots in the woods, he exchanges with the neareſt ſtorekeeper, for cloathing, ſugar, coffee, &c.

In this ſtate he ſuffers much for want of the comforts, and even *neceſſaries* of life. Suppoſe him afflicted with the flux or fever, attacked by a panther, bitten by a rattle-ſnake, or any other of the dreadful circumſtances peculiar to his ſituation: but, above all, ſuppoſe a war to break out between the Indians, and him and his whole family ſcalped, and their plantations burnt!

The following extract from an American work very feelingly deſcribes him under theſe cruel apprehenſions:—

"You know," ſays the writer, "the poſition of our ſettlement;

* Theſe ſtumps are many years rotting, and, when completely rotted, afford an excellent manure.

therefore I need not deſcribe it. To the weſt it is incloſed by a chain of mountains, reaching to ———. To the eaſt, the country is yet but very thinly inhabited. We are almoſt inſulated, and the houſes are at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. From the mountains we have but too much reaſon to expect our dreadful enemy, the Indians; and the wilderneſs is a harbour where it is impoſſible to find them. It is a door through which they can enter our country at any time; and as they ſeemed determined to deſtroy the whole frontier, our fate cannot be far diſtant. From lake Champlain almoſt all has been conflagrated, one after another. What renders theſe incurſions ſtill more dreadful is, that they moſt commonly take place in the dead of the night. We never go to our fields but we are ſeized with an involuntary fear, which leſſens our ſtrength, and weakens our labour. No other ſubject of diſcourſe intervenes between the different accounts, which ſpread through the country, of ſucceſſive acts of devaſtation; and theſe, told in chimney corners, ſwell themſelves in our affrighted imaginations into the moſt terrific ideas. We never ſit down either to dinner or ſupper, but the leaſt noiſe ſpreads a general alarm, and prevents us from enjoying the comfort of our meals. The very appetite proceeding from labour and peace of mind is gone! Our ſleep is diſturbed by the moſt frightful dreams! Sometimes I ſtart awake, as if the great hour of danger was come; at other times the howling of our dogs ſeems to announce the arrival of the enemy: we leap out of bed and run to arms; my poor wife, with panting boſom, and ſilent tears, takes leave of me, as if we were to ſee each other no more. She ſnatches the youngeſt children from their beds, who, ſuddenly awakened, increaſe by their innocent queſtions the horror of the dreadful moment! She tries to hide them in the cellar, as if our cellar was inacceſſible to fire! I place all my ſervants at the window, and myſelf at the door, where I am determined to periſh. Fear induſtriouſly increaſes every ſound; we all liſten; each communicates to each other his fears and conjectures. We remain thus, ſometimes for whole hours, our hearts and our minds racked by the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe! What a dreadful ſituation! A thouſand times worſe than that of a ſoldier engaged in the midſt of a moſt ſevere conflict! Sometimes feeling the ſpontaneous courage of a man, I ſeem to wiſh for the deciſive minute! the next inſtant a meſſage from my wife, ſent by one of the children, quite unmans me. Away goes my courage, and I deſcend again into the deepeſt deſpondency: at laſt, finding it was a falſe alarm, we return once more to our beds; but what good can the ſleep of nature do us, when interrupted with *ſuch* ſcenes?"

But we will ſuppoſe our planter to have eſcaped the ſcalping knife and tomahawk; and in the courſe of years ſituated in a thick ſettled neighbourhood of planters like himſelf, who have ſtruggled through all the foregoing difficulties: he is now a man of ſome conſequence, builds a houſe by the ſide of his former hut, which now ſerves him for a kitchen; and as he is comfortably ſituate, we will leave him

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to the enjoyment of the fruits of his induſtry.

Such a being has often ideas of liberty, and a contempt of vaſſalage and ſlavery, which do honour to human nature.

The planter I have endeavoured to deſcibe, I have ſuppoſed to be ſober and induſtrious: but when a man of an oppoſite deſcription makes ſuch an attempt, he often degenerates into a demi-ſavage; he cultivates no more land than will barely ſupply the family with bread, or rather makes his wife and children perform that office. His whole employment is to procure ſkins and furs, to exchange for rum, brandy, and ammunition; for this purpoſe he is often for ſeveral days together in the woods, without ſeeing a human being. He is by no means at a loſs; his rifle ſupplies him with food, and at night he cuts down ſome boughs with his tomahawk, and conſtructs a *wigwam*,* in which he ſpends the night, ſtretched on the ſkins of thoſe animals he has killed in the courſe of his excurſion. This manner of living he learned from his ſavage neighbours, the Indians, and like them, calls every other ſtate of life *ſlavery*. It ſometimes happens, that an unſucceſsful back-ſettler joins the Indians at war with the ſtates. When this is the caſe, it is obſerved he is, if poſſible, more cruel than his new allies; he eagerly imbibes all the vices of the ſavages, without a ſingle ſpark of their virtue.

* The Indian name for their huts ſo conſtructed.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Productions of the Isle of Cyprus. From Sonnini's Travels.

OF all the ancient names of the island of Cyprus, that which we love to recall to mind, although it forms a strange contrast with its present situation, is *Macaria*, the *Fortunate Island*. For this name it was indebted to the fertility of its soil, the mildness of its climate, the inexpressible beauty of its plains, and the richness of its productions. The imagination of the poets lent new charms to this profusion of the gifts of nature; they made it the cradle of the mother of the Loves; they consecrated this agreeable idea, by the name of *Cytherea*, and embellished it with all the charms of the most delightful descriptions, with graceful scenes of tenderness and voluptuous enjoyment.

Over this theatre, in former times consecrated to happiness, to the arts, and to pleasure, at this day reign barbarians, who have transformed it into an abode of destruction and slavery. Superb edifices, elegant temples, where the most beautiful, as well as the most amiable of divinities was adored on altars surrounded by the sweetest and most voluptuous birds, living emblems of love and fidelity, now cover and sadden, with their scattered remains, places of which they constituted the ornament and glory; and the Turks consume even the very ruins, which they still mutilate, in order to employ the fragments for common and profane purposes. Here, where the Graces reigned, at this day commands an old *mosalem* or governor, who scares them. Under a destructive government, agriculture has ceased to enrich with her treasures beautiful plains; and the splendour of an island, formerly *fortunate*, has vanished.

The riches which it contains in its bosom are more deeply buried by despotism than by the earth with which they are covered. All boring, all search after mines, is strictly prohibited; and copper, formerly so abundant in the island, that the ancients likewise distinguished it by the epithet of *Æroſa*, *Copper Island*, remains useless in the bowels of the mountains that contain it, as well as zinc, tin, iron, and other minerals which rendered it famous.

Should the island of Cyprus one day pass from this state of oppression

preſſion to a political ſituation more mild and more favourable to its commerce and induſtry, we ſhall then ſearch after all theſe mineral riches, and the working of them will powerfully contribute to revive the ancient ſplendour of the country in which they are contained; and as changes, ſo deſirable, are, perhaps, not very remote, or at leaſt I love to indulge the hope, it will not be uſeleſs to enter here into a few details reſpecting the nature of theſe ſubterraneous treaſures.

Gold, the end and motive of almoſt all human actions, and which corruption, ever increaſing, will long render the object of the warmeſt wiſhes and ardent wants of the greater number, was, as I have ſaid, found in mines in the iſland of Cyprus; but they have been for ages abandoned, and tradition can ſcarcely aſſign the places where they were found. We muſt not take in a literal ſenſe, nor above all, refer to our age, a paſſage of Dapper, who, in his deſcription of the iſlands of the Archipelago, page 52, aſſerts that there are in the middle of the iſland, near the town of Nicoſia, as well as in the environs of Chruſocco, mines of gold, where workmen are almoſt continually employed.

Theſe indications, which Dapper publiſhed in 1703, are extracted from another deſcription of the iſlands of the Archipelago, printed in 1610, the author of which, Thomas Porchachi, had taken them from the ancient writers. Not that, in fact, the gold mines were not in the environs of Chruſocco, a village near the gulf of that name, which occupies the place of Acamantis, an ancient town, one of the moſt conſiderable of the iſland; ſome were known too in the vicinity of Tamaſſus, where ſtands the modern Famaguſta, and at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a diſtrict celebrated for its wines; but the traces of ancient works have there diſappeared, and the veins of a precious metal wait, in order to be diſcovered and followed anew, the return of a protecting government, which regards not as crimes the ſtrenuous efforts of induſtry towards uſeful ſpeculations, to which are attached public proſperity and the affluence of individuals.

But ſearching, which would attain with ſtill greater certainty theſe two objects, that are the conſtant aim of every government anxious to preſerve the eſteem of nations, and its own exiſtence, would be that which would tend to recover the copper mines, formerly ſo abundant and ſo renowned. It is particularly in the territory occupied by a famous city of antiquity, Amathus, the ſite of which is at preſent occupied by the ancient Limaſſol, that the reſearches ought to be directed; it is in this diſtrict, where thoſe metals abound*, that we ſhould again diſcover that beautiful primitive copper, which Nature herſelf has purified, and elaborated in large maſſes, in order to deliver it quite prepared to human induſtry, and which no longer exiſts in the exhauſted mines of the Old Continent. The copper of Cyprus was, in ancient times, the fineſt in the world, and its rich and primordial

* *Gravidamque Amathunta metallis*, has Ovid ſaid in his Metamorphoſes.

mines furniſhed the firſt blocks of that metal, which were brought into uſe. It was principally ſought for the purpoſe of compoſing that famous Corinthian braſs, a precious mixture of copper, gold, and ſilver, the proportions of which are unknown to us, and which was in great eſteem among the Greeks.

The ſpecies of natural vitriol, the blue or azure vitriol, which ſtill retains the name of *Cyprus vitriol*, was found in abundance in the copper mines of which I have juſt ſpoken. The ancient Tamaſſus furniſhed a great quantity of it; but the beſt was drawn from the diſtrict of Chruſocco, the vitriol mines of which were ſtill worked towards the end of the ſeventeenth century.

The iron mines lie ſcattered, and in a quantity ſufficiently large to ſupply the wants of the Cypriots and the trade of the neighbouring countries.

In the rocks is alſo found a very fine rock-cryſtal, which is called the *Baffa diamond*, becauſe it is procured from the environs of Baffa, a barbarous word, which has taken the place of that of Paphos. The mountains in the vicinity of Cape Cromachiti and of Cape Alexandretta likewiſe contain ſome.

The bowels of the high mountains contain other riches leſs important than metallic mines, becauſe they are uſeful to luxury alone. Theſe are emeralds, amethyſts, peridots, opals, &c. The Scythian jaſper was reputed the beſt among the ancients; next came the Cyprian, and laſtly, the Egyptian. The river Pedicus, which takes its ſource in the mountains at no great diſtance from Nicoſia, rolls down, with its limpid waters, fragments of very fine red jaſper.

Aſbeſtos, or the incombuſtible flax of the ancients, is ſtill as plentiful as it was formerly; the quarry which furniſhes it is in the mountain of Acamantis, near Cape Chromachiti.

Talc is common, eſpecially near Larnica, where it is employed for white-waſhing houſes; and there are numerous quarries of plaſter. Thoſe of marble afford it in abundance for building. But at preſent there are ſcarcely worked any of thoſe, which yield none but a common white marble, of little conſiſtence.

Of all the treaſures which the earth conceals, the Turk, who knows only how to deſolate it, allows not the unfortunate iſlanders any trade but in yellow ochre, umber, and *terre verte*, ſubſtances common in Cyprus, and which are employed in coarſe painting.

To the mineral ſubſtances, the exportation of which is ſtill permitted, we muſt add marine ſalt, which, under the domination of the princes of Europe, was the ſource of conſiderable revenues. The great lake, or ſalt-marſh, in which it is formed, near the hamlet the Salterns, was, in former times, three leagues in circumference; but the exportation of ſalt having ſucceſſively diminiſhed, the lake has been partly drained and cultivated; ſo that the ſea and rain-waters are ſcarcely any longer collected there but on a ſpace of a league in circuit. The heat of a burning ſun accelerates the evaporation of theſe waters, and leaves expoſed a thick cruſt of ſalt, which

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is gathered in the month of September, that is, before the rainy ſeaſon, and is then heaped up in pyramids. Theſe heaps of ſalt, in the end, acquire conſiſtence, and harden in the air; they even reſiſt the winter rains, and, in the ſpring, are loaded on board ſmall veſſels, which convey them to the neighbouring coaſts. The government farms out theſe natural ſalterns for a year only; and, agreeably to the plan of diſcouragement which it has marked out for itſelf, it clogs with a thouſand ſhackles the extraction and the ſale. Accordingly there exiſts no proportion between what the ſalterns produced formerly and what they yield at the preſent day; a few of the country barks ſuffice for the conveyance of the quantity which enters into the export-trade; whereas the Venetians annually formed of it the cargo of ſeventy large ſhips. If the choked-up canals, which form the communication between the lake and the ſea, were re-eſtabliſhed, the water would cover the ſame extent of ground that it occupied before, and the lake of the ſalters would again become one of the moſt important branches of the trade and revenues of the iſland.

What the bowels of the earth contain in riches, is not more than what its ſurface may yield. The preſents of agriculture are not here leſs numerous nor leſs brilliant than the leſs valuable treaſures of mineralogy; but both are equally a prey to the brutal combinations of ignorance and barbariſm. The produce of a languiſhing culture affords the remembrance and the me ſure of the fertility of which a ſoil favoured by nature is ſuſceptible, when the heavy and burning hand of tyranny does not ſucceed in drying it up.

Olive-trees are much leſs common here than in paſt times. Their fruits no longer furniſh ſufficient oil for the ſupply of the inhabitants, and what remains of them ſeems to exiſt only to atteſt that olive-oil formed in Cyprus a very conſiderable branch of commerce. Immenſe reſervoirs, in the form of ciſterns, and coated with an impenetrable cement, ſtill ſubſiſt in the environs of Larnica. Oil was preſerved in theſe, and, to fill them, a prodigious quantity was required. The ſoil is ſo favourable to olive-trees, that ſome are ſeen here of ſuch a ſize that two men, with outſtretched arms, would find it difficult to ſpan their circumference. Theſe fine trees, which, in ſome places, are planted with order and ſymmetry, are a proof of the antiquity of a culture which cannot be too much encouraged in climates that are ſuitable to it, as well on account of the great conſumption which domeſtic economy and the arts make of olive-oil, as of the loſſes which the ſevere winters of theſe latter years have occaſioned in our plantations.

Mulberry-trees ſtill form ſmall woods in certain quarters of the iſland; but their culture is abandoned in ſeveral, although it is the moſt eaſy of all, ſince it requires only to conduct water to the foot of each tree, in order to cool it during the burning heats of the ſummer. Here the bad cuſtom obtains of lopping off the branches of theſe trees for the purpoſe of giving their leaves to the ſilk-worm, the rearing of which is attended with fewer inconveniencies than

elſewhere, under a ſky which, in the ſeaſon of gathering them, experiences no variations. The ſilk-trade, although leſs flouriſhing than it was before the invaſion of the Turks, is, nevertheleſs, ſtill of ſome importance. It is at Famaguſta that the market of this commodity is held, and there are annually ſold about twenty thouſand bales, of three hundred pounds each. In this quantity is white ſilk, gold yellow, ſulphur yellow, and laſtly orange-coloured. The floſs is likewiſe thrown into trade, and, like the ſilk itſelf, it is diſpatched to the ports of Turkey and Europe.

A tree leſs valuable, but which notwithſtanding is of good produce, covers with its ſhade ſeveral diſtricts, and bears fruits which furniſh a particular trade: this is the carob or St. John's bread-tree, common alſo in other countries whoſe temperature is mild, ſuch as Spain, the South of France, Italy, and particularly the kingdom of Naples. In the ports of Cyprus, veſſels load the long thick pods which this tree produces, and carry them to Syria and Alexandria. In the latter port I have ſeen ſeveral veſſels arrive, whoſe cargo conſiſted ſolely of this ſpecies of fruit; whence an idea may be formed of the quantity conſumed of it by the inhabitants of Egypt. They eat the ſucculent pulp which the pods contain, with hard and flat ſeeds; with them, it likewiſe ſupplies the place of ſugar and honey, and they employ it in preſerving other fruits. This pulp has the taſte of that of caſſia, and the honied, but inſipid and ſlightly nauſeous flavour of manna. The environs of Limaſſol are planted with a great quantity of carob-trees, and it is more particularly in this harbour that the cargoes of their pods are ſhipped.

This fruit, known under the name of St. John's bread, and which the Greeks call *keraka*, bad as it is, is not, on that account, leſs an article of food for the people of Egypt and Barbary, where the tree itſelf is not unknown. The Arabs call it *karoub* or *karnoub*. In Europe, in places where it is at a low price, the poor likewiſe live on it. It is alſo given as food to mules and cattle, which the uſe of it fattens. Laſtly, the wood of the carob-tree being very hard, and conſequently proper to be uſed in different works, we cannot but regret that this ſerviceable tree, by not thriving in our more northern regions, ſhould not there add to the reſources of the arts and of rural economy.

In the time of the ancient Romans, the carob-tree was already very plentiful in Italy. The fruit, which was called *ſiliqua*, ſerved as a weight; it required ſix pods to make a ſcruple; and as the pound was compoſed of two hundred and eighty-eight ſcruples, it alſo required one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight pods to make its weight*. It may eaſily be conceived that this manner of weighing,

* See in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxviii. p. 653, year 1757, the diſſertation of M. Dupuis, on the ſtate of the Roman coin, &c. This profound ſcholar demonſtrates that Scaliger is miſtaken in taking the *ſiliqua* of the Romans for the fruit of the cornil-tree.

which

which could ſerve only for coarſe articles of little value, was not likely to be very exact.

Moſt of the plains, of which cotton conſtituted the richneſs, ſtill preſerve ſome traces of that culture; but it is there no more than a feeble image of what it was formerly. The whole iſland now affords to commerce but about three thouſand bales of cotton; whereas, under the government of the Venetians, the annual quantity of theſe bales amounted to thirty thouſand*. Cyprus cotton is the moſt eſteemed, as the fineſt of all the Levant; it is ſold too at a higher price. It is not ſo fine in the moſt ſouthern iſlands of the Archipelago; that of Smyrna is ſtill inferior. In ſhort, the cotton produced in the environs of Salonica is yet worſe than that of Smyrna; ſo that the more we advance towards the north, the more this article, ſo valuable in manufactures, loſes in quality.

It would therefore be a uſeleſs attempt, and prejudicial even to the intereſts of the cultivator, to endeavour to introduce into the ſouth of France the culture of the cotton-plant, as has been propoſed by ſome perſons, ſeduced by little trials which atteſt rather the taſte and curioſity of the *amateur*, than the ſpeculations of the huſbandman. And ſhould we ever ſucceed in cultivating on a large ſcale, and with any ſucceſs, the cotton plant in theſe ſame countries of France, precarious crops of bad quality could not indemnify us for the expences of raiſing it, nor exempt us from going up the Levant to look for cottons more abundant and of a ſuperior quality, that is, whiter, finer, and more ſilky.

The cotton-tree cultivated in the Eaſt is that which is called the *annual* cotton-tree, or cotton *plant*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from that of the colonial plantations in the Weſt Indies, which is the *cotton-tree*. On a field, well prepared and turned up, are marked furrows, in which are planted, at certain diſtances, a few ſeeds of the cotton-tree, much the ſame as is practiſed with reſpect to maize. It is in the month of April that theſe ſowings are made in Cyprus; as ſoon as the plants are above ground, thoſe which are too weak are pulled up, and the ſtrongeſt only are left. They are weeded, and the earth about them is looſened in the courſe of the ſummer; their pods ripen towards the month of October, and the ſilky down which they afford is then ſeparated from the ſeeds that it ſurrounds.

The humidity of the atmoſphere, rains of long duration, or too frequent, are equally unfavourable to the cotton-tree. A ſtrong heat is very ſuitable to it; this promotes the dazzling whiteneſs of the down, and contributes to the fineneſs and ſubſtance of the ſilk. The impetuous north winds are a ſcourge to this plantation, particularly at the period of flowering; the fruits miſcarry, and the crop, almoſt totally loſt, diſappoints the hope of the cultivator as well as that of the trader.

* The bale of cotton commonly weighs three hundred weight

Obſervations

Observations on certain Stony and Metalline Substances, which at different Times are said to have fallen on the Earth. By Edward Howard, Esq. F. R. S.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

THE concordance of a variety of facts seems to render it most indisputable, that certain stony and metalline substances have, at different periods, fallen on the earth. Whence their origin, or whence they came, is yet, in my judgment, involved in complete obscurity.

The accounts of these peculiar substances, in the early annals, even of the Royal Society, have unfortunately been blended with relations which we now consider as fabulous; and the more ancient histories of stones fallen from Heaven, from Jupiter, or from the clouds, have evidently confounded such substances with what have been termed *ceraunia, bœtilia, Ombria, Brontia,* &c., names altogether unappropriate to substances fallen on our globe. Indeed some mislead, and others are inexpressive.

The term ceraunia, by a misnomer, deduced from its supposed origin, seems, as well as bœtilia, to have been anciently used to denote many species of stones, which were polished and shaped into various forms, though mostly wedge-like or triangular, sometimes as instruments, sometimes as oracles, and sometimes as deities. The import of the names ombria, brontia, &c. seem subject to the same uncertainty.

In very early ages, it was believed that stones did in reality fall, as it was said, from Heaven, or from the gods; these, either from ignorance, or perhaps from superstitious views, were confounded with other stones, which, by their compact aggregation, were better calculated to be shaped into different instruments, and to which it was convenient to attach a species of mysterious veneration. In modern days, because explosion and report have generally accompanied the descent of such substances, the name of thunder-bolt, or thunder-stone, has ignorantly attached itself to them; and because a variety of substances accidentally present, near buildings and trees struck with lightning, have, with the same ignorance, been collected as thunder-bolts, the thunder-bolt and the fallen metalline substance have been ranked in the same class of absurdity. Certainly, since the phenomena of lightning and electricity have been so well identified, the idea of a thunderbolt is ridiculous. But the existence of peculiar substances fallen on the earth, I cannot hesitate to assert; and on the concordance of remote and authenticated facts, I shall rest the assertion.

Mr. King, the learned author of *Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the clouds in these days, and in ancient times,* has adduced quotations of the greatest antiquity, descriptive of the descent of fallen stones; and, could it be thought necessary to add antique testimonies to those instanced by so profound an antiquarian, the quotation of Mons. Falconet, in his papers upon bœtilia, inserted in the *Histoire des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres;* the quotations in Zahn's *Specula*

Specula Physico Mathematica Historiana; the *Fisica Sotteranea* of Giacinto Gemma: the works of Pliny, and others, might be referred to.

Dr. Chladric, in his *Observations on the mass of Iron found in Siberia, and on other masses of the like kind*, as well as in his *Observations on Fire Balls and hard bodies fallen from the Atmosphere*, has collected almost every modern instance of phenomena of this nature.

Mr. Southey relates an account, juridically authenticated, of a stone weighing 10lbs. which was heard to fall in Portugal, Feb. 19, 1796, and was taken still warm from the ground.

The first of these peculiar substances with which chemistry has interfered, was the stone presented by the Abbé Bachelay to the Royal French Academy. It was found on the 13th of September, 1768, yet hot, by persons who saw it fall. It is described as follows:

" La substance de cette pierre " est d'un gris cendré pâle; lorsqu'on en regarde le grain à la " loupe, on apperçoit que cette " pierre est parsemée d'une infinité de petit points brillans métalliques, d'une jaune pâle; sa " surface extérieure, celle qui, " suivant M. l'Abbé Bachelay, " n'étoit point engagée dans la " terre, étoit couverte d'une petite " couche très-mince d'une matiere " noire, boursouffiées dans des en- " droits, et qui paroissoit avoir été " fondue. Cette pierre, frappée " dans l'interiéur avec l'acier, ne " donnoit aucune étincelle; si on " frappoit, au contraire, sur la " petite couche extérieur, qui parroissoit avoir été attaquée, par " le feu, on parvenoit à en tirer " quelques-unés."

The specific gravity of this stone was as 3535 to 1000.

The academicians analyzed the stone, and found it to contain,

Sulphur - - - -	8½
Iron - - - - -	36
Vitrifiable earth -	55½
	100

They were induced to conclude that the stone, presented to the academy by the Abbé Bachelay, did not owe its origin to thunder; that it did not fall from Heaven; that it was not formed by mineral substances, fused by lightning; and that it was nothing but a species of pyrites, without peculiarity, except as to the hepatic smell disengaged from it by marine acid.

" Que cette pierre, qui peut- " être étoit couverte d'une petite " couche de terre oude gazon, " aura été frappée par la foudre, " et qu'elle aura été ainsi mise en " evidence: la chaleur aura été " assez grande pour fondre la su- " perficie de la partie frappee, mais " elle n'aura pas été assez long- " tems continuée pour pouvoir pé- " nétrer dans l'intérieur; c'est ce " qui fait que la pierre n'a point " été décompofée la quantité de " matières metalliques qu'elle " contenoit, en opposant moins de " réfistance qu'un autre corps au " courant de matière électrique, " aura peut-être pu contribuer " même à déterminer la direction " de la foudre."

The memoir is, however, concluded by observing it to be sufficiently singular, that M. Morand le Fils had presented a fragment of a stone, from the environs of Coutances,

tances, alſo ſaid to have fallen from heaven, which only differed from that of the Abbé Bachelay, becauſe it did not exhale the hepatic ſmell with ſpirit of ſalt. Yet the academicians did not think any concluſion could be drawn from this reſemblance, unleſs that the lightning had fallen by preference on pyritical matter.

Mons. Barthold, profeſſor à l'ecole centrale du Haut Rihn, gave, I believe, the next, and laſt, analytical account of what he alſo denominates *Pierre de Tonnerre*. He deſcribes it thus:

" La maſſe de pierre comme " ſous le nom de Pierre de Ton- " nerre d'Enſiſheim, peſant en- " viron deux quintaux, a la forme " extérieure arrondie, preſque " ovale, raboteuſe, d'un aſpect " terne et terreux.

" Le fond de la pierre eſt d'une " couleur griſe bleuâtre, parſemée " de criſtaux de pyrites, iſolés, " d'une criſtaliſation confuſe, en " quelque endroits écailleuſes, ra- " maſſés, formant des nœuds et " des petites veines, qui le par- " courent en tout ſens: la couleur " des pyrites eſt dorée; le poli " leur dorme un éclat d'acier, et, " expoſées à l'atmoſphère, elles " terniſſent et bruniſſent. Ou diſ- " tingue de plus, à l'œil nud, de " la mine de fer griſe, écailleuſe, " non ſulfureuſe, attirable à l'aî- " mant, diſſoluble dans les acides, " peu oxidé, ou ſ'approchant " beaucoup de l'état metallique.

" La caſſure eſt irrégulière, " grenue, d'un grain un peu ſerré: " dans l'interieur ou voit de très " petite fentes. Elle ne fait pas " feu au briquet; ſa contexture " eſt ſi lâche qu'elle ſe laiſſe entamer " au couteau. En la pilant, elle " ſe réduit aſſez facilement en une " poudre griſe bleuâtre, d'une " odeur terreuſe. Quelquefois il " ſe trouve deſpetits criſtaux de " mine fer, qui reſiſtent plus aux " coups du pilon."

The ſpecific gravity of the piece in Profeſſor Barthold's poſſeſſion, was 3233, diſtilled water being taken at 1000.

The analyſis of Monſ. Barthold, gave in the 100,

Sulphur - -	2
Iron - - -	20
Magneſia - -	14
Alumina - -	17
Lime - - -	2
Silica - - -	42
	97.

From the external characters, and from the analyſis, the profeſſor conſiders the ſtone of Enſiſheim to be argillo-ferruginous; and is of opinion that ignorance and ſuperſtition have attributed to it a miraculous exiſtence, at variance with the firſt notions of natural philoſophy.

The account next in ſucceſſion is already printed in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society; but cannot be omitted, as it immediately relates to one of the ſubſtances I have examined. I allude to the letter received by Sir William Hamilton, from the Earl of Briſtol, dated from Sienna, July 12th, 1794.

" In the midſt of a moſt violent " thunder-ſtorm, about a dozen " ſtones, of various weights and " dimenſions, fell at the feet of " different perſons, men, women, " and children. The ſtones are " of a quality not found in any " part

"part of the Sianneſe territory; "they fell about eighteen hours "after the enormous eruption of "Mount Veſuvius; which cir- "cumſtance leaves a choice of dif- "ficulties in the ſolution of this "extraordinary phenomenon. Ei- "ther theſe ſtones have been ge- "nerated in this igneous maſs of "clouds, which produced ſuch "unuſual thunder; or, which is "equally incredible, they were "thrown from Veſuvius, at a diſ- "tance of at leaſt 250 miles; "judge then of its parabola. The "philoſophers here incline to the "firſt ſolution; I wiſh much, ſir, "to know your ſentiments. My "firſt objection was to the fact "itſelf, but of this there are ſo "many eye-witneſſes, it ſeems im- "poſſible to withſtand their evi- "dence." (Phil Trans. for 1795, p. 103.) Sir William Hamilton, it ſeems, alſo received a piece of one of the largeſt ſtones, which weighed upwards of five pounds; and had ſeen another, which weighed about one. He likewiſe obſerved, that the outſide of every ſtone which had been found, and had been aſcertained to have fallen from the clouds near Sienna, was evi- dently freſhly vitrified, and was black, having every ſign of having paſſed through an extreme heat; the inſide was of a light grey colour, mixed with black ſpots and ſome ſhining particles, which the learned there had decided to be pyrites.

In 1796, a ſtone, weighing 56lbs. was exhibited in London, with ſe- veral atteſtations of perſons who, on the 13th of December, 1795, ſaw it fall, near Wold Cottage, in Yorkſhire, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. It had pene- trated through 12 inches of ſoil and 6 inches of ſolid chalk-rock; and, in burying itſelf, had thrown up an immenſe quantity of earth, to a great diſtance: as it fell, a number of exploſions were heard, about as loud as piſtols. In the adjacent villages the ſounds heard were taken for guns at ſea; but, at two adjoining villages, were ſo diſtinct of ſomething ſingular paſſing through the air, towards the habita- tion of Mr. Topham, that five or ſix people came up, to ſee if any thing extraordinary had happened to his houſe or grounds. When the ſtone was extracted, it was warm, ſmoked, and ſmelt very ſtrongly of ſulphur. Its courſe, as far as could be collected from different accounts, was from the ſouth-weſt. The day was mild and hazy, a ſort of weather very frequent in the Wold-hills, when there are no winds or ſtorms; but there was not any thunder or lightning the whole day. No ſuch ſtone is known in the country. There was no eruption in the earth; and, from its form, it could not come from any building; and as the day was not tempeſtuous, it did not ſeem probable that it could have been forced from any rocks, the neareſt of which are thoſe of Ham- borough Head, at a diſtance of twelve miles. The neareſt vol- cano I believe to be Hecla, in Ice- land.

The exhibition of this ſtone, as a ſort of ſhow, did not tend to ac- credit the account of its deſcent, delivered in a hand-bill at the place of exhibition; much leſs could it contribute to remove the objec- tions made to the fall of theſe ſtones preſented to the Royal French Academy. But the Right Hon. Preſident,

Preſident of the Royal Society, ever alive to the intereſt and promotion of ſcience, obſerving the ſtone ſo exhibited to reſemble a ſtone ſent to him as one of thoſe fallen at Sienna, could not be miſled by prejudice: he obtained a piece of this extraordinary maſs, and collected many references to deſcriptions of ſimilar phenomena. At length, in 1799, an account of ſtones fallen in the Eaſt Indies was ſent to the Preſident, by John Lloyd Williams, Eſq. which, by its unqueſtionable authenticity, and by the ſtriking reſemblance it bears to other accounts of fallen ſtones, muſt remove all prejudice. Mr. Williams has ſince drawn up the following more detailed narrative of facts.

Account of the Exploſion of a Meteor, near Benares, *in the* Eaſt Indies; *and of the falling of ſome Stones at the ſame Time, about* 14 *Miles from that City.* By John Lloyd Williams, *Eſq.* F. R. S.

A CIRCUMSTANCE of ſo extraordinary a nature as the fall of ſtones from the heavens, could not fail to excite the wonder, and attract the attention of every inquiſitive mind.

Among a ſuperſtitious people, any preternatural appearance is viewed with ſilent awe and reverence; attributing the cauſes to the will of the ſupreme Being, they do not preſume to judge the means by which they were produced, nor the purpoſes for which they were ordered; and we are naturally led to ſuſpect the influence of prejudice and ſurperſtition in their deſcriptions of ſuch phenomena; my inquiries were therefore chiefly directed to the Europeans, who were but thinly diſperſed about that part of the country.

The information I obtained was, that on the 19th of December, 1798, about eight o'clock in the evening, a very luminous meteor was obſerved in the heavens, by the inhabitants of Benares and the parts adjacent, in the form of a large ball of fire; that it was accompanied by a loud noiſe, reſembling thunder; and that a number of ſtones were ſaid to have fallen from it, near Krakhut, a village on the north ſide of the river Goomty, about 14 miles from the city of Benares.

The meteor appeared in the weſtern part of the hemiſphere, and was but a ſhort time viſible: it was obſerved by ſeveral Europeans, as well as natives, in different parts of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Juanpoor, about 12 miles from the ſpot where the ſtones are ſaid to have fallen, it was very diſtinctly obſerved by ſeveral European gentlemen and ladies; who deſcribed it as a large ball of fire, accompanied with a loud rumbling noiſe, not unlike an ill-diſcharged platoon of muſquetry. It was alſo ſeen, and the noiſe heard, by various perſons at Benares. Mr. Davis obſerved the light come into the room where he was, through a glaſs window, ſo ſtrongly as to project ſhadows, from the bars between the panes, on a dark-coloured carpet, very diſtinctly; and it appeared to him as luminous as the brighteſt moonlight.

When an account of the fall of the ſtones reached Benares, Mr. Davis, the judge and magiſtrate of the diſtrict, ſent an intelligent perſon

perſon to make enquiry on the ſpot. When the perſon arrived at the village near which the ſtones were ſaid to have fallen, the natives, in anſwer to his enquiries, told him, that they had either broken to pieces, or given away to the teſſeldar (native collector) and others, all that they had picked up; but that he might eaſily find ſome in the adjacent fields, where they would be readily diſcovered, (the crops being then not above two or three inches above the ground) by obſerving where the earth appeared recently turned up. Following theſe directions, he found four, which he brought to Mr. Davis: moſt of theſe, the force of the fall had buried, according to a meaſure he produced, about ſix inches deep, in fields which ſeemed to have been recently watered; and it appeared, from the man's deſcription, that they muſt have lain at the diſtance of about a hundred yards from each other.

What he further learnt from the inhabitants of the village, concerning the phenomenon was, that about eight o'clock in the evening, when retired to their habitations, they obſerved a very bright light proceeding as from the ſky, accompanied with a loud clap of thunder, which was immediately followed by the noiſe of heavy bodies falling in the vicinity. Uncertain whether ſome of their deities might not have been concerned in this occurrence, they did not venture out to inquire into it until the next morning; when the firſt circumſtance which attracted their attention was the appearance of the earth being turned up in different parts of their fields, as before-mentioned, where, on examining, they found the ſtones.

The aſſiſtant to the collector of the diſtrict, Mr. Erſkine, a very intelligent young gentleman, on ſeeing one of the ſtones, brought to him by the native ſuperintendant of the collections, was alſo induced to ſend a perſon to that part of the country to make inquiry; who returned with ſeveral of the ſtones, and brought an account ſimilar to that given by the perſon ſent by Mr. Davis, together with a confirmation of it from the cauzy, (who had been directed to make the inquiry, under his hand and ſeal.

Mr. Maclane, a gentleman who reſided very near the village of Krakhut, gave me part of a ſtone that had been brought to him the morning after the appearance of the phenomenon, by the watchman, who was on duty at his houſe; this, he ſaid, had fallen through the top of his hut, which was cloſe by, and buried itſelf ſeveral inches in the floor, which was of conſolidated earth. The ſtone muſt, by his account, previous to its having been broken, have weighed upwards of two pounds.

At the time the meteor appeared, the ſky was perfectly ſerene; not the ſmalleſt veſtige of a cloud had been ſeen ſince the 11th of the month, nor were any obſerved for many days after.

Of theſe ſtones I have ſeen eight, nearly perfect, beſide parts of ſeveral others, which had been broken by the poſſeſſors, to diſtribute among their friends. The form of the more perfect ones appeared to be that of an irregular cube, rounded off at the edges; but the angles were

were to be obſerved on moſt of them. They were of various ſizes, from about three to upwards of four inches in their largeſt diameter; one of them, meaſuring four inches and a quarter, weighed two pounds twelve ounces. In appearance they were exactly ſimilar: externally, they were covered with a hard black coat, or incruſtation, which, in ſome parts, had the appearance of varniſh, or bitumen; and on moſt of them were fractures, which, from their being covered with a matter ſimilar to that of the coat, ſeemed to have been made in the fall, by the ſtones ſtriking againſt each other, and to have paſſed through ſome medium, probably an intenſe heat, previous to their reaching the earth. Internally they conſiſted of a number of ſmall ſpherical bodies, of a ſlate colour, embedded in a whitiſh gritty ſubſtance, interſperſed with bright ſhining ſpiculæ, of a metallic or pyritical nature. The ſpherical bodies were much harder than the reſt of the ſtone: the white gritty part readily crumbled, on being rubbed with a hard body; and, on being broken, a quantity of it attached itſelf to the magnet, but more particularly the outſide coat or cruſt, which appeared almoſt wholly attractable by it.

As two of the more perfect ſtones which I had obtained, as well as parts of ſome others, have been examined by ſeveral gentlemen well verſed in mineralogy and chemiſtry, I ſhall not attempt any further deſcription of their conſtituent parts; nor ſhall I offer any conjecture reſpecting the formation of ſuch ſingular productions, or even record thoſe which I have heard of others, but leave the world to draw their own inferences from the facts above related. I ſhall only obſerve, that it is well known there are no volcanos on the continent of India; and, as far as I can learn, no ſtones have been met with in the earth, in that part of the world, which bear the ſmalleſt reſemblance to thoſe above deſcribed.

Account of the Clove Tree.

From Tranſactions of the Society of Arts, &c.

THE clove is an elegant little tree: that in the garden, now bearing, is about eight feet in height, and the ſtem, near the ground, is about two inches in diameter. That ſo ſmall a tree ſhould bear fruit, I aſcribe to its being from a layer. The nature of the plant is not yet well known in the Weſt Indies; all the information I have heretofore received as to the culture of it, has been for the moſt part from ignorance, or from ill intentions; and conſequently has led me into errors on that ſubject, by which I have often loſt the original plant: but I have always been ſo fortunate as to preſerve an offſpring by layers.

From the difficulty of preſerving the plants, it naturally occurred to me, that I had adopted a ſoil not congenial to them, as I find that all other Eaſt India plants thrive luxuriantly in the garden; and am by no means ignorant, that all plants, although originally from a barren ſoil, always proſper beſt in a rich one when tranſplanted from

their

their natural situation. I therefore tried them in the best soil I could select, adding thereto plenty of manure; at the same time, I also planted others, of the same age and size, in various other soils, without manure. The consequence has been, that those in the manured soil are thriving luxuriantly, of which that now bearing is one; while the others have failed, or are so sickly, that they will never arrive at maturity.

Since this, I have fortunately met with the *Herbarium Amboinense* of Rumphius, and find that he corroborates my idea.

It is a plant that loves the shelter of other trees to windward of it, but not so as to overshade it, as Rumphius observes. When fully exposed to the wind it does not answer so well; but rich land, or manure in bad land, is what will answer best with it.

It is propagated by laying down the young branches in boxes, or in the ground, if they can be brought in contact with it. If the earth is kept moist, they will root in six months.

I suspect that the best mode in rearing it from seeds, is to put them in the earth where the plants are to remain; and if planted in the manner, of a thicket, or from eight to ten feet apart, they will prosper better than when farther separated or scattered. This I find to be the case with most plants of the same species.

As all botanical descriptions of the clove appear to me to be imperfect, at least agree not with the plant that has flowered in the garden, I have ventured to inclose an account of the fructification, as the parts appeared to me. There are probably more than one species, as Rumphius's figures of it differ.

The specimens of the spice which I have sent are dried by various modes, some according to the directions of Rumphius; by some of the processes they are larger than by others. Whether that may be the only advantage gained, or which is the best mode of curing it, rests with the Society to determine. It is to be observed, that every part of the plant, in an eminent degree, possesses the same property as to taste. All these specimens are gathered in the same stage, viz. when the flower-bud appears entirely red, which is when the corolla begins to rise previously to its falling off. This happens at sun-set. The morning of the same day is the proper time to collect them for drying. There is something very singular as to the formation of the flowers. In September, 1799, clusters of them were so far formed, that I looked for their expansion every day; none of them however opened till the March following, a period of six months. I began to imagine that, from the smallness of the plant, it had not sufficient vigour to bring them to maturity. However, I was agreeably disappointed; scarcely more than two flowers, and frequently only one, expands in the same day. To have the spice therefore in perfection, it is requisite to go over them every morning, collecting those that have the appearance of opening in the evening.

The leaves are a good substitute for the fruit, for culinary purposes.

CARYOPHYLLUS AROMATICUS. CLOVE.

Perianthium quadripartitum, laciniæ ovatæ, concava perſiſtentes.
Petala quatuor ovata, ſeſſilia, conniventia, clauſa, caduca.
Nectarium tetragonum integerrimum, concavum, apicem germinis ringens.
Filamenta numeroſa ſubulata, in baſe calycis inſerta, antheræ, erectæ, bilocularibs, germen inferum, clavatum.—Stylus ſubulatus, filamentis brevior. Stigma obtuſum, drupa ovato-turbinata, calyce, incraſſato coronata.
Nux oblonga, glabra, unilocularis.

On the Wax Tree of Louiſiana and Penſylvania.

From the Annales de Chimre.

A MULTITUDE of plants, as the *croton ſebiferum*, the *tomex ſebifera*, of *Loureiro*, the poplar, the alder, the pine, yield by decoction a concrete, inflammable matter, more or leſs reſembling tallow or wax; that is to ſay, a fixed oil, ſaturated with oxygen. The light down, which is called the flower of fruits, and which ſilvers the ſurface of plumbs and other ſmooth-ſkinned fruits, is wax, as M. Prouſt has demonſtrated. But the tree which affords this ſubſtance in the greateſt abundance, that which on more than one account deſerves the attention of agriculturiſts, chemiſts, phyſicians, and commercial men, is the myrica cerifera, or wax-tree.

We find in the Hiſtory of the Academy of Sciences for the years 1722, and 1725, that M. Alexandre, a ſurgeon, and correſpondent of M. Mairan's, had obſerved in Louiſiana, a tree of the height of a cherry-tree, having the appearance of a myrtle, and nearly the ſame ſmell, bearing a berry of the ſize of coriander ſeed. Theſe berries, of an aſh-grey colour, contained, he ſaid, a ſmall, hard, round kernel, covered with a gloſſy wax, which is ſeparated by boiling the berries in water. This wax is drier and more friable than the common wax. The natives of the country make candles of it. M. Alexandre added, "this berry is commonly charged with a beautiful lake colour, and ſtains the fingers if merely ſqueezed between them, but only at a particular time of the year."

M. Alexandre likewiſe diſcovered, that the liquor in which the berries have been boiled, when poured away and evaporated to the conſiſtence of an extract, having previouſly ſkimmed off the wax, was capable of ſtopping the moſt violent dyſenteries.

The uſeful properties belonging to this tree ſhould induce ſcientific men to make enquiries, for the purpoſe of diſcovering what varieties there are of this vegetable, and what care is requiſite for its cultivation. It appears to have been conſidered for a long time as merely an object of curioſity.

Linnæus, in his Syſtem of Vegetables, mentions only the Virginia wax-tree, *myrica cerifera*, with lanceolated, or rather dentated leaves, with a ſtem like a tree.

I wrote to M. Ventenat, requeſting him to inform me, whether there are ſeveral ſpecies of it: he

he was ſo obliging as to anſwer me, that Ayton diſtinguiſhed two, namely;

1. The *myricæ cerifera anguſtifolia*, which is a native of Louiſiana. This is a delicate tree, is reared with difficulty in our greenhouſes: its ſeed is ſmaller than that of the other.

2. The *myrica cerifera latifolia*, which grows in Penſylvania, Carolina, and Virginia. It is not ſo high as the other, and thrives perfectly well in France.

Both of theſe myricæ are cultivated in the muſeum of plants, and in the garden of Meſſrs. Cels and Lemonier. M. Michault admits a third ſpecies of myrica cerifera, which he calls *dwarf wax-tree*. M. Ventenat thinks that wax may be obtained from all the myricæ.

The authors who have treated of theſe trees at ſome length are, Marſhall, tranſlated by Leſerme, Lepage, Duprat, and Toſcan, librarian of the muſeum of natural hiſtory. A memoir inſerted by the latter in his work entitled, *L'Ami de la Nature*, deſcribes the manner in which the vegatable wax is obtained in the colonies.

"Towards the end of autumn," ſays he, "when the berries are ripe, a man quits his houſe, with his family, and betakes himſelf to ſome iſland or ſpot on the ſea coaſt, where the wax trees grow in abundance. He carries with him pots for boiling the berries, and a hatchet for building a cabin to ſhelter him during his reſidence there, which uſually continues three or four weeks; he then fells trees, and conſtructs a hut, whilſt his children gather the berries. A tree, tolerably productive, yields about ſeven pounds. When a ſufficient quantity of berries is collected, the family employs itſelf in extracting the wax. A certain portion of the berries is put into the pot, and a ſufficient quantity of water is poured on them, until it riſes about ſix inches above them. The whole is boiled, and the berries are ſtirred and preſſed, from time to time, againſt the ſides of the veſſels, that the wax may be the more eaſily detached. Soon after it is ſeen floating on the ſurface in the form of greaſe, which is collected with a ſpoon, and is ſtrained through a coarſe cloth, to ſeparate any impurities that may be mixed with it. When no more wax is detached, the berries are taken out with a ladle, and freſh ones are put into the ſame water: obſerving to renew it entirely at the ſecond or third time, and even to add boiling water in proportion as it evaporates, that the operation may not be impeded. When a certain quantity of wax has been thus collected, it is put to drain on a piece of linen, in order to ſeparate from it the water with which it is ſtill mixed. It is then dried and melted, ſtrained a ſecond time, to render it perfectly pure, and is made into cakes. Four pounds of berries yield about a pound of wax. That which is firſt detached is generally yellow; but in the latter boilings, the pellicle with which the ſtone of the berry is covered gives it a green tinge."

Kalm, the traveller, in ſpeaking of vegetable wax, ſays, that in the country where the wax tree grows, they make excellent ſoap of it, which waſhes linen exquiſitely white.

Such was the knowledge we poſſeſſed of the myrica, or at leaſt no

other obſervation had been publiſhed relative to it, to my knowledge, when a naturaliſt gave me half a kilo-gramme of the vegetable wax of Louiſiana. I was curious to make a comparative analyſis with it and bees wax: but before I undertook it, I wiſhed to make myſelf acquainted with the tree and berry of the myrica. I ſaw that precious vegetable in the garden of plants, and I wrote to M. Deſhayes, a ſtudious botaniſt, who proſecutes the culture of the *myrika Penſylvanica*, at Rambouillet, requeſting him to give me ſome details concerning it; he had the complaiſance to anſwer me, and to ſend me ſome of the berries, which I immediately examined.

This berry is about the ſize of a pepper corn; its ſurface, when ripe and freſh, is white, having ſmall black aſperities, which give it a wrinkled appearance. When rubbed in the hands, it makes them greaſy and unctuous.

If one of theſe ſmall berries is rubbed hard, a matter is ſhelled off, apparently of a ſtarchy nature, and mixed with ſmall round brown grains, like fine gun-powder. The ſtone, which is left bare, has a very thick ligneous ſhell, and contains a kernel of the dicotyledon kind. By rubbing a handful of the berries on a hair ſieve, I have obtained a grey duſt, in which the eye can diſtinguiſh, without the aſſiſtance of a magnifier, the ſmall brown grains above-mentioned in the midſt of a white powder.

I put this duſt into alcohol, which, with a gentle heat, diſſolved all the white part, and left the black powder, which I collected ſeparate. Water, poured on this ſolution with alcohol, formed a precipitate, that roſe and floated on the ſurface. I melted it and obtained a yellowiſh wax, ſimilar to that from Louiſiana, which had been ſent me. This experiment is a ſufficient proof that the wax of the myricæ is the white gritty matter that envelops the berry.

The black powder which I had ſeparated appeared to me to contain a colouring principle; and I was in hopes of diſcovering in it the beautiful lake mentioned by M. Alexandre. Under this idea, I triturated this powder, and boiled it in a ſolution of acid ſulphat of alumine; I was greatly aſtoniſhed at obtaining a liquor ſcarcely coloured at all, and in which the alumine precipitated by an alkali was only ſlightly tinged.

I took another part of this black triturated powder, and put it to ſteep in alcohol. I ſoon obtained a dye of the colour of wine lees; I heated it, and it became as red as a ſtrong quinquina or cachou liquor. This reſult made me imagine that the colouring principle was reſinous; but upon adding water I ſaw no ſigns of a precipitate.

I poured into this liquor water charged with ſulphate of alumine; a ſlight precipitation enſued. A ſolution of ſulphat of iron inſtantly turned it into ink.

What then is this colouring aſtringent principle, which is ſoluble only in alcohol, is not precipated by water, and has ſo little attraction for alumine? To diſcover this would require a ſeries of experiments, which the want of materials prevented me from undertaking. The aſtringent matter, noticed by M. Alexandre, muſt exiſt in the decoction of the whole berries.

berries. To aſcertain this fact, I boiled ſome berries in a ſilver ſauce-pan, the decoction, on which floated a ſmall quantity of wax, was of a greeniſh colour; its taſte was ſlightly aſtringent, and it precipitated ferruginous ſolutions, of a black colour. I heated it in a very clean iron veſſel, and it quickly turned black. To diſcover whether this property was owing to the gallic acid alone, or to the tanning principle, I mixed a ſmall quantity of the decoction with a ſolution of glue, and no precipitate was formed.

It is therefore to the conſiderable quantity of gallic acid contained by the berries of the myrica that the property of curing dyſenteries which its extract poſſeſſes, is owing. On this account, I think, that the leaves and bark of the tree would furniſh an extract ſtill more aſtringent than the berries.

The examination of the wax preſents more intereſting reſults.

Whether this wax be extracted by the decoction of the berries, or by the ſolution of the white duſt in alcohol, precipitated by water, this melted wax is always of a yellow colour, inclining to green. Its conſiſtence is harder than that of bees wax, it is dry, ſo friable as to be reduced to a powder; in ſhort, it is evidently more highly oxygenated than the wax prepared by bees. Candles made with the wax of the myrica give a white flame, a clear light, no ſmoke, do not run, and exhale, if freſh, a balſamic odor, which the inhabitants of Louiſiana conſider extremely ſalubrious for the ſick. When diſtilled in a retort, this wax paſſes over in great part like butter. That portion is whiter than it was; but it loſes its conſiſtence, and has only that of tallow. Another portion is decompoſed, furniſhes a ſmall quantity of water, ſebacic acid, and empyreumatic oil. Much carbonated hydrogen gas and carbonic acid gas is diſengaged: a black bitumen, reſembling charcoal, is left in the retort. Common wax acts in the ſame manner in diſtillation.

I have ſaid above that alcohol diſſolved the wax of the myrica; but ether diſſolves it much better, and it ſeparates itſelf in the form of ſtalagmites in the evaporation of the liquid. Neither the one nor the other takes away its colour. If this wax is boiled in weak ſulphuric acid, it becomes rather whiter; but there is no perceptible combination of the acid with it. Yellow bees wax, treated in the ſame way, does not change its colour.

Oxygenated muriatic acid perfectly bleaches both kinds of wax. Vegetable wax, however, retains its colour with moſt obſtinacy.

Vegetable wax diſſolves in ammoniac: the ſolution aſſumes a brown colour; part of the wax turns to ſoap. Volatile alkali has much leſs action on bees wax. Both kinds of wax, ſtirred violently in a boiling ſolution of cauſtic pot-aſh, become white, and form a real ſoap, as Kalm, the traveller, has obſerved.

The whiteneſs which the wax acquires in this ſaponification is not a new phenomenon. M. Chaptal, in his proceſs for bleaching by the vapour of alkaline leys, has proved that the colouring matter of vegetables yields to the action of alkalis. Some chemiſts attribute this effect to the direct combination of ſoda or pot-aſh with the coloured ex-

tractive part; a combination which brings it into nearly a ſaponaceous ſtate, and renders it ſoluble.

I imagine that, in this operation, the alkali exerciſes on the oil or on the wax a double attraction, at firſt direct, with the conſtituent principles of the oil, afterwards prediſpoſing and favouring the combination of the atmoſpheric oxygen with oil or wax. I know not whether any perſon had the idea before me, but it was given me by the obſervation of what paſſes in the decompoſition of ſoap by an acid: the oil is always concrete and more oxygenated than it was before. It would be intereſting for the theory of chemiſtry to make ſoap, if poſſible, in a cloſe apparatus, in which the air might be examined after the experiment, or in the different gaſes which contain no oxygen.

In decompoſing the ſoap of myrica, a white wax is obtained, but in a particular ſtate, which does not admit of its being employed for our purpoſes.

Litharge, or ſemi-vitreous oxyd of lead, diſſolves very well in melted Louiſiana wax; it forms a very hard maſs, but the conſiſtence of which may be diminiſhed at pleaſure by the addition of a ſmall quantity of oil. If, as there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, the wax of the myrica retains a portion of the aſtringent principle obtained by the decoction of the berries, the phyſicians will perhaps diſcover uſeful properties in topical applications compoſed of this wax.

Upon a retroſpect of the preceding facts, it will appear that the myrica may be rendered extremely uſeful to the arts. The wax which it yields is in ſufficient quantity to compenſate amply the care and expence of cultivation, ſince a tree in full bearing produces 6 or 7lbs. of berries, from which may be extracted a fourth of that weight of wax. This wax is of a quality ſuperior to that of bees wax.

The aſtringent principle of the myrica, extracted on a large ſcale, might be very uſeful either in medicine or the arts: it might, in ſome meaſure, be ſubſtituted inſtead of the gall-nuts, in dye-houſes, in the manufacture of hats, and even in tanning certain kinds of leather. The colouring principle appears ſufficiently ſolid to deſerve ſome attention; and, if it be true that a beautiful lake has been made from it in Louiſiana, why cannot we likewiſe ſucceed in rendering it uſeful for painting? And when this wax becomes ſo common as to be ſold at a low price, of what advantage will it not be for making ſoap.

The art of bleaching this wax requires a more perfect inveſtigation for operating on a large ſcale, and with economy. Two agents offer themſelves to manufacturers: ſulphuric acid and oxygenated muriatic acid. But, as the wax does not ſink in thoſe liquids, means muſt be employed for increaſing the contact, either by putting the wax in ſhavings and ſprinkling it with oxygenated muriatic acid, or by incloſing it in the ſame envelop in caſks through which oxygenated muriatic gas may be paſſed.

I ſhall propoſe a third, which promiſes a more expeditious effect.

The wax, divided into very ſmall pieces, is laid in ſtrata in a caſk, together with muriate of lime: they are thus diſpoſed layer by layer, and left ſome time in contact in a dry ſtate. The ſalt

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is afterwards decompoſed with water acidulated with ſulphuric acid, taking care to pour on the water at different intervals, till no more muriatic gas be perceptibly diſengaged: then a conſiderable quantity of water muſt be added, and the mixture muſt be ſtirred with a ſtick. In ſtanding the inſoluble ſulphur of lime is precipitated, and the bleached wax floats on the ſurface. It is then waſhed and melted in a balnea mariæ.

I ſhall conclude this memoir with ſome notices relative to the cultivation of the *myrica Penſylvanica*. M. Deſhayes, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of making my experiments, has for ſeveral years turned his attention to the wax-tree at Rambouillet. He writes me as follows on this ſubject.

"The myrica latifolia (Ayton) is perfectly at home here: the ſoil, which is a ſandy and blackiſh loam, is exactly adapted to it: we have here 16 productive wax-trees. Their height is 4, 5, and 6 feet. There is one male tree of 7 feet. The berries are abundant almoſt every year; I ſay almoſt, becauſe in ſome years there is a failure. In general they are very fine in the Engliſh part of the garden which is allotted to theſe plants.

"Their culture requires no particular attention. The numerous ſhoots from the foot of the large trees are every year taken off and planted in ſome other place at the diſtance of a metre from each other."

The berries may be ſown in ſpring in beds, and afterwards tranſplanted; but this method is the longeſt. The myrica will thrive every where in a light and rather humid ſoil. How many provinces are there into which this uſeful branch of agriculture might be introduced, and where lands almoſt totally waſte might be turned to advantage!

What benefits may not agriculture in general expect from ſuch an acquiſition, ſince the myrica has long flouriſhed even in the arid ſands of Pruſſia!

The French government has already given encouragement to this branch of induſtry by ordering plantations of the myrica. At Orleans and at Rambouillet there are two ſhrubberies of wax-trees, containing above 400 plants. Too much publicity cannot be given to circumſtances like theſe; nothing is more tardily propagated than uſeful plants. A ſterile but picturesque tree, an agreeable flower, are ſoon adopted by faſhion. They ornament the paterres of our modern Luculluſes, and the apartments of our Phrynes, whilſt the indefatigable friends of agriculture vainly attempt to enrich our fields with a new graſs, or to fill our granaries with nouriſhing vegetable productions.

The Kamſin.

From Denon's Travels.

I HAD often heard ſpeak of the *kamſin*, which may be termed the hurricane of Egypt and the deſert; it is equally terrible by the frightful ſpectacle which it exhibits when preſent, and by the conſequences which follow its ravages. We had already paſſed with ſecurity one half of the ſeaſon in which it appears, when in the even-

ing of the 18th of May, I felt myſelf entirely overcome by a ſuffocating heat; it ſeemed as if the fluctuation of the air was ſuddenly ſuſpended. I went out to bathe, in order to overcome ſo painful a ſenſation, when I was ſtruck on my arrival at the bank of the Nile with a new appearance of nature around me; this was a light and colours which I had not yet ſeen. The ſun, without being concealed, had loſt its rays; it had even leſs luſtre to the eye than the moon, and gave a pale light without ſhade; the water no longer reflected its rays, but appeared in agitation; every thing had changed its uſual aſpect, it was now the flat ſhore that ſeemed luminous, and the air dull and opaque; the yellow horizon ſhewed the trees on its ſurface of a dirty blue; flocks of birds were flying off before the cloud; the affrighted animals ran looſe in the country, followed by the ſhouting inhabitants, who vainly attempted to collect them together again; the wind, which had raiſed this immenſe maſs of vapour, and was urging it forward, had not yet reached us; we thought that by plunging our bodies in the water, which was then calm, we could prevent the baneful effects of this maſs of duſt, which was advancing from the ſouth-weſt; but we had hardly entered the river when it began to ſwell all at once, as if it would overflow its channel, the waves paſſed over our heads, and we felt the bottom heave up under our feet; our clothes were conveyed away along with the ſhore itſelf, which ſeemed to be carried off by the whirlwind, which had now reached us; we were compelled to leave the water, and our wet and naked bodies, being beat upon by a ſtorm of ſand, were ſoon incruſted with a black mud, which prevented us from dreſſing ourſelves; enlightened only by a red and gloomy ſun, with our eyes ſmarting, our noſes ſtuffed up, and our throats clogged with duſt, ſo that we could hardly breathe, we loſt each other and our way home, and arrived at our lodgings at laſt one by one, groping our way, and guided only by the walls, which marked our track. We could now eaſily conceive the dreadful ſituation of thoſe who are ſurpriſed with ſuch a phenomenon of nature, when croſſing the expoſed and naked deſerts; and we were ſo accuſtomed to the ſerene ſky of Egypt, that we could hardly bear with any patience ſuch a ſudden tranſition.

The next day the ſame maſs of duſt, attended with ſimilar appearances, travelled along the deſert of Lybia: it followed the chain of the mountains, and when we flattered ourſelves that we were entirely rid of this peſtilence, the weſt wind brought it back, and once more overwhelmed us with this ſcorching torrent; the flaſhes of lightning appeared to pierce with difficulty through this denſe vapour; all the elements ſeemed to be ſtill in diſorder; the rain was mixed with whirlwinds of fire, wind, and duſt, and in this time of confuſion the trees and all the other productions of nature ſeemed to be again plunged in the horrors of chaos.

The Sea Swallow.

From Acerbi's Travels.

WE experienced additional pleaſure every time the fiſhermen returned

returned from their labour. Joy ſeemed to brighten up their countenances; their approach was announced to us long before we ſaw them, by the flocks of ſea ſwallows *(ſterna hirundo*, Lin.) which hovered in the air, ſeeming by their cries to welcome their arrival on the ſhore. Theſe birds feed on the ſmall fiſhes, which the fiſhermen caſt out to them, or leave in the boats when they clear out their nets. There appeared to be an agreement and an underſtanding betwixt the men and theſe birds, which depend upon the fiſhery for ſubſiſtence and ſupport during this ſeaſon. They came duly at the ſame hour in the morning, as if to inform the fiſhermen it was time to begin their work; and the latter needed no other regulator. The birds ſet off with the boats, and ſerved the fiſhers as guides in the proſecution of their calling, by hovering over thoſe parts of the lake where the fiſh were collected in the largeſt ſhoals. The ſight of theſe birds is particularly keen, ſo that when the fiſhermen heard their cries, and ſaw them plunging into the water, they knew thoſe were the propereſt places to caſt their nets in with a probability of ſucceſs; and herein they were ſure not to be deceived, but, on the contrary, never failed to take the moſt fiſh where they were directed by the birds. The fiſhermen had ſuch an attachment to theſe ſwallows, that they expreſſed much uneaſineſs whenever we ſeemed deſirous to take ſome of them by way of ſpecimens. The birds were become ſo tame and familiar, that they would ſeize the ſmall fiſh in the nets, and even in the boats, in the preſence of the fiſhermen; and they were ſo nimble in their flight, that if a fiſh was thrown up into the air, they would dart down upon it, and catch it in its deſcent before it reached the water. As the fiſhermen appeared to be apprehenſive that they would leave them if a gun was to be fired off, I made a trial of taking them by means of a hook and line. Accordingly I contrived to bury a hook in the body of a fiſh, and holding the other end of the ſtring, to throw the bait at ſome diſtance from me: but this contrivance was attended with no ſucceſs, for ſuch is their keenneſs of ſight, that they diſcovered the device, and though they ſeized the fiſh, they would not gorge it when they found it was made faſt to a ſtring.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for New Inventions, granted during the Year 1802.

ALEXANDER Bryce of Glaſgow, in North Britain, merchant; for a method of drying all kinds of yarn, whether linen, woollen, cotton or ſilk, or compoſed of all or either of thoſe articles, as alſo all kinds of cloth, or ſtuffs, commonly called piece goods. Dated January 2.

Thomas Parkinſon, of the pariſh of St. George, Bloomſbury, Middleſex, gent.; for an apparatus to be applied to engines for conveying fluids therefrom. Dated January 2.

Abner Cowell Lea, of the pariſh of Aſhton, near Birmingham, Warwickſhire, manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing the furniture for umbrellas and paraſols. Dated January 2.

Lewis James Armand Eſtienne, of Paul-ſtreet, near Finſbury-ſquare, Middleſex, gent.; for an invention, communicated to him by a foreigner, of reducing human excrement into a powder, diveſted of all nauſeous ſmell, preſerving at the ſame time its fertilizing properties, in rendering land infinitely more productive than any other manure hitherto diſcovered. Dated January 9.

Robert Brown, of new Radford, Nottinghamſhire, lace manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing nets of all kinds. Dated January 16.

Joſeph Lewis, of Brimſcomb, in the county of Glouceſter, dyer; for certain improvements in the art of dyeing, by means of a new method of cooling the cloth and other piece goods, (particularly in dyeing black); and a new mode of applying the fire for the purpoſe of heating the boiler, or other veſſels, and which may be alſo applied to the heating of other boilers, or veſſels, where heat is required. Dated January 16.

Joſeph Hall, of Pitt-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey; for a hammer for guns, piſtols, and other fire-arms, which contains the prime, and effectually preſerves it from damp and rainy weather. Dated January 16.

Richard Wilcox, of the city of Briſtol, engineer; for improvements on the ſteam-engine, furnace, or boiler, and air-pump. Dated January 23.

Paul de Philipſthal, of the Lyceum,

ceum, in the Strand, gent.; for for an optical apparatus, whereby he is enabled to repreſent, in a dark ſpace or ſcene, the human figures, in various characters, proportions, and ſizes, and by which means painters and other artiſts may accurately enlarge or diminiſh with more certainty and facility than has been known or done. Dated January 26.

James Sharples, of the city of Bath, gent.; for new invented mechanical powers, applicable to ſteam engines; part of which machinery may be applied to other uſeful purpoſes. Dated January 28.

Thomas Charles Baker, of Poplar, in the pariſh of St. Dunſtan, Stepney, Middleſex, millwright; for vanes or ſails for windmills. Dated January 28.

Joſeph Barton, late of Old-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Luke, in the county of Middleſex, chemiſt; for a medicine which he denominates compound concentrated fluid vital air, of great uſe in the cure of putrid diſeaſes, &c.; and another preparation, which he calls aërated preventive fluid, as a preventive from putrid infection, &c.; alſo aërated liquid balm, for preſerving and beautifying the ſkin. Dated January 28.

Robert Dickenſon, of Longacre, in the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex, proprietor of Gowland's Lotion; for a new or improved method of fixing the ſtraps of and to ſaddles, to which the girths are uſually made faſt or buckle. Dated February 6.

John Southey, Lord Somerville; for a double furrowed plough, fit and proper for ploughing of land in this kingdom. Dated February 6.

Charles Mercie, of the city of Bath, muſic-maſter; for ſlides, which he calls air-ſlides, to be fixed to windows, doors, and partitions of all deſcriptions, for preventing the external air from entering rooms, carriages, &c. Dated February 6.

Henry Peimeck, and Robert Dunkin, of the town of Penzance, in the county of Cornwall, gents.; for methods for improving the ſailing and navigating of certain ſhips and veſſels. Dated February 19.

Joſeph Nelſon, of Leeds, Yorkſhire, clothier; for a method of making or manufacturing woollen cloth. Dated February 19.

Bryan Higgins, of the pariſh of St. Anne, Soho, Middleſex, doctor in phyſic; for an apparatus for heating air equally to any requiſite degree, and methods of applying the air ſo heated with peculiar advantage, efficacy, and economy of the fuel, to the numerous purpoſes for which ſtoves and kilns have been heretofore employed. Dated February 19.

George Holland, of the pariſh of St. Andrew, Holborn, Middleſex, hoſier; for a machine to be added to the ſtocking frame, for the purpoſe of improving the manufacture, and expediting the manufacturing of fleecy hoſiery, and various other kinds of hoſiery. Dated February 23.

George Bodley, of Exeter, Devonſhire, iron-founder; for a portable ſtove or kitchen for the purpoſe of dreſſing victuals. Dated February 27.

George Hodſon, of the city of Cheſter, aſh manufacturer; for a method of preparing or manufacturing foſſil or mineral alkali, from various ſubſtances. Dated Feb. 27.

Richard

Richard Pottinger, of the parish of Ealing, Middlesex, engineer; for an apparatus, whereby persons riding in carriages may on occasions, and in circumstances of imminent danger, liberate themselves, and escape impending mischief, by freeing the horse or horses instantly from the carriage. Dated February 27.

John Lewis, of Lamb's-buildings, in the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, Middlesex, manufacturer; for a method of preventing accidents by a horse or horses drawing a carriage or carriages. Dated February 27.

Mr. John Donaldson, of the city of Bristol, glass manufacturer; for a method of making all kinds of glass in a more expeditious manner than hitherto attempted. Dated March 5.

Mr. James Mitchell, the elder, and Mr. James Mitchell, the younger, of the hamlet of Poplar and Blackwall, in the county of Middlesex, rope makers; for an improved method of manufacturing cables, hawsers, and other cordage. Dated March 9.

Obadiah Elliott, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, Surry, coach-maker, for an eccentrical anti-labouriſt spring curricle bar, for one or more horses, upon a new and improved construction. Dated March 9.

Thomas Loud, of Hoxton, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, Middlesex, musical instrument maker; for improvements in the action and construction of upright piano-fortes. Dated March 9.

Christopher Wilson, of the Grange-walk, in the parish of Bermondsey, Surry, tanner; for a method of making and obtaining a vacuum, or vacuums, whereby powers are gained or obtained applicable to the improvement of hydraulical, pneumatical, and mechanical machines, or engines, or any others, where fluids, steam, or vapour, may be used or applied. Dated March 9.

Peter Litherland, of Liverpool, Lancashire, watch-maker; for a mode of keeping musical instruments in tune, and of preserving the strings from breaking. Dated March 24.

John Williams, of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, gent.; for a method or means of disengaging horses from carriages. Dated March 24.

James Ashworth, of Tottington, in the parish of Bury, in the county of Lancaster, dyer and colourman; for a method of making iron liquor, for the use of dyers and printers. Dated March 24.

Sebastian Erard, of Great Marlborough-street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, Middlesex, musical instrument maker; for improvements in the musical instrument called a harp. Dated March 24.

Philip James Meyer, of Great Portland-street, Middlesex; for a machine to prevent danger to persons driving, or being in curricles, single horse chaises, or other carriages, by horses being restive, breaking, or running away with such carriages, or backing, in consequence of taking fright while harnessed thereto. Dated March 24.

Henry Grant, Esq., of America-square, in the city of London; for a machine for the purifying and clarifying of water, whereby the most

moſt putrid or foul water may be rendered perfectly ſweet and clean. Dated March 24.

Richard Frevithick, and Andrew Vivian, of the pariſh of Cambourne, Cornwall, engineers and miners; for methods of improving the conſtruction of ſteam engines, and the application thereof for driving carriages, and for other purpoſes. Dated March 24.

Edward Maſſey, the younger, of Stanley, in the pariſh of Stoke upon Trent, Staffordſhire, watchmaker; for an inſtrument or apparatus, for taking ſoundings at ſea with more certainty and correctneſs than heretofore, and for other nautical purpoſes, and matters connected with or relating to navigation. Dated March 24.

Thomas Connop, of Mancheſter, Lancaſhire, machine maker; for a machine for batting, opening, and cleanſing cotton, wool, and ſheeps wool. Dated March 30.

Elizabeth Duke, of Queen's-ſquare, Moorfields, Middleſex, and James Jacks, of Cornhill, in the city of London, merchant taylor and draper; for an invention communicated to them by a perſon reſiding in America, whereby they are enabled to render all ſorts of woollen, cotton, and linen cloths, canvas, ſilk, hats, paper, and other manufactures, water-proof. Dated April 2.

Stephen Wells, of the pariſh of St. Mary, Lambeth, Surry; for hinges upon a new conſtruction. Dated April 3.

John Leach, of Merton Abbey, calico printer; for a method of uſing madder in the dyeing of calicoes, linens, and ſtuffs, whereby a great ſaving is made in the conſumption of that root or drug. Dated April 6.

James Power, of Baron's-buildings, St. George's-fields, gent.; for a machine for the purpoſe of raiſing weights, and for various other purpoſes. Dated April 7.

Thomas Parker, late of Broomward, Lanarkſhire, and now of the city of Glaſgow, in North Britain, William Telfer, and Alexander Afleck, of the ſaid city, mathematical inſtrument makers; for their further improvements in preparing and manufacturing flax, hemp, ſilk, and other materials. Dated April 8.

James Birch, of Abernant, in the county of Glamorgan, engineer; for improvements in, or additions to, the furnace, as hitherto uſed for ſmelting ore, and making pig-iron. Dated April 8.

John Charlton, of Duckmanton, Derbyſhire, agent to the Adelphi colliery; for a punch or prop for ſupporting the roofs of mines. Dated April 10.

John Harriott, of Wapping, Middleſex, eſq., and Thomas Strode, of Wapping aforeſaid, ſmith; for an engine for raiſing or lowering weights of all kinds, and for working mills and other ſimilar purpoſes. Dated April 13.

James Pearſon, of the townſhip of Walton-le-dale, Lacaſhire, cotton-ſpinner; for a machine for beating and dreſſing cotton, wool, or flax. Dated April 15.

Henry Gardiner, of the city of Norwich, corn merchant; for a method of preventing all ſorts of corn and ſeeds, and various other merchandize, from receiving damage by heat on board ſhips and in warehouſes, and of improving all ſuch

ſuch corn, ſeeds, or other merchandize, as may have received damage by heat or otherwiſe. Dated April 15.

Thomas Martin, of Goſwell-ſtreet, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middleſex, ſadler, collar and harneſs maker, and tanner; for improvements in the art of tanning and dreſſing hides and ſkins. Dated April 19.

John Thomas, of Withington, Lancaſhire, cotton-ſpinner; for a method, in addition to the machine and methods now in uſe, for the batting or beating, and cleaning of wool, cotton, and hoſe, preparatory to the carding and ſpinning thereof. Dated April 19.

George Frederick Bauer, of Swithin's-lane, in the city of London, doctor of phyſic; for improvements in the conſtruction of carriages and the wheels of carriages. Dated May 5.

Lawrence Holliſten, of Norfolk-ſtreet, Mary-le-bone, Middleſex; for machinery for improving roads. Dated May 5.

Edward Thomaſon, of Birmingham, Warwickſhire, manufacturer; for an improvement on cork-ſcrews. Dated May 7.

John Lawrence, of Lambeth, in the county of Surry, gent.; for a new method of tanning. Dated May 10.

Richard Hunt, of Bull and Mouth-ſtreet, London, fancy hat manufacturer; for improvements of Leghorn and chip hats. Dated May 18.

Philip Ruſher, of Banbury, in the county of Oxford, banker's-clerk; for various improvements and alterations in the form of printing-types, and the manner in which printing is to be performed therewith, ſo as to diminiſh the trouble and expence of printing, and to render it much more uniform and beautiful. Dated May 20.

Thomas Pritty, of Haughley, near Stow-market, in the county of Suffolk, grocer and draper; for a method or invention of affixing or hanging certain ſprings, joints, and other apparatus to doors, by means whereof ſuch doors may be opened from either jamb. Dated May 20.

John Whitley Boſwell, of Dublin, gent.; for a method of building or fabricating ſhips or veſſels for navigation. Dated May 20.

Archibald Blair, Eſq., of Bayford, Herefordſhire; for machinery, to be variouſly conſtructed, for preſſing all ſorts of ſubſtances to which it may be found applicable. Dated May 31.

John Cant Gate, of the town of Breechin, tanner; and John Millan, of the town of Montroſe, tanner and leather-dealer; both in Anguſſhire, in North Britain; for a new method of tanning leather. Dated May 31.

Matthew Wood, of Falcon-ſquare, London, merchant; for preparing a colour from malt, for the purpoſe of colouring ſpirits, wines, and other liquors. Dated May 31.

John Wilſon, of St. Alban's-ſtreet, St. James's, Weſtminſter, Middleſex, gent.; for a method or methods of purifying or clarifying, reducing, ſeparating, and decompoſing fluids. Dated May 31.

Joſeph Fryer, of Raſtrich, in the county of York, ſurgeon; for a machine for the purpoſe of cutting, dreſſing, and finiſhing of woollen cloth. Dated May 31.

Thomas Maltby, of the town of Nottingham; for a ſtirrup. Dated June 14.

William Leſter, of Cotton-end, in the pariſh of Harding Stone, Northamptonſhire, engineer; for an engine or machine, on an improved conſtruction, for ſeparating corn and ſeeds from the ſtraw; part of which machinery may alſo be applied to other uſeful purpoſes. Dated June 19.

James Tate, of Tottenham Court-road, in the pariſh of St. Pancras, Middleſex, ironmonger; for improvements in the conſtruction of wheel carriages. Dated June 26.

Thomas Richardſon, of Iron Acton, Glouceſterſhire, tanner; for improvements in the art of preparing, colouring, and uniting the ſkins of ſheep and lambs. Dated June 26.

Matthew Murray, of Leeds, Yorkſhire, engineer; for new combined ſteam-engines, for producing a circular power, and certain machinery thereunto belonging, applicable to the drawing of coals, ores, and all other minerals, from mines, and for ſpinning cotton, flax, tow, and wool, or for any other purpoſe requiring cicular power. Dated June 28.

William Walmſley, of Manchester, in the county of Lancaſter, machine maker; for a machine for batting and opening cotton, wool, ſheeps-wool, tow, hemp, and flax. Dated July 2.

William Barclay, of Manchester-buildings, in the pariſh of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter, clerk; for a medicinal compound, called, The Rev. William Barclay's antibilious deobſtruent pills. Dated July 14.

Thomas Wilſon, of Biſhop Wearmouth, Durham, engineer; and Rowland Burdon, of Caſtle Eden, in the ſaid county, Eſq.; for methods of uniting, combining, and connecting the metallic patent blocks of the ſaid Rowland Burdon, for the conſtruction of arches. Dated July 23.

John Vancouver, of Brookhouſe, Warwickſhire, Eſq.; for newly diſcovered materials, which, by certain new proceſſes of manufacture, are capable of being rendered a ſubſtitute for ſoap. Dated July 23.

Thomas Sawdon, of the city of Lincoln, wire-worker and corn-machine maker; for a machine for cutting ſtraw for fodder for cattle, on principles entirely new. Dated July 23.

The Right Honourable Archibald, Earl of Dundonald; for a method or methods of preparing a ſubſtitute or ſubſtitutes for gum Senegal, and other gums, extenſively employed in certain branches of manufacture. Dated July 31.

George Elliott, of Rathbone-place, Middleſex, machine maker; for a machine for the purpoſe of raiſing water and other fluids. Dated Auguſt 2.

Charles Wyatt, of New Bridge-ſtreet, in the city of London, merchant and manufacturer; for his invention of certain improvements in the apparatus for, and mode of diſtilling and drying coffee and ſugar. Dated Auguſt 2.

William Speer, of the city of Dublin, Eſq.; for an improvement in the conſtruction of hydrometers. Dated Auguſt 2.

William Nicholſon, of Soho-ſquare, Middleſex, gent.; for machinery

chinery for the better and more expeditious manufacturing of files. Dated Auguſt 14.

Joſeph Smith, of Red Lion-ſtreet, Holborn, Middleſex, ſmith; for a method of fixing and ſetting an alarum, or alarum bell, ſo contrived as to alarm and waking families in caſe of fire, &c. Dated Auguſt 19.

Archibald Blair, of Bayford, Hertfordſhire, Eſq.; for a method of returning cotton and other elaſtic ſubſtances when preſſed. Dated Auguſt 19.

Joſeph de Oliveira Barreto, late of Liſbon, but now of Old Burlington-ſtreet, Middleſex, Eſq.; and Mary de Lima Barreto, his wife; for a method of treating and curing of ruptures, Dated Auguſt 30.

Joſeph Hately, of Cradeley, Worceſterſhire, aſſayer of metals; for a method of purifying metals. Dated Auguſt 31.

Joſeph Brindley, of Rocheſter, Kent, ſhip-builder; for a method of more effectually ſecuring ſhips' beams to their ſides. Dated September 20.

Joſeph Landells, of Radcliffe, in the pariſh of St. Dunſtan, Stepney, Middleſex, ſhipwright; for a method of working pumps by machinery. Dated September 20.

Robert Dickinſon, of Long Acre, in the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, Middleſex; for improvement in the arts of working and making of the furniture, accoutrements, or the apparatus, uſeful or neceſſary for the employment of horſes, or otherwiſe relating to the ſame. Dated September 27.

William Plees, of Chelſea, Middleſex, gent.; for a method of manufacturing paper for various purpoſes. Dated September 27.

William Forder, of Portſea, Hants, purſer in his majeſty's navy; for a diving machine, to be uſed about ſhipping, and in ſtopping holes and leaks in ſhips' bottoms, and for other purpoſes. Dated October 2.

John Grimſhaw, of Biſhop Wearmouth, Durham, rope-maker, being one of the people called quakers; for improvements in machinery for laying ropes. Dated October 5.

Joſeph Bramah, of Pimlico, Middleſex, engineer; for a machine for the purpoſe of producing ſtraight, ſmooth, and parallel ſurfaces, on wood and other materials. Dated October 30.

Auguſtus Frederick Thoelden, of St. Alban's-ſtreet, Pall Mall, Middleſex, Eſq.; for a mechanical apparatus for ſupporting the human body. Dated October 30.

James Smethurſt, of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, Surry, lamp manufacturer; and Nicholas Paul, of Villier's-ſtreet, Strand, mechanician; for improvements in lamps and reflectors. Dated October 30.

James How, of Bovingdon, near Hemel Hempſtead, Herts, farmer; for a plough upon an improved conſtruction. Dated October 30.

Thomas Barnett, of Eaſt-ſtreet, Lambeth, Surry, mathematical inſtrument maker; for an invention whereby a requiſite quantity of air will introduce itſelf into any veſſel containing fluids, or a ſuperabundant quantity of air therein diſcharge itſelf ſo as to preſerve the fluid in a conſtant ſtate for uſe. Dated November 6.

Robert

Robert Walker, of Union-ſtreet, St. Mary-le-bone, Middleſex; for dining tables upon an entire new conſtruction. Dated November 6.

Henry Smith, lieutenant in his majeſty's royal navy; for an improved veſſel or barrel for a more ſafe and expeditious carriage and conveyance of gunpowder. Dated November 13.

Simon Huguenin, of Brook-ſtreet, Holborn, Middleſex; for a machine for accelerating motion with little friction, to be called the univerſal lever. Dated November 13.

Thomas Martin, of Brook-ſtreet, near Brentwood, Eſſex, ſadler; for a method of applying fire, by means of certain machinery, for the purpoſe of heating liquors, and applying ſuch liquors, when heated, to various uſeful purpoſes. Dated November 20.

Thomas Dawſon, of James-ſtreet, Long Acre, Middleſex, tin plate worker; for a lamp or lantern, upon an improved conſtruction. Dated November 25.

William Dobſon, of St. Clements' Danes, Middleſex, hardwareman; for machinery for the purpoſe of chaſing away flies and venomous inſects. Dated November 25.

Marc Iſambard Brunel, of Gerard-ſtreet, Soho, Middleſex, gent.; for trimmings or borders of muſlin, lawn, or cambric. Dated November 27.

James Roberts, of Portſea, Hants, mechanic; and Edward Brine, of the ſame place, copperſmith; for machinery for the purpoſe of dragging or locking the wheels of carriages of every deſcription, and for inſtantaneouſly diſengaging the horſes therefrom. Dated November 29.

Alexander Roſs, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, London, perfumer; for gentlemen's peruques or wigs. Dated November 29.

Daniel Craanor, a native of Holland, but now of the city of London, merchant; for a method of making verdigris in lumps or powder, with ingredients the produce of Great Britain, which will not only anſwer every purpoſe of foreign verdigris, but can be uſed as a water colour upon paper, &c. Dated November 30.

William Beer, of Ely-place, in the city of London, medical profeſſor and dealer in medicine; for a medicine, and method of adminiſtering the ſame, for the more effectually and expeditiouſly curing the gout, rheumatiſm, &c. Dated December 9.

John Barnett, of Birmingham, Warwickſhire, toy-maker; and Joſeph Barnett, of the borough of Warwick, in the ſaid county, cutler; for a new and improved method of making parafols and umbrellas. Dated December 21.

Matthew Wyatt, of Queen Anne-ſtreet, Eaſt, Middleſex, Eſq.; for a fire-grate, upon an improved conſtruction. Dated December 21.

Thomas Saint, of the city of Briſtol, engineer; for a method of increaſing the effect of ſteam engines, and ſaving fuel in the working thereof. Dated December 21.

John Lewel, of Greſſe-ſtreet, Rathbone-place, Middleſex, ſtove-maker; for a regiſter ſtove upon improved principles. Dated December 21.

John Scott, and James Clarkson, of Lower-ſtreet, Iſlington, brick makers; William Tatham, of Staples-inn-buildings, Holborn, Eſq.; and Samuel Melliſh, of Holborn-court, Gray's-inn, gent.; for new invented articles, which they have denominated "Tatham's clumps;" for the purpoſe of conſtructing water-pipes, ſewers, tunnels, wells, conduits, reſervoirs, or other circular walls, ſhells, or buildings. Dated December 21.

Michael Billingſley, of Birkinſhaw, Yorkſhire, engineer; for an inſtrument, engine, or machine to be worked by ſteam, water, or horſes, for the purpoſe of boring cylinders, &c. Dated December 22.

Method of Harveſting Corn in Wet Weather. By Mr. John Palmer, of Maxſtock, near Coleſhill, Warwickſhire.

From the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

THE weather proving extremely rainy, and my corn then ſtanding, taking much damage, I determined upon cutting it wet, and thraſhing it immediately, and then drying it on a kiln: in conſequence of this, I collected as many men as were ſufficient for the purpoſe, and employed them as follows, *viz.*

I cauſed a part of my men to cut the corn in the common method with ſickles, and bind it into ſheaves. A ſecond part I employed to load it on waggons, and carry it to the barn; and as many as could work in the barn, to thraſh it. The next morning I winnowed it, and carried it to a malt-kiln to be dried; which operation was always completed in leſs than twenty-four hours.

As it is impoſſible for me to ſend you two ſheaves of the corn harveſted as above deſcribed, I have ſent you the produce of two ſheaves and upwards, which I declare to be a fair ſample of the produce of four acres and upwards.

A timber-ſtove, or a hop-kiln, will anſwer the purpoſe of drying corn equally well as a malt-kiln.

The expence per acre was as under ſtated.

	£.	s.	d.
Reaping and carrying to the barn,	0	12	0
Thraſhing and winnowing,	0	12	0
Kiln-drying,	0	5	0
	£. 1	9	0

N. B. Only a part of the above ſum ſhould be charged to my new method of harveſting corn, *viz.* the extra expence, which is as follows:

Five ſhillings *per* acre for drying, and four ſhillings for the extra trouble of thraſhing it.

After the wheat above mentioned was thraſhed in the common method with flails, and dried, I ſo far completed a machine for thraſhing, that I thraſhed a very conſiderable quantity of wheat, and ten acres of barley with it, carried from the field in November; and it was dried in the manner deſcribed in my claim. I did not however

however ſtate this to the ſociety, becauſe I had taken out a patent, dated the 6th day of December, 1799, for my thraſhing-machine: and was that day going to London to give in my ſpecification, dated the 4th of January 1800.

Part of the ſtraw of the four acres, deſcribed in my claim, was uſed for thatch immediately after it was thraſhed; and part ſtacked in ſmall narrow ridges, for litter for my fold-yarn.

The grain was very well ſeparated from the ſtraw by the flails; but that thraſhed by the machine was completely cleared, though in a very wet ſtate. This would not be the caſe with the common machines of the north.

The quantity of wheat upon an acre was about twenty-one buſhels, which is nearly as much as there would have been if it had been dried by fine weather. When the advantage of getting in an acre of wheat *per* day, in ſeaſons like the laſt, is properly conſidered, and making it immediately uſeful, at the ſmall additional expence of nine ſhillings *per* acre, there can be but little doubt reſpecting its utility; for probably theſe men could not be employed at any other work.

The above letter was accompanied with three certificates; one from Mr. Edward Palmer, of Maxſtock, in the county of Warwick; another from the Rev. John Dilke, of Maxſtock-caſtle; and the third from Mr. William Twamley, of Sutton Colfield, in the county of Warwick, miller: which teſtify that Mr. John Palmer did harveſt four acres of wheat and upwards in the year 1799; that his plan is likely to be of general advantage; and that his thraſhing machine is in high repute, and anſwers every end propoſed.

Account of the Method of making Clover Hay in wet Weather, as practiſed in Courland; invented by the Rev. Mr. Klapmeyer, of Wormen.

From the ſame.

IN the method of making hay, recommended by the Rev. Mr. Klapmeyer, not only a number of hands are ſaved, but the hay is better and more nouriſhing. The hay is prepared by ſelf-fermentation, whereby it retains its nutritious juices, and only loſes its watery particles; it is dried more expeditiouſly by diſſipation of its humidity, and contraction of the ſap-veſſels, and thus its nutritious juices are concentrated. This proceſs is conducted in the following manner, *viz.* The ſap-veſſels are expanded by the circulation of the liquid juices by heat, and the ſuperfluous humidity is exhaled: on cooling, the ſap-veſſels contract, and thus future inteſtine fermentation is prevented, and the nutritious quality preſerved.

Upon this principle, the clover intended for hay, after having been mowed, remains till four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, in the ſwath, to dry; it muſt then be raked together into ſmall coils, and afterwards made into large cocks, in the form of a ſugar-loaf, and ſuch as would require ſix or eight horſes to remove. To prevent the air from penetrating theſe cocks, and to produce a quicker fermentation, they muſt,

whilſt forming, be trod down by one or two men. If it be a ſtill cloſe warm night, the fermentation will commence in four hours, and manifeſt itſelf by a ſtrong honey-like ſmell: when a proper fermentation is begun, the cocks will, on being opened, ſmoke, appear brownish, and may then be ſpread abroad. If in the morning the ſun is warm, and a little wind ariſes, the clover hay will quickly dry; it may then, towards noon, be turned with the rake or pitch-fork, and, about four in the afternoon, will be ſufficiently dried, ſo that it may be immediately carted into the barn, without any danger of a ſecond fermentation.

By this method of management the clover will require only three days, from the time of mowing to its being houſed, and very little work; whilſt, in the common way, even in good weather, it requires ſix or eight days: in the old method it frequently becomes of a black colour; but in the new method it is only brown, has an agreeable ſmell, and remains good and unchangeable in the barn. The farmer has alſo another advantage, that if he has not carts enough to carry it into the barn, he need only, at ſun-ſetting, to heap it again into large well-trodden cocks, and thatch them with ſtraw, in which ſtate they will remain the whole ſummer without damage or loſs. This clover hay is not only greedily eaten by ſheep and lambs, but alſo by horſes, calves, and cows.

The laſt in particular prefer it to the beſt meadow hay: it produces a great quantity of rich milk; and the butter made from it is almoſt as yellow as ſummer butter.

As this new mode of making hay depends principally upon two circumſtances—firſt, that the mown clover, when brought together into large heaps, may ferment equally and expeditiouſly; ſecondly, that if the day ſucceeding the fermentation be dry, ſunny, and windy—on this account it may be proper to point out what ſhould be done when circumſtances are unfavourable.

Let us ſuppoſe, therefore, that the night after the clover graſs has been placed in the great cocks, be cold, damp, or rainy, the fermentation will yet take place, although it may require a term of twelve, ſixteen, or twenty-four hours to effect it. If it be a ſecond or third crop, at which ſeaſon the nights are colder, it may even require from thirty-ſix to forty-eight hours before the fermentation enſues; it will however commence, and may be aſcertained from this circumſtance, that you can ſcarcely bear your hand in the interior of the cock.

Even if the night be dry, yet if a ſtrong cold wind blows, the cock may not ferment equally, but only in the middle and on the ſide oppoſite to the wind; the other parts may ſtill remain green. In ſuch a caſe the following rules muſt be attended to:—

Firſt, If the cock has only fermented in the middle, and on that ſide where the cold wind did not act upon it, the whole heap muſt nevertheleſs be opened the following morning. That which has already fermented muſt be ſeparated and ſpread to dry; it muſt be turned towards noon, and may be carted into the barn in the evening: but that part of the cock which has

has not fermented, muſt be again put together into large cocks, and fermented in the ſame manner as the preceding part, after which it may be ſpread to dry, and brought into the barn.

Secondly, In ſuch caſes where a ſmall portion of the cock has fermented thoroughly, but not the greater part, the heap muſt be ſpread abroad in the morning, but muſt be again made into a cloſe cock in the evening, in ſuch a manner that the part which has fermented be placed at the top or outſide of the cock, and that which has not fermented be incloſed within it; then on the enſuing morning, or, if the weather be cold and rainy, on the morning afterwards, the clover heap may be again ſpread abroad, and the clover treated as in caſe No. I.

Thirdly, If, in ſpreading the heap abroad, it be found that nearly the whole of the clover has fermented, it will not be neceſſary to delay the houſing of the whole on account of ſome ſmall portion; but the clover may be dried and carted into the barn. The ſmall portion of clover which remained unfermented, will not occaſion any diſaſter to the other which has fermented; for there is a material difference betwixt hay thus managed, and the meadow graſs which is brought whilſt damp, or wet with rain, into the barn, which will grow muſty and putrid.

Fourthly, In ſuch inſtances, where ſome of the cocks of clover have thoroughly fermented, and it rains on the morning, they ought to be ſpread abroad, for the clover muſt be opened and ſpread, even if it rains violently; ſince, if it was ſuffered to remain longer in the heap, it would take fire, or its juices would be injured by too much fermentation; the leaves and ſtalks would become black, and the clover unfit for food: therefore, if the rain continues, the ſpread clover muſt be turned from time to time, but not carted into the barn till dry. This drying takes place if the rain diſcontinues for a few hours, much more expeditiouſly with the clover which has fermented, than with that made in the common way. Beſides which, it muſt be remarked, that the fermented clover remains good, even if it continues ſome weeks expoſed to the rain, provided it is at laſt ſuffered to dry before it is put into the barn; otherwiſe the wet from the rain will render it muſty and bad. The clover which has been for ſo long a time expoſed to the rain, will not, however, be ſo nutritious as that which has been well fermented and ſooner dried; but it will be far ſuperior to that which has been expoſed to the rain, and got up in the common method.

This new mode has been adopted with ſucceſs, during the years 1798 and 1799, in Sileſia, and found, in every reſpect, preferable to the old manner. On one of the eſtates there, it rained much during the hay time; they were obliged to ſpread the clover out of the large cocks, owing to its having fermented only in the middle: the parts which had not fermented were carefully ſeparated, and made again into large cocks, which fermented at the expiration of thirty-ſix hours, rainy weather and cold nights continuing during this period: after which time it was again

ſpread abroad. The former, as well as the latter, remained for three days expoſed to the rain, during which period it was turned ſeveral times; the rain ceaſed on the fourth day, ſo that the clover hay was turned towards noon, and carted into the barn that evening. This clover remained in the hay-loft without change, and was a very nutritious food. Several milch-cows were fed with it, who not only ate it greedily, but alſo increaſed in their milk. Lambs and calves alſo thrived with it greatly. This method of making clover hay prevents its taking fire; for clover which has been once well fermented and dried, does not change or ſpoil in the hay-loft.

If the weather ſhould be remarkably hot, you may, by adopting this plan, prevent a frequent accident; for graſs haſtily made into hay, however dry it may appear to the hand, contains within its fibres much humidity; and when trod down in the ſtack will ferment rapidly, from this humidity endeavouring to eſcape, which often fires the ſtack. A certain degree of fermentation is neceſſary in the making of hay, in order to develope its ſaccharine qualities, and make nutritious food. This ſaccharine fermentation is evident, from the ſmell and colour of the hay in common ſtacks; and from taſting an infuſion of it, it reſembles, in ſome degree, the proceſs of making malt from barley, and requires a ſimilar attention. I have no doubt that the method above related will prove generally advantageous, in making clover-lucerne and meadow hay in England, and lead to valuable improvements in agriculture.

Deſcription of a Boat of peculiar Conſtruction, called the Life Boat, by Mr. Henry Greathead, of South-Shields.

From the ſame.

IT is much to be lamented, that in an age enlightened by ſcience, ſuch a languid indifference ſhould prevail on many important public occaſions; and that the moſt excellent inventions ſhould have to combat the force of inveterate prejudice.

How many valuable diſcoveries have languiſhed in obſcurity? How many uſeful projects have periſhed in embryo, deprived of the foſtering aid of the public, and the patronage of influence and authority?—In the claſs of uſeful improvements for the diminution of the dangers incident to a maritime profeſſion, the life-boat, invented by Mr. Greathead, of Shields, has a claim to a diſtinguiſhed patronage.—An experimental conviction of its great utility in ſaving the lives of ſhipwrecked ſeamen, and of its perfect ſafety in the moſt agitated ſea, has induced me to advocate the cauſe with a zeal proportioned to its importance; and it is a conſolatary reflection to my own mind, that my exertions have been ſucceſsful in the introduction of a life-boat in the port of Scarborough, and, I truſt, not unprofitable towards promoting a ſimilar eſtabliſhment in other places.—The ſervices which have been recently performed at this port, by means of the life-boat, in contributing to the preſervation of the lives of the *crews* of *two veſſels*, more than compenſate for every labour.—I am far from the ambition of aſpiring

to

to any honorary teſtimony on this occaſion. Actuated by the pureſt principles of philanthrophy, my ſole object is the benefit of the community, and to endeavour, by ardent recommendations, to excite a ſpirit of emulation in order to introduce the life-boat, with its invaluable properties, into more general uſe. I am induced to ſubmit, with the utmoſt deference and reſpect, to the conſideration of the Society of Arts, &c. the following deſcription of the life-boat, with ſome miſcellaneous obſervations. The conſtruction of the boat, agreeably to Mr. Greathead's plan, is as follows.

The length is thirty feet; the breadth ten feet; the depth, from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel in midſhips, three feet three inches; from the gunwale to the platform *(within)* two feet four inches; from the top of the ſtems (both ends being ſimilar) to the horizontal line of the bottom of the keel, five feet nine inches. The keel is a plank of three inches thick, of a proportionate breadth in midſhips, narrowing gradually towards the ends, to the breadth of the ſtems at the bottom, and forming a great convexity downwards. The ſtems are ſegments of a circle, with conſiderable *rakes*. The bottom ſection, to the floor-heads, is a curve fore and aft, with the ſweep of the keel. The floor timber has a ſmall *riſe*, curving from the keel to the floor-heads. A bilge plank is wrought in on each ſide next the floor-heads with a double *rabbit* or groove, of a ſimilar thickneſs with the keel; and, on the outſide of this, are fixed two bilge-trees, correſponding nearly with the level of the keel. The ends of the bottom ſection form that fine kind of entrance obſervable in the lower part of the bow of the fiſhing boat, called a *coble*, much uſed in the north. From this part to the top of the ſtem it is more elliptical, forming a conſiderable projection. The ſides, from the floor-heads to the top of the gun-wale, flaunch off on each ſide, in proportion to about half the breadth of the floor. The breadth is continued far forward towards the ends, leaving a ſufficient length of ſtraight ſide at the top. The ſheer is regular along the ſtraight ſide, and more elevated towards the ends. The gunwale, fixed on the outſide, is three inches thick.—The ſides, from the under part of the gunwale, along the whole length of the regular ſheer, extending twenty-one feet ſix inches, are caſed with *layers* of cork, to the depth of ſixteen inches downward; and the thickneſs of this caſing of cork being four inches, it projects at the top a little without the gunwale. The cork on the outſide is ſecured with thin plates or ſlips of copper, and the boat is faſtened with copper nails. The *thwarts*, or ſeats, are five in number, *double banked*, conſequently the boat may be rowed with ten * oars. The *thwarts* are firmly ſtanchioned. The ſide oars are

* Five of the benches are only uſed, the boat being generally rowed with ten oars.

ſhort,* with iron tholes and rope grommets, ſo that the rower can pull either way. The boat is ſteered with an oar at each end; and the ſteering oar is one third longer than the rowing oar. The platform placed at the bottom, within the boat, is horizontal, the length of the midſhips, and elevated at the ends, for the convenience of the ſteerſman, to give him a greater power with the oar. The internal part of the boat next the ſides, from the under part of the *thwarts* down to the platform, is caſed with cork; the whole quantity of which, affixed to the life-boat, is nearly ſeven hundred weight. The cork indiſputably contributes much to the buoyancy of the boat, is a good defence in going alongſide a veſſel, and is of principal uſe in keeping the boat in an erect poſition in the ſea, or rather, of giving her a very lively and quick diſpoſition to recover from any ſudden *cant* or *lurch* which ſhe may receive from the ſtroke of a heavy wave. But, excluſive of the cork, the admirable conſtruction of this boat gives it a decided pre-eminence, the ends being ſimilar, the boat can be rowed either way; and this peculiarity of form alleviates her riſing over the waves. The curvature of the keel and bottom facilitates her movement in turning, and contributes to the eaſe of the ſteerage, as a ſingle ſtroke of the ſteering oar has an immediate effect, the boat moving as it were upon a centre. The fine entrance below is of uſe in dividing the waves when rowing againſt them; and, combined with the convexity of the bottom, and the eliptical form of the ſtem, admits her to riſe with wonderful buoyancy in a high ſea, and to launch forward with rapidity, without ſhipping any water, when a common boat would be in danger of being filled. The *flaunching*, or ſpreading form of the boat, from the floor-heads to the gunwale, gives her a conſiderable *bearing*; and the continuation of the breadth, well forward, is a great ſupport to her in the ſea; and it has been found by experience, that boats of this conſtruction are the beſt ſea boats for rowing againſt turbulent waves. The internal ſhallowneſs of the boat, from the gunwale down to the platform, the convexity of the form, and the bulk of cork within, leave a very diminiſhed ſpace for the water to occupy; ſo that the life-boat, when filled with water, contains a conſiderable leſs quantity than the common boat, and is in no danger either of ſinking or overturning. It may be preſumed, by ſome, that in caſes of high wind, agitated ſea, and broken waves, that a boat of ſuch a bulk could not prevail againſt them by the force of the oars; but the life-boat, from her peculiar form, may be rowed *a-head*, when the attempt in other boats would fail. Boats of the common form, adapted for ſpeed, are of courſe put in motion with a ſmall power; but for want of buoyancy and bearing, are overrun by the waves and ſunk, when impelled againſt them: and boats conſtructed for burthen meet

* The ſhort oar is more manageable in a high ſea than the long oar, and its ſtroke is more certain.

with too much resistance from the wind and sea, when opposed to them, and cannot, in such cases, be rowed from the shore to a ship in distress. An idea has been entertained, that the superior advantages of the life-boat are to be ascribed solely to the quantity of cork affixed. But this is a very erroneous opinion; and, I trust, has been amply refuted by the preceding observations on the super-eminent construction of this boat. It must be admitted, that the application of cork to common boats would add to their buoyancy and security; and it might be an useful expedient if there were a quantity of cork on board of ships, to prepare the boats with, in cases of shipwreck, as it might be expeditiously done, in a temporary way, by means of *clamps*, or some other contrivance. The application of cork to some of the boats of his majesty's ships* might be worthy of consideration: more particularly as an experiment might be made at a little expence, and without inconvenience to the boats; or may prevent pleasure boats from upsetting or sinking.

The life-boat is kept in a boat-house, and placed upon four low wheels, ready to be moved at a moment's notice. These wheels are convenient in conveying the boat along the shore to the sea; but if she had to travel upon them on a rough road, her frame would be exceedingly shaken. Besides, it has been found difficult and troublesome to replace her upon these wheels on her return from the sea. Another plan has therefore been adopted. Two wheels, of nine feet diameter, with a moveable arched axis, and a pole fixed thereto for a lever, have been constructed. The boat is suspended near her centre, between the wheels under the *axis;* toward each extremity of *which* is an iron pin, with a chain attached. When the pole is elevated perpendicularly, the upper part of the axis become depressed, and the chains being hooked to *eye-bolts* on the inside of the boat, she is raised with the utmost facility, by means of the pole, which is then fastened down to the stem of the boat.

The Scarborough boat is under the direction of a committee. Twenty-four fishermen, composing *two crews*, are alternately employed to navigate her. A reward, in cases of shipwreck, is paid by the committee to each man actually engaged in the assistance; and it is expected that the vessel receiving assistance should contribute to defray this expence. None have hitherto refused.

It is of importance that the command of the boat should be entrusted to some steady experienced person, who is acquainted with the direction of the tides or currents, as much skill may be required in rising *them* to the most advantage in going to a ship in distress. It should also be recommended to keep the *head* of the boat to the *sea*, as much as circumstances will admit; and to give her an accelerated velocity to meet the wave. Much caution is necessary in approaching a wreck, on account of the strong reflux of the waves, which is sometimes attended with great danger. In a general way, it is safest to go on the *lee*-quarter; but this depends

* The launches.

upon

upon the poſition of the veſſel; and the maſter of the boat ſhould exerciſe his ſkill in placing her in the moſt convenient ſituation. The boatmen ſhould practiſe themſelves in the uſe of the boat, that they may be the better acquainted with her movements; and they ſhould at all times be ſtrictly obedient to the directions of the perſon who is appointed to the command.

The great ingenuity which has been diſplayed in the conſtruction of the life-boat, leaves ſcarcely any room for improvement: but ſome have ſuppoſed, that a boat of twenty-five feet in length, with a proportionate breadth, would anſwer every purpoſe of a larger one. A boat of theſe dimenſions would certainly be lighter, and leſs expenſive; but whether ſhe would be equally *ſafe* and *ſteady* in a high ſea, I cannot take upon myſelf to determine.

Mr. Greathead, of South Shields, the inventor, undertakes to build theſe boats, and to convey them to any port in the kingdom. He is a worthy man, in whom a confidence may be repoſed, and will build upon moderate terms of profit.

THOMAS HINDERWELL.

Particulars relative to the conſtruction of, and benefits received from, ſundry Life Boats built by Mr. Henry Greathead, or under his directions, in and ſince the year 1789.

ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH SHIELDS LIFE-BOAT.

FROM the declaration of Sir Cuthbert Heron, Bart. of South Shields, it appears that when the Adventure was wrecked in 1789, on the Herd Sands, he offered a reward for any ſeaman to go off to ſave the men's lives, which was refuſed; and that the greateſt part of the crew of the Adventure periſhed within 300 yards of the ſhore, and in ſight of a multitude of ſpectators. The gentlemen of South Shields immediately met and offered a reward to any perſon who would give in a plan of a boat, which ſhould be approved, for the preſervation of men's lives. Mr. Greathead gave in a plan, which met with approbation; a committee was formed, and a ſubſcription raiſed for the building of a boat upon that plan. After it was built, it was with ſome difficulty that the ſailors were induced to go off in her; but, in conſequence of a reward offered, they went off, and brought the crew of a ſtranded veſſel on ſhore. Since which time the boat has been readily manned, and no lives have been loſt (except in the inſtances of the crews truſting to their own boats); and, in his opinion, if Mr. Greathead's boat had exiſted at the time of the wreck of the Adventure, the crew would have been ſaved.

From other accounts it appears, that in the year 1791 the crew of a brig, belonging to Sunderland, and laden from the weſtward, were preſerved by this life boat, the veſſel at the ſame time breaking to pieces by the force of the ſea.

On January 1ſt, 1795, the ſhip Parthenius, of Newcaſtle, was driven on the Herd Sand, and the life-boat went to her aſſiſtance, when the ſea breaking over the

ſhip

ſhip as the boat was ranging alongſide, the boat was ſo violently ſhaken that her bottom was actually hanging looſe; under theſe circumſtances, ſhe was three times off to the ſhip, without being affected by the water in her.

The ſhip Peggy being alſo on the Herd Sand, the life-boat went off, and brought the crew on ſhore, when the plug in her bottom had been accidentally left out; though ſhe filled with water in conſequence, yet ſhe effected the purpoſe in that ſituation.

In the latter part of the year 1796, a ſloop, belonging to Mr. Brymer, from Scotland, laden with bale goods, was wrecked on the Herd Sands; the crew and paſſengers were taken out by the life-boat; the veſſel went to pieces at the time the boat was employed; the goods were ſcattered on the ſand, and part of them loſt.

In the ſame year, a veſſel, named the Counteſs of Errol, was driven on the Herd Sand, and the crew ſaved by the life-boat.

October 15th, 1797, the ſloop, called Fruit of Friends, from Leith, coming to South Shields, was driven on the Herd Sand. One part of the paſſengers, in attemping to come on ſhore in the ſhip's boat, was unfortunately drowned; the other part was brought on ſhore ſafe by the life-boat.

The account of Capt. William Carter, of Newcaſtle, ſtates, that on the 28th November, 1797, the ſhip Planter, of London, was driven on ſhore near Tynemouth-bar, by the violence of a gale; the life-boat came out, and took fifteen perſons from the ſhip, which the boat had ſcarcely quitted before the ſhip went to pieces; that, without the boat, they muſt all have inevitably periſhed, as the wreck came on ſhore ſoon after the life-boat. He conceived that no boat, of a common conſtruction, could have given relief at that time. The ſhips, Gateſhead and Mary of Newcaſtle, the Beaver, of North Shields, and a ſloop, were in the ſame ſituation with the Planter. The crew of the Gateſhead, nine in number, took to their own boat, which ſunk, and ſeven of them were loſt; the other two ſaved themſelves by ropes thrown from the Mary. After the life-boat had landed the crew of the Planter, ſhe went off ſucceſſively to the other veſſels, and brought the whole of their crews ſafe to ſhore, together with the two perſons who had eſcaped from the boat of the Gateſhead.

Mr. Carter adds, that he has ſeen the life-boat go to the aſſiſtance of other veſſels, at different times, and that ſhe ever ſucceeded in bringing the crews on ſhore; that he had ſeveral times obſerved her to come on ſhore full of water, and always ſafe.

ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND LIFE-BOAT.

THE Northumberland life-boat, ſo called from its being built at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and preſented by him to North Shields, was firſt employed in November, 1798, when ſhe went off to the relief of the ſloop Edinburgh, of Kincardine, which was ſeen to go on the Herd Sands, about a mile and a half from the ſhore. Ralph Hillery, one of the ſeamen who went

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out in the life-boat to her assistance, relates, that she was brought to an anchor before the life-boat got to her; that the ship continued to strike the ground so heavily, that she would not have held together ten minutes longer, had not the life-boat arrived; they made her cut her cable, and then took seven men out of her, and brought them on shore; that the sea was at that time so monstrously high, that no other boat whatever could have lived in it. He stated, that in the event of the life-boat filling with water, she would continue still upright, and would not founder, as boats of a common construction do; that he has seen her go off scores of times, and never saw her fail in bringing off such of the crews as staid by their ships.

It also saved (as appears from other accounts) the crew of the brig Clio, of Sunderland, when she struck upon the rocks called the Black Middens, on the north side of the entrance of Tynemouth Haven.

October 25th, 1799, the ship Quintilian, from St. Petersburgh, drove on the Herd Sand, from the force of the sea wind at N. E. knocked her rudder off, and was much damaged; but the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat. The great utility of this life-boat is also confirmed by many other recent circumstances: one among which is that of the ship Sally, of Sunderland, which, in taking the harbour of Tynemouth, on December 25th, 1801, at night, struck on the bar: the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat, but the ship was driven among the rocks.

On the 22nd of January, 1802, in a heavy gale of wind, from the N. N. W. the ship Thomas and Alice, in attempting the harbour of South Shields, was driven on the Herd Sand: the Northumberland life-boat went to her assistance; took, as was supposed, all the people out, and pulled away from the ship to make the harbour, when they were waved to return by a man who had been below deck. On taking this man out they encountered a violent gust of wind, under the quarter of the ship; the ship at the same time drove among the breakers; and, entangling the boat with her, broke most of the oars on that side of the boat next the ship, and filled the boat with water. By the shock, several of the oars were knocked out of the hands of the rowers, and that of the steersman. In this situation, the steersman quickly replaced his oar from one of those left in the boat, and swept the boat before the sea, filled with water inside as high as the midship gunwale: the boat was steered in this situation, before the wind and sea, a distance far exceeding a mile, and landed twenty-one men, including the boat's crew, without any accident, but being wet.

ACCOUNT OF THE SCARBOROUGH LIFE-BOAT.

SIR,

THE life-boat at Scarborough, which was built without the least deviation from the model and the plan which you sent here at my request, has even exceeded the most sanguine expectations; and I have now received experimental conviction of its great utility in cases of shipwreck, and of its perfect safety in

in the moſt agitated ſea. Local prejudices will ever exiſt againſt novel inventions, however excellent may be the principles of their conſtruction; and there were ſome at this place who diſputed the performance of the life-boat, until a circumſtance lately happened, which brought it to the teſt of experience, and removed every ſhadow of objection, even from the moſt prejudiced minds.

On Monday, the 2d of November, we were viſited with a moſt tremendous ſtorm from the eaſtward, and I ſcarcely ever remember ſeeing a more mountainous ſea. The Aurora, of Newcaſtle, in approaching the harbour, was driven aſhore to the ſouthward; and, as ſhe was in the moſt imminent danger, the life-boat was immediately launched to her aſſiſtance. The place where the ſhip lay was expoſed to the whole force of the ſea, and ſhe was ſurrounded with broken water, which daſhed over the decks with conſiderable violence. In ſuch a perilous ſituation the life-boat adventured, and proceeded through the breach of the ſea, riſing on the ſummit of the waves, without ſhipping any water, except a little from the ſpray. On going upon the lee-quarter of the veſſel, they were endangered by the main-boom, which had broken looſe, and was driving about with great force. This compelled them to go alongſide, and they inſtantly took out four of the crew; but the ſea which broke over the decks having nearly filled the boat with water, they were induced to put off for a moment, when ſeeing three boys (the remainder of the crew) clinging to the rigging, and in danger of periſhing, they immediately returned, and took them into the boat, and brought the whole to land in ſafety. By means of the life-boat, built from your plan, and the exertions of the boatmen, ſeven men and boys were thus ſaved to their country and their friends, and preſerved from the inevitable deſtruction which otherwiſe awaited them. The boat was not in the leaſt affected by the water which broke into her when alongſide the veſſel; and, indeed, the boatmen thought it rendered her more ſteady in the ſea. I muſt alſo add, that it was the general opinion that no other boat of the common conſtruction could have poſſibly performed this ſervice; and the fiſhermen, though very adventurous, declared they would not have made the attempt in their own boats.

We have appointed a crew of fiſhermen to manage the boat, under the direction of the committee, and the men are ſo much ſatisfied with the performance of the boat, and ſo confident in her ſafety, that they are emboldened to adventure upon the moſt dangerous occaſion. I have been thus circumſtantial, in order to ſhew the great utility of the life-boat; and, I ſhould think, it would be rendering an eſſential ſervice to the community, if any recommendation of mine ſhould contribute to bring this valuable invention into more general uſe.

I remain, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
THOMAS HINDERWELL.

Obſervations on the Cultivation and Growth of Oak Timber.

From the ſame.

TO expatiate upon the vaſt importance of increaſing the growth

of oak timber, seems to me unnecessary. The national advantages resulting from this source appear to be in general well understood; and yet the cultivation and management of this most useful plant has not hitherto obtained that degree of attention which it most cartainly merits.

Entirely to obviate, or even in some measure to remove or lessen, the obstacles that still continue to impede the planting of oaks, would therefore be rendering an essential service to the nation. The desire of accomplishing so beneficial a purpose, has induced the judicious and public-spirited conductors of the Society of Arts to propose a premium for "ascertaining the best method of raising oaks"; in consequence of which this paper is submitted to their candid consideration. And as the statements here made are founded upon a sedulous and active experience of fifty years, it is presumed the *spirit* and *meaning* of the Society's proposal may have been observed, although it has not been possible (in this instance) *literally* to fulfil its terms; at least, the very intention of promoting and forwarding the views of so enlightened and highly useful a society, may, it is hoped, be accepted as an apology for calling their attention to these observations.

It forms no part of the present design to enter minutely into the various causes that continue to operate in obstructing the cultivation of oak; as there is one of peculiar magnitude, the consequences of which are highly detrimental and injurious, and which it is therefore the principal object of this paper to remove.

An opinion is generally prevalent, that the oak is particularly slow in its growth, and requires a great number of years before it affords any advantage. This idea too often deters from planting, on account of the very great length of time it is supposed the land must be occupied before any return of valuable produce can be obtained from it, after a considerable expence may have been incurred in forming plantations.

This opinion I consider as entirely founded in error, and to have taken its rise in a great measure from the want of proper management that has hitherto commonly prevailed in the raising of oaks: and in this paper I shall endeavour strongly to state, that the oak may be rendered very rapid in its growth, and that consequently land may be employed to great advantage in its cultivation, as a very considerable and profitable produce may, in a much shorter time than is generally supposed, be derived from proper parts of an estate thus employed.

Oak timber in this country, for the most part, appears in trees of a considerable extent of head, but seldom more than *twenty* or *thirty* feet in stem; and this, in many instances, the growth of a century. Now, by the course of management here proposed, it is conceived that trees, of at least *double this magnitude*, may be obtained in about half that time.

It is not my intention to attempt a proof of this proposition by theoretical deductions, but to appeal for its confirmation to the indubitable test of fact, which, from the event of repeated trials, impresses a conviction that experience will be found to support and establish it

it in the moſt unequivocal manner.

It would be eaſy to enlarge much on the various qualities of ſoil, the nature and proceſs of vegetation, and the peculiar properties of the oak; but as theſe topics may be found amply and judiciouſly diſcuſſed in many other authors, who have expreſsly treated on theſe ſubjects, I ſhall decline all ſuch ſpeculations; and, with the hope of being more eſſentially uſeful, ſhall confine myſelf to a ſtatement as ſimple and practical as poſſible.

The oak, in the progreſs of its growth, ſpreads numerous roots near the ſurface of the ground, and in an horizontal direction: theſe aſſiſt in ſupporting and preſerving the tree in its poſition, but ſeem to contribute very little to its increaſe and magnitude. The oak appears to derive its chief nutriment and ſtrength from a root that always deſcends at right angles to the horizon, and is called the tap-root. The firſt thing therefore to be obſerved is, that upon a judicious attention to this peculiarity, the planter's ſucceſs principally depends; and the neglect of this care is the conſtant ſource of error and diſappointment. In all climates, and upon all ſoils, to preſerve this tap-root from injury, and as much as poſſible to aſſiſt its growth, is a general, and indeed the moſt eſſential principle in the cultivation of oak. With a due regard to this circumſtance, the management of a plantation may be reſolved into the three following practical directions.

Previouſly to planting the acorns, *looſen* the earth intended for their reception, by *deep trenching*.

Never tranſplant, or in any way diſturb the ſaplings intended for timber.

Keep the plant carefully *pruned*, till arrived at a proper height.

More fully to elucidate the ſubject, and to prevent the poſſibility of miſapprehenſion, it may be proper to give a more detailed ſtatement.

In determining on a ſpot to form a plantation of oaks for timber, it muſt always be recollected that the plants are to remain, without removal, in their firſt ſituation: the clearing and fencing may then be attended to as uſual; and in the courſe of the winter, from September to March, the particular ſpots intended for the reception of acorns, may be prepared for that purpoſe, by digging a trench about three feet in width, and from three to ſix feet in depth, according to the cloſeneſs and tenacity of the ſoil. If graſs ground, the firſt ſpit ſhould be placed at the bottom of the trench, and if more than one trench be neceſſary, they ſhould be prepared in the ſame manner, preſerving a diſtance of ten yards between each, if it be intended to employ the intermediate ſpace in underwood, or for any other purpoſe.

Having made a careful ſelection of acorns, that are perfectly ſound, and in good preſervation, they are to be planted about the middle of March. Draw a drill in the centre of the trench; two inches in depth, if the ſoil be heavy and loamy, but three inches in a light and ſandy earth. In this place the acorns two inches aſunder, and cover them carefully with mould. When the plants appear, they muſt be weeded by hand in the rows, and the earth of the trench round them

them cleaned with a hoe, once a month during the ſummer. In October inſpect the rows, and thin them by pulling up every other plant: attention will of courſe be paid to remove the weak and crooked plants, and leave thoſe that are talleſt and ſtraiteſt. On the ſecond year, the operation of thinning muſt be repeated, at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner; and ſhould any of the remaining plants have made ſide ſhoots ſtronger than the general character, they muſt be ſmoothly cut off with a ſharp knife, cloſe to the leading ſtem. On the third year, the thinning is again to be repeated, and the general pruning commenced, by cutting off cloſe to the leading ſtem all the ſide ſhoots of the firſt year; thus leaving the branches of two years to form the head of the following year. The removal of every alternate plant muſt be continued yearly, till the trees are about thirty feet apart, at which diſtance they may remain for timber. The pruning is to be continued, by removing every year, very ſmooth and cloſe to the main ſtem, one years growth of ſide branches, till the plants are arrived at a ſtem of forty, fifty, or ſixty feet, and they may then be permitted to run to head without further pruning.

The particular arrangement here recommended may be varied according to any peculiarities of ſituation, regard being conſtantly had to the general and moſt important principle of looſening the ground *very deep* previouſly to planting the acorns. By this mode of culture, oaks may be raiſed in almoſt any ſoil; but, where it is poſſible, a loam or marl is always to be choſen. Oaks thrive much the beſt in ſuch earth; and when aſſiſted by *deep trenching* and *judicious pruning*, attain in a few years to an immenſe ſize.

Thoſe who have been accuſtomed to notice the ſlow growth and ſtunted appearance of oak trees, when denied the aſſiſtance of art, and left to themſelves in the common way, would obſerve with aſtoniſhment the vigorous and rapid increaſe of plants under the management now pointed out.

The plants thinned out the firſt three or four years, though not fit to be depended upon for timber, as tranſplanting generally injures very materially the future growth, may be replanted in the intermediate ſpaces between the rows, for the purpoſe of being afterwards removed; or they may be uſefully placed in hedges, or other ſpare and unoccupied ſpots of ground. They ſhould be headed down at the time of tranſplanting, as this operation aſſiſts the proceſs of nature, in reproducing or remedying any injury the tap-root may have received from the removal: and, if proper attention be given to looſening the ſoil for their reception, and pruning them as they advance, in moſt inſtances an adequate profit will be derived from the labour beſtowed upon them. After a few years, the produce of the timber plantation will be found very advantageous. The young trees that are to be removed yearly, will always find a ready market for a variety of purpoſes, unneceſſary here to enumerate. In addition to theſe advantages, if by this treatment of *deep trenching* previous to planting, and *annual careful pruning* during the growth, timber can be produced

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in about fifty years, of equal quality, and much ſuperior in ſize, to that which has been above one hundred years growing under improper management, or without the aſſiſtance of cultivation; it will doubtleſs be allowed that a moſt beneficial, if not abſolutely the beſt poſſible method of "raiſing oaks," is here pointed out and aſcertained.

This method of cultivation may perhaps be thought to occaſion ſo much expence in manual labour as to prevent its being generally adopted; it might perhaps be ſufficient to obſerve, that if the work be conducted with judgment and economy, the future produce would afford ample returns for all neceſſary expenditure: it ſhould alſo be recollected, that the previous preparation of the ground, and the ſubſequent pruning of the plants, are both to be performed at that ſeaſon of the year when a ſcarcity of work will enable the planter to obtain aſſiſtance upon eaſier terms: with this additional advantage alſo, of providing employment for the labourer at thoſe times when the general ſtate of agricultural buſineſs renders it difficult for him to find maintenance for himſelf and family without charitable relief.

In 1750, at Ingeſtrie in Staffordſhire, the ſeat of Lord Chetwynd, ſome plantations were formed, and managed in a great meaſure according to the principles here ſtated, and the growth of the plants were ſo uncommonly rapid, and ſo extraordinary, that it could not but attract the notice of all concerned in the conduct of them. The attention to the ſubject, then excited, has been the occaſion and ground of all the obſervations and experiments made from that time to the preſent, the reſult of which is given in this paper.

The extenſive plantations of the late Lord Denbeigh, at Newnham Paddox, in Watwickſhire, are well known and much admired: the whole has been conducted with great judgment. About a ſquare acre has been employed in raiſing oaks, upon a plan nearly ſimilar to that now propoſed, and affords the beſt and moſt convincing proof of the ſuperior utility and efficacy of ſuch management. Had the noble earl been now living, I ſhould have been enabled to have laid before the ſociety ſome more detailed particulars: that, however, is now impoſſible; this paper, therefore, in its preſent ſtate, may perhaps be thought not altogether unworthy of notice, as tending to forward the liberal deſigns of the ſociety, and contributing to the advantage of the public, the author conceiving that the beſt method of raiſing oaks is aſcertained and ſtated in it.

Should the ſociety be in any degree inclined to join in this ſentiment, it may perhaps induce them to make ſome alteration in the terms of their propoſal: as, according to the ſtatements made in this paper, and indeed from what may be ſeen in every part of the kingdom, in the character and appearance of oaks growing without cultivation, it ſeems aſcertained, that "acorns ſet with the ſpade or dibble, without digging or tillage," can never be depended on to form good timber; and even in the moſt favourable circumſtances of this caſe, the growth will be exceedingly ſlow and precarious. The ſame may be ſaid of "young plants, previouſly

raiſed in nurſeries, and tranſplanted;" for if the tap-root be cut, broken, or in any degree injured, which in tranſplanting it is almoſt impoſſible to avoid, that plant will ſeldom become a vigorous and flouriſhing tree. To form a courſe of experiments on ſuch a plant as the oak, is not a very eaſy matter. To fulfil explicitly the conditions of the ſociety, would require a great length of time, and would be attended with conſiderable expence, from which future candidates may in a great meaſure be exonerated. The raiſing even one acre in the manner here aſcertained might be productive of great pecuniary advantage, if the facts and experience detailed in this paper are permitted to prove the inutility of the other two methods, and conſequently to remove the neceſſity of employing ſo much ground upon them, at an expence they will never repay.

Letter to the Proprietor of an Extenſive Property, on the means of Promoting the Comfort, and Improving the Situation of the People in his Neighbourhood.

From Sir John Sinclair's Eſſays.

YOU wiſh to know what are the beſt means of improving the ſituation of the people in your neighbourhood, and your partiality to me induces you to imagine, that it may be in my power to furniſh you with ſome uſeful ſuggeſtions. I ſit down without heſitation to obey your commands, as, next to the pleaſure of doing good, and performing beneficent actions in perſon, there cannot be a greater gratification than to aſſiſt others in the generous attempt. I am extremely apprehenſive at the ſame time, that it will not be in my power to communicate any information, which has not already occurred to yourſelf, or which you might not receive from other quarters with much more advantage.

In drawing up the following obſervations, I ſhall confine myſelf *to general hints.* Were I to enter into minute details, this letter would extend to a moſt immeaſurable length. If, however, the outline pleaſes you, there can be little doubt of your being able to complete the ſketch, however imperfect, by your own zeal, abilities, and perſeverance.

In any attempt to improve the ſituation of a numerous body of people, the following particulars require to be attended to, 1. Food; 2. Clothing; 3. Habitation; 4. Fuel; 5. Induſtry; 6. Health; 7. Amuſements; 8. Manners and cuſtoms; 9. Mental information; and 10. Moral or religious inſtructions.

1. It is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſecure a ſufficient ſupply of wholeſome proviſions, as the baſis of every comfort of life. For that purpoſe it is eſſential to direct the attention of the people to the beſt means of procuring articles of food, according to the ſituation in which they may happen to be placed, whether by the cultivation of the earth, by paſturage, by fiſheries, or by a due proportion of each, where circumſtances will admit of it. There is no country in Europe (with the exception of very extraordinary ſeaſons) where abundance of food may not be raiſed for the exiſting number of inhabitants, unleſs where obſtacles are

thrown

thrown in the way of cultivation by injudicious laws; and if one diſtrict is deficient, it muſt be ſupplied from others, ſending in exchange ſuch commodities as are moſt ſaleable in other markets. I truſt, however, that you will find no difficulty in raiſing on your own eſtate, even more than is neceſſary for maintaining all its inhabitants; and if the land now in cultivation is not ſufficient for that purpoſe, it ought to be increaſed.

2. Subſtantial clothing tends much to promote the health and comfort of the people, particularly in cold climates; and here the information and aſſiſtance of an intelligent proprietor may be of great uſe to a whole neighbourhood. In moſt ſituations, the lower orders may be taught how to manufacture, and how to make up a large proportion of the clothes they uſe. The women may ſpin both woollen and linen yarn, at times that would otherwiſe be loſt, which is ſo much additional wealth from labour gained by the community. It may be proper under this head to obſerve, that the uſe of flannel ſhirts cannot be too ſtrongly recommended, as a great preſervative againſt many diſorders to which labouring people are ſubject.

3. Next to food and clothing, there is nothing more eſſential for the comfort of man, particularly in a northern climate, than ſhelter from the inclemency of the ſeaſons. Every means therefore ſhould be taken to procure comfortable habitations for the people. On that ſubject much important information has been collected by the board of agriculture, but it has not yet been condenſed into a regular ſyſtem. There is no doubt that the habitations of opulent perſons will always be made ſufficiently comfortable, and in regard to inferior inhabitations, there is every reaſon to believe, that if proper encouragement were given by the government of the country, 1ſt, to aſcertain the beſt and cheapeſt mode of building houſes for the lower orders, and 2ndly, if premiums were granted to thoſe by whom ſuch plans were carried into execution, every individual in this country, with hardly any exception, would ſoon be comfortably lodged.

On the ſubject of cottages, the following particulars are recommended by an intelligent architect (the late Mr. Wood, of Bath) as eſſentially neceſſary to be attended to in ſuch erections. 1. They ſhould be dry and healthy; 2. Warm, chearful, and comfortable; 3. Convenient; 4. Of a proper width; 5. Built in pairs, that the inhabitants may aſſiſt each other in caſe of ſickneſs or any other accident; 6. Built of the beſt materials, which in the end will be found the trueſt economy; 7. In the neighbourhood of a ſpring or ſtream of water, or where a well can be procured, and laſtly, with a piece of ground or garden.* Were it poſſible to enable induſtrious cottagers to keep cows, in addition to ſuch accommodations as are above deſcribed their ſituation would be materially amended.

4. The importance of fuel, particularly in a cold country, cannot

* For the details of Mr. Wood's plan, ſee communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. I. p. 115.

be queſtioned. It is of uſe, 1. For cooking victuals; 2. For warmth; 3. To remove damp, which I conſider to be of more importance than even giving heat, for cold can be obviated by warm clothing, whereas fuel alone can prevent houſes in moiſt countries from becoming damp and unwholeſome; and, 4. For light, there being many a humble cottage, where, after ſunſet, the light they have is principally from the fuel they burn. On this particular head it is proper to obſerve, that it is of the utmoſt importance, not only to endeavour to procure fuel at a reaſonable rate, but to economiſe it as much as poſſible.

5. It is neceſſary that every individual, in all well conſtituted political ſocieties, ſhould have it in his power to obtain the means of ſubſiſtence, either from the property with which he is inveſted, or by the exerciſe of ſome uſeful occupation. A wiſe government will, on the one hand, promote uſeful occupations, more eſpecially thoſe connected with agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and on the other hand will diſcourage ſuch as are pernicious, by wiſe and judicious regulations. For the purpoſe of aſcertaining whether the occupations of the people are injurious or otherwiſe, it is neceſſary, not only for the public, but for perſons of extenſive property, to make what may be called *ſtatiſtical ſurveys of their eſtates*, with a view of aſcertaining how the people are employed, and whether any improvement in that important particular can be ſuggeſted.

6. There is no object which merits more to be attended to by any beneficent landlord, than preſerving the health of the people under him; and for that purpoſe various ſteps may be taken. The climate of the country may be improved by draining any marſhy parts in the diſtrict, and incloſing and planting the more expoſed. The ravages of the ſmall-pox may be prevented by inoculation, more eſpecially under the new ſyſtem diſcovered by Dr. Jenner; and the comfort of the people may be greatly extended by promoting the eſtabliſhment of practitioners ſkilled in the moſt eſſential branches of medicine.

7. I have ever conſidered it to be a duty incumbent upon the leading characters in every diſtrict, to pay attention even to the amuſements of the people, and to promote thoſe which are of a harmleſs and innocent nature, more eſpecially if they have a tendency to inſtruct the minds, or to promote humane and ſocial diſpoſitions among thoſe who engage in them.

In Greece, where many of the moſt eſſential principles of a wiſe adminiſtration of public affairs were ſo well underſtood, public games, theatrical and other amuſements, were objects thought well entitled to the attention of government itſelf; nor can any thing furniſh more agreeable ſenſations, than to ſee the people of a diſtrict amuſing themſelves with muſic, dancing, and innocent gaiety, and indulging themſelves in the pure delights of a genuine rural feſtival.

8. The happineſs of every community muſt depend much on purity of manners, and the mode in which the people conduct themſelves to each other. When addicted to vicious cuſtoms, (and, unfortunately, bad examples are extremely contagious)

gious) they cannot expect much real comfort in the humbler walks of life. In all countries there are judicious regulations of police, which ought to be ſtrictly enforced as a curb on licentiouſneſs. But nothing is more effectual than a good example from the higher orders. Where that is found, it rarely fails to improve the manners of any body of people, and to bring them from rudeneſs and barbariſm itſelf, to a conſiderable degree of civilization.

9. To form a regular ſyſtem for the mental inſtruction of any community, is another object of the moſt eſſential importance. In almoſt all ſocieties, a few ſelected claſſes receive the benefit of a good education, but the improvement of the remainder is too often neglected. This ought not to be the caſe. The lower orders cannot expect the ſame advantages with the upper, but ſtill they ought not to be left in darkneſs and ignorance; nor is it likely, whilſt they remain in ſuch a ſtate, that they can poſſibly be ſuch uſeful and valuable members of ſociety, as if their minds were more enlightened.

10. But the object principally entitled to the attention of every beneficent mind is, the inſtruction of a people in their moral and religious duties. This, above every thing elſe, muſt tend to promote their happineſs in this world, and in another. In almoſt all countries, ſome attention is paid by government to this moſt eſſential particular, but in many caſes more with a view of making it an engine of ſtate, than that of promoting the real intereſts of the people. When ſuch a circumſtance takes place, it cannot be expected that the eſtabliſhment, even of the beſt religious ſyſtem, can be attended with thoſe advantages which otherwiſe might be looked for. Far different, I am perſuaded, will be your views in the exertions you will make for eſtabliſhing the principles of true religion on your extenſive domains, and from your ſucceſs in that moſt important particular, (regarding which I entertain no doubt) you will derive, I am perſuaded, more real ſatisfaction, than for any other purſuit, in which great labour, great influence, or great ability, could poſſibly be employed.

Such are the objects which I take the liberty of recommending to your attention, as including the principal particulars on which the comfortable circumſtances, and general happineſs of any community muſt depend. I ſincerely hope, that by your exertions, the practibility of ſuch a ſyſtem will be aſcertained. If it ſucceeded in one inſtance, it would ſoon ſpread itſelf with rapid ſtrides, and the perſon by whom it is firſt carried into full effect, in addition to the approbation of his own conſcience, will be juſtly entitled to the warmeſt applauſe and admiration of his fellow creatures.

Manufacture of Worceſter China.

From Warner's Tour through the Northern Counties.

AMONGST the ſhops which ornament the High-ſtreet, that of Meſſrs. Flight and Bar particularly engaged our attention, by the rich exhibition it affords of articles from their elegant manufactory; where that exquiſite porcelain is

made, known by the name of Worceſter China, inferior to the French only in lightneſs and tranſparency. The civility of the proprietors allowed us not only to ſurvey, at our leiſure, the proceſs which produces this ware, but alſo ſubmitted to our inſpection every article of any rarity or value which this large collection contains. Amongſt others, we were preſented with ſome coffee-cups, made by the order of the grand ſeignor, and intended to furniſh a golden ſtand enriched with diamonds. Each contains about a third as much as a common tea-cup could hold, and its price is ten guineas; but the largeneſs of the ſum dwindled, in our eſtimation, into nothing, when we obſerved the ſurpaſſing beauty of the paintings which covered their ſides, and repreſent the brilliant ſucceſs of Lord Nelſon at the Nile, in different points of view. The ſet will conſiſt of forty-ſix of theſe beautiful ſpecimens of Britiſh china manufacture. The works, conveniently ſituated, cloſe to the Severn, which flows by the city, are remarkable for their neatneſs and convenience; and diſplay the whole proceſs of making porcelain, from grinding the various articles to compoſe the clay uſed for the purpoſe, to packing the finiſhed pieces for the market. Intereſting as this manufactory is, you will excuſe me for giving you its details:—The mixture above-mentioned conſiſts of fifteen articles, the chief of which are, a white granite, from Cornwall, and a ſteatite, or ſoap-ſtone, from Penzance, in the ſame county, the whole quarry of which belongs to Mr. Flight, who employs his own men there. Theſe articles being firſt ground ſeparately are afterwards mixed and then calcined; the product of this proceſs is a quantity of ſmall blue and white lumps, which being thrown into a mill, and ground with ſoft water, a liquid of the conſiſtence of thick cream is produced, perfectly white. This is paſſed through a lawn ſeive, and then poured into vats, heated by outſide flues in order to conſolidate; the degree of heat applied to them being kept under the boiling temperature. The water gradually evaporating by theſe means from the contents of the vats, an hard clay remains in the room of the liquid, which is brought into a ſtone apartment to be *tempered*, that is, wetted with water, beaten with a wooden maller, and trodden by a man with his bare feet. The material is now fit for the *thrower*, who *throws* a maſs of it upon his *lathe*, an horizontal wheel, ſet in motion by a boy, (turning a vertical one) and whirled round with a degree of ſwiftneſs, either greater or leſs, as the *thrower* ſees occaſion. To this a guage is attached, to aſcertain exactly the dimenſions of the article. The hands of the thrower being kept ſteady, the rotatory motion of the wheel being quick, and the clay ſoft but tenacious, the eye is agreeably ſurprized with the inſtantaneous creation of beautiful forms out of a ſhapeleſs maſs of clay, which every moment change their appearance according to the motion of the finger and thumb of the workman; now riſing into a long cylinder, again ſinking immediately, and approaching the rotundity of a ſphere, and at length ſettling into the elegant ſhape of an ancient vaſe, a modern mug, or a faſhionable tea-pot. The articles thus

thus prepared are then dried upon flues to conſolidate their texture, and fit them for the *vertical lathe* of the *turner*. Placed upon this machine, they are reduced to their proper thickneſs and exact form; and if their pattern require handles or ſpouts, they are here fitted with them by a workman called the *handler*. From this workſhop they are carried into the *kiln-houſe* to be burned, and placed in *ſaggers*, or circular pans, made of Staffordſhire crucible clay, open at the top, and about eight inches deep, the flat bottoms of which are ſtrewed with calcined flint, to prevent the adheſion of the articles to them. The kiln uſually holds about one thouſand five hundred of theſe ſaggers, and frequently from twenty-five to thirty thouſand pieces of ware. Here they continue thirty-ſeven hours, expoſed to ſuch a violent heat as to render them red-hot, but carefully protected from flame. On coming out they are ſaid be in the *biſcuit ſtate*, that is, having the appearance of an unglazed tobacco-pipe. If any blue be in the pattern of the articles, the figures are traced upon them at this time with a hair pencil, dipped in a mixture of a purple colour; and being ſuffered to dry, they are then immerſed in a red liquid, called the *glaze*, of the conſiſtence of cream, chiefly compoſed of white lead and ground flint. This adheres to every part of the articles, which are placed to dry in a room of a certain temperature, from whence they come out with the ground of a pale pink colour, and the pattern of a dingy purple. Being perfectly dry they are given to the *trimmer*, who ſmooths the ſurface of the article, and rubs off any little inequalities of the glaze; the moſt unwholeſome part of the whole proceſs, as he frequently inſpires particles of the white lead, &c. to the great detriment of his ſtomach and lungs; which, indeed, he is obliged to relieve with frequent emetics. The articles are next placed in the *glaze kiln*, and remain there twenty-eight hours expoſed to the fire; which being extinguiſhed, the whole are ſuffered gradually to cool, and then taken out, when they exhibit a wonderful metamorphoſis, effected by the chemical agency of fire. A vitrification having taken place on their ſurface, a beautiful gloſſy covering diſcovers itſelf within and without, in the room of the dull unpoliſhed appearance they before had; and the figures of purple are converted into a vivid and beautiful blue. After paſſing through the *ſorting-room*, they are given to the painters, who, with colours properly and nicely prepared, (for the hues are all changed by a ſubſequent firing) trace thoſe beautiful patterns, figures, and landſcapes upon them, which almoſt rival the force and effect of the canvas. Again they are placed in the kiln, in order to fix the colours, and remain there for ſix hours. This compleats the proceſs of ſuch articles as have no gold in their pattern; but thoſe which are ornamented with this ſuperb addition, undergo another burning after the enamel is laid on. They are alſo carried afterwards into the *burniſhing ſhop*, where this final decoration is given them by a number of women, who ſoon change the dull ſurface of the gold into a moſt brilliant appearance, by rubbing the gilt part of the pattern with little inſtruments

ments pointed with blood-ſtones, and other poliſhing ſubſtances. They are now ready to be introduced into the world, and are ſent forth to gratify vanity, decorate ſplendor, or accommodate luxury; to ornament the tea-table of high-life, the dreſſing-room of faſhion, and the boards of the great;—for the Worceſter manufactory ſoars above the humbler articles in uſe amongſt the happier tribes of common life. It would ſurprize a modern fine lady, were I to tell her, that the cup from which ſhe ſips her tea had been through the hands of at leaſt twenty-three dirty workmen before it met her lips; but ſuch is the fact, for if we retrace the proceſs, we ſhall find the following *crowd* employed for the purpoſe:—the man who grinds the articles for the compoſition; the man that mills them; the perſons that calcines them; the grinder of the lumps; the ſifter; the attender on the vats; the temperer; the thrower; the drier; the turner; the ſpout-maker, who forms the ſpouts and handles; the handler, who puts them on; the biſcuit-fireman; the blue painter; the dipper, who immerſes them in the glaze; the trimmer, who clears them from irregularities in the glazing; the gloſs fireman; the ſorter; the painter; the enamel fireman; the burniſher.—It is to be obſerved, that many articles which could not be conveniently *thrown*, ſuch as tureens, plates and diſhes, are made on moulds of plaiſter of Paris, and when dry are given to the *turner* above-mentioned. The earnings of the workmen in this manufactory, who are all paid by the piece, are very conſiderable; throwers and turners making about 25*s.* per week; dippers and glazers 21*s*; and painters from 30*s*. to two guineas.

ANTIQUI-

ANTIQUITIES.

Of the Evidence and Credibility of the genuine Story of the Siege of Troy.

From the Hiſtory of Ilium.

THE Greeks were ſolicitous to render the memory of an achievement, which continued for many centuries the moſt remarkable of any in their hiſtory, perpetual. They repreſented the various incidents on their public monuments and edifices in marble, on their gems and drinking cups. It was the favourite ſubject of their poets, painters, and ſculptors. Several of their ancient temples were rich in ſpoils of Troy; and ſome exhibited, for ages, tools which had been employed in the ſiege; weapons and armour of the warriors, which had been ſuſpended as votive offerings on the walls, or repoſited in their treaſuries; and the real or pretended relics of ſome of their chieftains, who had been preſent, were prized like thoſe of modern ſaints; far diſtant cities making a boaſt of having them in their poſſeſſion.

The Ilias was generally received, both in Europe and Aſia, as an indiſputable record. Its teſtimony was confirmed by the annals and traditions of all the nations engaged in the war on either ſide; which jointly and ſeparately demonſtrated its main narrative not to be fiction or romance. Moreover, the poſterities of ſeveral of the kings and princes mentioned by Homer remained, and were acknowledged as ſuch for many ſucceſſive generations. Another Ilium aroſe in the Tröia, to preſerve the name and memory of that which had been deſtroyed. The port principally uſed by the ſhips under Agamemnon, continued, after their departure, to be called that of *The Achæans*; and the ſtations of the veſſels of Achilles and Ajax Telamon were pointed out for ages; beſides barrows, ruined cities, and other remaining evidences of the tranſaction. The knowledge of the principal events of the war, and of its conſequences, would have been propagated and tranſmitted down, both in Aſia and Europe, though not to the ſame extent, or with equal celebrity, if the Ilias and Odyſſy had never been compoſed.

Many Greeks and Trojans periſhed, fighting in the plain, in ſtorming or defending the outworks

works of the camp or the city wall. It was the uſage of each people to conſume the bodies with fire; but, while one heap of wood ſufficed for the vulgar dead, and one pit received their aſhes, a ſeparate funeral, ſolemn and expenſive ceremonies, a vaſt pile, blazing acroſs the Helleſpont, and a barrow, with a ſtela or ſtone pillar on it, diſtinguiſhed the fallen chief.

The Greeks celebrated the obſequies of their ſlain, after the eſtabliſhment of their camp, apart from it; thoſe of the leaders generally near their quarters, or on the ſhore of the Helleſpont. *There* Neſtor tells Telemachus, in the Odyſſey, lay Patroclus and Achilles, Ajax Telamon, and his own ſon Antilochus. *There* alſo lay other renowned warriors, whoſe monuments, though we find little or no notice taken of them in remaining authors, may have continued extant, and been diſtinguiſhed in after ages by antiquaries and the people of the country.

The rites of the dead, as eſtabliſhed by ancient uſage, inſpired a reverence for places of ſepulture, and prevented the memory of their owners, whoſe names were frequently inſcribed on the pillars fixed in the ground over them, from falling ſuddenly into oblivion. Libations of milk, wine, honey, and the like, were poured on the ſod, or ſurface of the barrows, and other offerings were made, ſuppoſed to be grateful to the ghoſts; which were believed to reſide beneath, and to viſit the altars placed near them. The heroes accounted demigods had temples, at which victims were ſlain before their idols. We ſhall find ſeveral of the barrows denominated long after from the warriors whoſe relics they covered; and giving names to ſettlements made near them, and maintained in good meaſure by the reſort of people attending the anniverſaries and feſtivals held at them, or caſually viſiting them from curioſity or from devotion. That of Achilles and Patroclus was called from the former, as the more excellent and illuſtrious of the two Achilleion; that of Ajax, Æantion; and ſo on with others. Thoſe of Proteſilaus, Hector, and Memnon, the rival of Achilles in poſthumous fame and fable, were planted with trees to protect them from cattle and from the ſun.

The divine honours of Achilles were ſaid to have commenced before the departure of the Greeks from the Helleſpont, with the horrid ſacrifice of Polyxena, a captive daughter of Priam. Pyrrhus, in the ſequel of the Ilias, declares, that he had ſeen his father in a viſion, and that he required this offering. He is deſcribed as holding the victim with his left hand, placing his right on the barrow, and praying to Achilles that the ſtorm raiſed by him, to detain them until his manes ſhould be gratified, might ceaſe. Pyrrhus afterwards ſettled a colony in Epirus, where a dynaſty or ſeries of kings were named from him Pyrrhidæ, and where Achilles was worſhipped under the title of Aſpetos, *the Inimitable*.

The homage paid to Achilles and Patroclus, to Hector, to Ajax Telamon, Antilochus, and Proteſilaus, at their barrows, by the circumjacent people of the Tröia and Cherſoneſus, was, at what time ſoever it began, of long duration; and, as will appear in the ſequel, tranſmitted down from age

to

age, until it was finally extinguished by the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in the Roman empire. A native or a traveller in theſe countries, before that period, ſeeing the barrows remaining, and ſtill objects as well of public as private regard, would not have believed it poſſible that the time would come when the former exiſtence of Troy and of the heroes would be called in queſtion.

Many additions were made in after ages to the Trojan ſtory. Some were the inventions or embelliſhments of the poets, eſpecially the tragic; ſome of artiſts, who employed their pencil or chiſſel on ſelect portions of it; ſome were graſted on paſſages of the Ilias; and more were not only not countenanced or ſupported by, but irreconcilable with Homer.

The legendary tales current, as well among the European as Aſiatic Greeks, concerning the heroes, and, in particular, Achilles, to whom I ſhall confine myſelf, were almoſt innumerable. I dwell not on ſuch fables as the immerſion of her infant ſon by Thetis in the river Styx, and his conſequent invulnerability, except in the heel; his education, not according to the Ilias, under Phœnix, but Chiron, who is there only ſaid to have given him ſome inſtructions in the art of ſurgery; his concealment among women, and the detection of him by Ulyſſes, contrary to Homer; his intended marriage with Polyxena, daughter of Priam, the meeting for its adjuſtment or celebration in the temple of Apollo at Thymbra, and his being treacherouſly ſlain there by Paris. Some of theſe are interpolations utterly undeſerving of notice, had they not been occaſionally adopted by writers; and in particular by M. Chevalier, in preference to the genuine ſtory as delivered in Homer.

Achilles, Antilochus, and Ajax Telamon, are repreſented, in two ediſodes of the Odyſſey, as companions in the Aſphodel meadows, the dwelling-place of the ſhades of defunct heroes, in the kingdom of Pluto. Agamemnon, who in the firſt of them, which was regarded as an interpolation by Ariſtarchus, addreſſes Achilles, might have added other topics of congratulation, had they been known to the author; ſuch as the admiſſion reſerved for him among the immortals, his marriage with Medea, (which is ſaid to have been a fiction of the very ancient poet Ibycus, who was followed in it by Simonides), and his having a ſacred iſland, of which tale the origin is given by Pauſanias, on the joint teſtimony of the people of Crotona in Italy, and of Himera in Sicily.

The people of Crotona, ſays the relater, waging war with the Locri of Italy, their general, in an attack on the front line of the enemy, where he was told their patron hero, Ajax Œileus, (his image I apprehend) was poſted, received a wound in the breaſt. The Delphic oracle directed him to repair to Leuce, an iſland in the Euxine Sea, to be cured by Ajax. On his return, he declared that he had ſeen Achilles, who reſided there with Helen, Patroclus, Antilochus, and the two Ajaxes; and a meſſage from Helen, which he delivered to the poet Steſichorus, of Himera, by whom ſome reflections had been caſt on her, probably in his

his *Deſtruction of Troy*, was, they ſaid, the occaſion of his writing a palinode or recantation.

This iſland of Achilles, which is mentioned by Euripides, and by many other ancient authors, was formed by mud from rivers; and perhaps has ſince been connected with the continent of Europe. But, whatever it may now be, for the ſpot has not been explored, it was originally ſmall, and is deſcribed as deſert and woody, as abounding in living creatures, and much frequented by aquatic birds, which were regarded as the miniſters of the hero fanning his grove with their wings, and refreſhing the ground with drops, as it were of rain, from their bodies. He was ſaid to be viſited there by Proteſilaus, and ſeveral of his friends, who had been likewiſe releaſed from the regions of Pluto, to *appear* ſometimes; and oftener to be heard, playing on his lyre, and accompanying it with a voice divinely clear. A long and narrow peninſula, in the ſame ſea, was called *the courſe of Achilles*; being the place where he was reputed to take his exerciſe of running.

It does not often happen that ancient fiction can, as in this inſtance, be traced to its ſource; and ſcepticiſm, or incredulity, is frequently the reſult of difficulty in diſcriminating true hiſtory from its alloy. Mr. Bryant has contended, that the two poems of Homer are mere fables, and that no ſuch war, no ſuch place as Troy, has ever exiſted. Having made a large collection of idle and abſurd ſtories from different authors about Jupiter and Leda, and Helen, (whom he will not allow to have been carried away from Sparta by Paris) and ſeveral other perſons concerned, he declares, and nobody, I imagine, will diſſent from a poſition of ſo great latitude, that, "The account of the Trojan war, as delivered by Homer, *and other Grecian writers*, is attended with ſo many inſtances of inconſiſtency, and ſo many contradictions, that it is an inſult to reaſon to afford it any credit."

In the deſcription, ſays the ſame learned perſon, of the ſiege of Troy, and the great events with which it was accompanied, Homer "is very particular and preciſe. The ſituation of the city is pointed out, as well as the camp of the Grecians," and various objects, "with the courſe and fords of the river, are diſtinctly marked, ſo that the very landſcape preſents itſelf to the eye of the reader.—The poet alſo" mentions "ſeveral" ſubſequent "events—in medias res non ſecus ac notas auditorem rapit" —— all which "caſual references ſeem to have been portions of a traditional hiſtory well known in the time of Homer, but as they are introduced almoſt undeſignedly, they are generally attended with a great ſemblance of truth, for ſuch incidental and partial intimations are ſeldom to be found in romance and fable." Who, on reading theſe remarks, would ſuſpect it to be the ſcope of the author, to prove the whole ſtory of Troy as ideal as a fairy-tale?

I will not enter on a particular examination of the arguments uſed by Mr. Bryant on this occaſion. Some of them I ſhall be obliged, though unwilling, to notice as we proceed. It may, however, be

now

now mentioned, that among other novel opinions, for which I refer to his diſſertation, he maintains, that the ground-work of the Ilias, if it had any, was foreign to the country on which we are employed; that the hiſtory never related, but has been borrowed and transferred, to it; that in ſhort, the original poem of Troy, the parent of the Ilias, was an Egyptian compoſition. I ſhall add a companion or two to this notable diſcovery. A diſciple of Epicurus undertook to prove the Ilias to be entirely an allegory; and I have ſomewhere read, that it was not firſt written in Greek, but is a tranſlation from the Celtic language.

I ſubjoin the very different opinion of a reſpectable writer in the ancient univerſal hiſtory (Metrodorus) on the ſame ſubject. "The name of King Priam will ever be memorable, on account of the war which happened in his reign; a war famous to this day for the many princes of great proweſs and renown concerned in it, the battles fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of the city, and the endleſs colonies planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors." "Truly, ſays my author, the ſiege and taking of Troy are tranſactions ſo well atteſted, and have left ſo remarkable an epocha in hiſtory, that no man of ſenſe can call them in queſtion."

The Original Completion of the Roman Wall.

From Hutton's Hiſtory of the Roman Wall.

THIS firſt and moſt remarkable piece of antiquity in the whole iſland, is known by ſeveral names, ſome of them erroneous. It bore that of *Agricola*, which is now loſt. *The Picts wall;* but this ſeems inconſiſtent, for they had no concern with the wall, except to pull it down; and I think it ſhould rather bear the name of the man who built it up. Sometimes *Hadrian's Wall;* but I cannot ſee how a bank of earth ſhould bear the name of *a wall.* Our idea of a wall comprehends an erection of brick or ſtone. Perhaps Hadrian's *Bank* would be more in character, as agreeing with the materials of which it is compoſed. *Severus's Wall* is more proper, becauſe he erected the ſtone wall, part of which is remaining. It is often called *the Roman Wall,* and, by way of pre-eminence, *the Wall.*

That *man* is born a ſavage, there needs no other proof than Severus's Wall. It characterizes two nations as robbers and murderers. Nineteen in twenty of our race ſuſtain half this character during life. Some individuals correct the crude paſſions, adhere to juſtice, and avoid whatever is worthy of blame.

This wall is alſo a clear proof that every ſpecies of cruelty that one man can practiſe to another was here, and pronounces the human being as much a ſavage as the brute. This place has been the ſcene of more plunder and murder than any part of the iſland, of equal extent. During four hundred years, while the wall continued a barrier, this was the grand theatre of war, as well as during ages after its deſtruction.

Perhaps a Scotſman would conſider this mighty bulwark a compliment paid to his country; and infer, "it was deſigned to bar a ſupe-

ſuperior power, and was the effect of fear; for, if two nations could not meet upon equal terms, there would be no need to raiſe a wall between them."

A Roman would reply, "your country is mountainous, barren, and difficult to conquer. The rough *land* is your ſafeguard, not the people; and the inhabitants are ſo poor, they are not worth conquering. On theſe reſts your ſecurity." There may be, in both theſe remarks, a wider opening for truth than for boaſting.

This aſtoniſhing rampart, the production of three eminent perſons, and at three different periods, was deſigned to remedy the miſchiefs deſcribed.

When Agricola, the ableſt general, and moſt accompliſhed ſtateſman of the age, commanded the Romans in Britain, he led them into Scotland in the year eighty-four, to puniſh the depredations of the natives. He found *Galgacus*, their general, with an army of thirty thouſand men, encamped upon the Grampian Hills, ready to receive them. He gave them battle, defeated them, and drove them back into the Highlands.

Being maſter of the country, and willing to prevent ſuch evils as had occurred for ages, he erected what our hiſtorians call a *wall*, as a bar againſt the Picts. This was principally a bank and a ditch; on the borders of which he built, at unequal diſtances, a range of caſtles. This work extends from ſea to ſea, about ſeventy-four miles, beginning three miles and a half eaſt of Newcaſtle, and ending twelve weſt of Carliſle, which, while guarded, curbed the enemy: the ſpot ſuited as being the narroweſt part of the iſland.

After Agricola's works had continued about thirty-ſeven years, often injured, as a bank of earth eaſily might, by an enemy conſtantly upon the watch; the Emperor Hadrian, in the year one hundred and twenty-one, repaired the works of Agricola, and added ſome of his own to ſtrengthen them. Theſe were joining to Agricola's ſmall ditch, which lay towards the north, a large one, making a large rampart, and then finiſhing, as Agricola began, with a ſmall ditch; all their works running in parallel lines.

From this time Agricola's loſt its name, and the whole, to this day, has abſurdly retained that of *Hadrian's Wall*. So that what now bears his name, as the work of one man, was really the work of two.

The northern adventurers were quiet while the works were new, and a regular defence continued. But military attention diminiſhing, the deſire of the Picts increaſed.

Hunger is ſaid to "break through *ſtone* walls!" then what ſecurity in walls of earth! It is difficult to keep out an enemy, who is determined not to be kept out. Inroads were quickly made, and former tragedies acted. No newſpapers to convey the tidings of the day, no poſt to reveal diſtant tranſactions, nor commodious roads to convey either: the unfortunate reſidents were off their guard; and, had they been on, they could not have awarded off the blow. The firſt intelligence of an approaching enemy appeared to the eye, inſtead

ſtead of the ear, and he brought deſtruction in his hand.

Upon unproſperous adventures, the Picts ſued for peace, always obtained it, and, to keep them quiet, upon eaſy terms.

When the unhappy Britons had fluctuated between life and death, eighty-ſeven years after Hadrian's work was completed, Severus was choſen emperor. Two years were ſpent in reducing his enemies on the continent, after which he came into Britain.

Penetrating into Scotland, the enemy fled where Severus durſt not follow; and the Picts exulted, it is ſaid, that their unwholeſome water, their keen air, their bogs, meres, mountains, impenetrable woods, and ſlender ſuſtenance, but particularly the inceſſant labour of Severus's men, had deſtroyed fifty thouſand without a battle. Many ſkirmiſhes however were fought, chiefly in favour of the Romans. The Picts ſolicited peace, which was granted, upon condition that they ſhould lay down their arms and retire.

Severus at reſt, conſidered, that as many a fine army might be deſtroyed in reducing a people not worth reducing, he had better confine them within their own boundary. To accompliſh this, he determined, in the year two hundred, to repair the works of the two former chiefs, injured by time, but more by the enemy, and erect a wall of ſtone, guarded by a ditch, which ſhould run parallel with theirs, and make one grand and compact work. Thus every contrivance of man is ſet up againſt the knavery of man. And now the inhabitants of the borders rejoiced in the proſpect of ſecurity: inſtead of being plundered by their enemies, they would be protected by their friends, who had full power to protect.

It may ſeem ſurprizing, that by the erection of theſe works, the Romans muſt have relinquiſhed to the enemy a vaſt tract of country, extending eighty miles north, and in breadth from the German ocean to the Iriſh ſea, about ninety, the beſt land in Scotland. The human capacity is nearly the ſame in all ages; whatever reaſons we can find for the conduct of the Romans, we may be aſſured they could find for themſelves. They began to be apprehenſive they ſhould weaken the ſtate by extending dominion, a thought which ought to ſtrike us. And Severus conſidered, that building the wall was an arduous taſk; that this was the only place where he could ſhorten the work, the ſhorter the ſtronger, and the leſs force would guard it; beſides, if the enemy were allowed the above fertile lands, favourable for agriculture, it would leſſen the temptation to plunder. *Graham's Dyke* too, or rather the work of Antoninus, between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde, was by long neglect far gone in decay.

Another reaſon which induced him to fix here was, its affinity to Hadrian's work, which would ſtrengthen his own; and he well knew the united efforts of human wiſdom would be needful to guard againſt inclination and hunger. There was no fear of the Romans being moleſted in their operations, for two reaſons: they were maſters of the country to the Frith and Clyde, the above ſpace of eighty miles, and the force employed at the wall was an ample ſecurity.

Some

Some authors have ſeriouſly diſputed, "at which end of the wall Severus began." But this point will clear itſelf when we conſider, that two legions were employed, the ſecond and the ſixth, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men. A plan of the wall was firſt determined upon, divided into four parts; the ſecond legion was appointed to the firſt and third parts, beginning in the eaſt; and the ſixth legion to the ſecond and fourth. This is proved by a variety of inſcriptions. Perhaps every mile in this long range was begun at the ſame time. This was neceſſary, becauſe the whole iſthmus would be ſecured from one ſea to the other.

In all laborious undertakings, the Britons were preſſed into the ſervice, and charged with the drudgery. In this caſe, however, where life and property were at ſtake, there was no need of compulſion.

The wall was about eight feet thick, and twelve high, to the battlements, which roſe about four more; ſo that viewed in profile, it would appear much like a chair, the main part forming the ſeat, and the embattled part the back. Along the line of the wall, the emperor conſtructed, of ſtone, three kinds of fortifications, which were *ſtations*, *caſtles*, and *turrets*. The ſtations, or cities, are ſaid to have been eighteen in number, with ſeventeen intervals, ranged at unequal diſtances, the average about four miles each. Theſe were fortified incloſures, about one hundred and thirty-ſix yards ſquare, the wall itſelf conſtituting the north ſide. They were deſigned for reſidence as well as guard, and were appropriated to the ſame uſe as our modern barracks; alſo buildings for family uſe, ſuitable to various occupations.

If the cohorts were full, ſix-hundred and ſixty-ſix military men were probably the lot of each ſtation. From this grand body of reſerve were ſupplied the caſtles, of which there were eighty-one, called by the country people mile caſtles, becauſe they were nearly a mile aſunder, or rather ſeven furlongs. About four of theſe, on the average, were fixed between every ſtation. They were about ninety-ſix feet ſquare, the wall ſtill forming the north ſide. The ſtations ſupplied the caſtles with a guard of perhaps one hundred men each. Every ſtation commanded, on each ſide of it, about two caſtles.

As the ſtations furniſhed a guard for the caſtles, *they* ſupplied one for the turrets, which were ſmall *caſtles*, caſtlets, or *watch-towers*, ranged along the wall, at the diſtance of about three hundred and eight yards each: conſequently there muſt have been about three hundred and thirty. They were twelve feet ſquare: each caſtle commanded about ten turrets, five on a ſide, which were daily ſupplied with a guard, probably of two or four men each.

Theſe turrets being near together, the ſound of the voice, trumpet or ſhell, would penetrate the whole length of the wall, if attention was paid, in a ſhort time, when danger approached. This muſt have been the compleateſt conſtruction for the purpoſe ever invented by human wiſdom. And the expence of the watch enormous.

What length of time theſe united and

and almoſt immortal works would coſt in finiſhing, is impoſſible to tell; all our authors are ſilent; but it could not be ſo little as thirty years, nor could they be compleated for ſo ſmall a ſum as one hundred millions of our preſent money, excluſive of the land they occupy, which is more than five ſquare miles, or than three thouſand acres.

As Agricola's name was loſt in Hadrian's, ſo Severus, being ſuperior to both, nearly eclipſes both, and the whole is frequently called Severus's Wall.

Thus we have carried the reader from the beginning to the completion of one of the grandeſt works of human labour, performed by the greateſt nation upon earth. What ſhall we ſay of that production, which was the utmoſt extent of Roman effort, and which ſtands unrivalled in Europe? How much delight would it afford the modern antiquarian eye, could he ſurvey the works of Agricola, Hadrian, and Severus, as they then appeared? the nobleſt ſight ever beheld in this iſland! the work of ſtrength, of genius, and of years! Men have been deified for trifles, compared to this admirable ſtructure; a wall ſeventy miles in length, furniſhed with eighteen cities, eighty-one caſtles, and three hundred and thirty turrets, with all their mounds, roads, ramparts, and aſtoniſhing apparatus! One ſight would raiſe the mind to a rapturous ſublimity. Man would be loſt in the wonder, nor ſatisfied with a ſingle view. We have admired a wall which has ſecured only a private manſion; ſtill more, when it ſurrounded a city; but what ideas can we fix to one which guarded a kingdom!

Account of Tentyra.

From Denon's Travels.

WE arrived at Tentyra. The firſt object which I ſaw was a ſmall temple, on the left hand of the road, in ſo bad a ſtyle and proportions of architecture, that, at a diſtance, I took it to be the ruins of a moſque. In turning back to the right, I found, buried in a gloomy heap of ruins, a gate, built of enormous maſſes, covered with hieroglyphics; and through this gate I had a view of the temple. I wiſh I could here transfuſe into the ſoul of my readers the ſenſation which I experienced. I was too much loſt in aſtoniſhment to be capable of cool judgment; all that I had ſeen hitherto ſerved here but to fix my admiration. This monument ſeemed to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the higheſt perfection. Covered with ruins as it was, the ſenſation of ſilent reſpect which it excited in my mind appeared to me a proof of its impreſſive aſpect, and, without being partial in favour of the antique, I may add, that the whole army experienced ſimilar feelings.

Nothing is more ſimple and better put together than the few lines which compoſe this architecture. The Egyptians, borrowing nothing from the ſtyle of other nations, have here added no foreign ornament, no ſuperfluity of materials; order and ſimplicity are the principles which they have followed, and they have carried them to ſublimity. At this point they have ſtopped, and have attached ſo much importance to preſerving the unity of deſign, that though they have loaded the walls of theſe edifices with

with bas-reliefs, inscriptions and historical and scientific representations, none of these rich additions intersects a single line of the general plan, all of which are religiously preserved unbroken: the sumptuous and rich decorations which appear to the eye when close to the building, all vanish at a short distance, and leave full to view the grand elements of architectural composition, which are dictated by sound reason. It never rains in this climate; all that is wanted therefore is a covering of platbands to give shade, but beyond this, neither roof nor pediment are added; the plain slope is the principle of solidity; they have therefore adopted this form for every main supporter, doubtless with the idea that stability is the first impression that architecture should give, and is an essential constituent of this art. With these people, the idea of the immortality of the deity is presented by the eternity of his temple; these ornaments, which are always rational, always consistent, always significant, demonstrate a steadiness of principle, a taste founded upon truth, and a deep train of reasoning; and if we even had not a full conviction of the eminent height to which they had attained in the abstract sciences, their architecture alone, in the state in which we now find it, would give the observer of the present day a high opinion of the antiquity of this nation, of its cultivation, and the impressive gravity of its character.

I have already said, that I despair of being able to express all that I felt on standing under the portico of Tentyra. I felt that I was in the sanctuary of the arts and sciences. How many periods presented themselves to my imagination at the sight of such an edifice? how many ages of creative ingenuity were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts? and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty productions to be forgotten, and to bring back the human race to the state of nature in which I now found them on this very spot? Never was there a place which concentered in a narrower compass the well-marked memorial of a progressive lapse of ages. What unceasing power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess which could erect such an edifice, and find within itself artists capable of conceiving and executing the design, of decorating and enriching it with every thing that speaks to the eye and the understanding! Never did the labour of man shew me the human race in such a splendid point of view: in the ruins of Tentyra the Egyptians appeared to me giants.

I wished to take every thing on paper, but I could hardly venture to begin the work; I felt that not being able to raise my powers to the height which was before my admiring eyes, I should only shew the imperfection of the imitative art! for in no place had I ever been surrounded with so many objects to elevate my imagination. These monuments, which imprinted on the mind the respect due to the sanctuary of the divinity, were the open volumes, in which science was unfolded, morality dictated, and the useful arts promulgated; every thing spoke, every object was animated

mated with the ſame mind. The opening of the doors, the angles, the moſt private receſs, ſtill preſented a leſſon, a precept of admirable harmony, and the lighteſt ornament on the graveſt feature of the architecture revealed, under living images, the abſtract truths of aſtronomy. Painting added a further charm to ſculpture and architecture, and produced at the ſame time an agreeable richneſs, which did not injure either the general ſimplicity or the gravity of the whole. To all appearance, painting in Egypt was then only an auxiliary ornament, and not a particular art: the ſculpture was emblematical, and, if I may ſo call it, architectural. Architecture, therefore, was the great art, or that which was dictated by utility, and we may, from this circumſtance alone, infer the priority, or at leaſt the ſuperior excellence of the Egyptian over the Indian art, ſince the former, borrowing nothing from the latter, has become the baſis of all that is the ſubject of admiration in modern art, and what we have conſidered as excluſively belonging to architecture, the three Greek orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. We ſhould, therefore, be cautious of entertaining the falſe idea, which is ſo prevalent, that the Egyptian architecture is the infancy of this art, ſince it is in fact the complete type.

I was particularly ſtruck with the beauty of the gate which cloſed the ſanctuary of the temple; all the ornaments which architecture has ſince added to this ſpecies of decoration, have only diminiſhed the general ſtyle.

I could not expect to find any thing in Egypt more complete, more perfect, than Tentyra; I was confuſed by the multiplicity of objects, aſtoniſhed by their novelty, and tormented by the fear of never again viſiting them. On caſting my eyes on the ceilings, I had perceived zodiacs, planetary ſyſtems, and celeſtial planiſpheres, repreſented in a taſteful arrangement; the walls I had obſerved to be covered with groups of pictures, exhibiting the religious rites of this people, their labours in agriculture and the arts, and the moral precepts; I ſaw that the ſupreme being, the firſt cauſe, was every where depicted by the emblems of his attributes; every thing was equally important for my pencil, and I had but a few hours to examine, to reflect on, and to copy what it had been the labour of ages to conceive, to put together, and to decorate. Our national impatience was diſmayed with the conſtancy of application exhibited by the people who had executed theſe monuments: throughout was ſhewn equal care, and equal aſſiduity, which would make one believe that theſe edifices were not the works of their kings, but that they were conſtructed at the expence of the nation, under the direction of colleges of prieſts, and by artiſts whoſe labours were circumſcribed by invariable rules. A ſeries of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in ſome particulars; but each temple is ſo equally finiſhed in all its parts, that they appear all to have been executed by the ſame hand; no one portion is better or worſe than any other; there appears neither negligence nor the bold

ſtrokes of a more exalted genius, uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of ſculpture, here made ſubſervient, and attached to that of architecture, appears to have been circumſcribed in principle, in method, and in ſtyle of execution; a ſingle figure expreſſes nothing when taken out of its exact ſtation in the group in which it is a part; the ſculptor had his deſign chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning that it was intended to convey: it was with theſe figures, as with the cards that we uſe for our games, the imperfection of deſign is overlooked, that no obſtacle may ariſe in inſtantly diſtinguiſhing the value of each. The perfection given by the Egyptians to the repreſentations of their animals proves that they were not without an idea of that bold ſtyle which expreſſes much character in a few lines, and their execution tended to the grave, and to ideal perfection, as we have already remarked in the inſtance of the ſphinx.

As to the character of the human figure, as they borrowed nothing from other nations, they could only copy from their own, which is rather delicate than fine. The female forms, however, reſemble the figure of beautiful women of the preſent day, round and voluptuous, a ſmall noſe, the eyes long, half-ſhut, and turned up at the outer-angle, like thoſe of all perſons whoſe ſight is habitually fatigued by the burning heat of the ſun, or the dazzling white of ſnow; the cheeks round and rather thick, the lips pouting, the mouth large, but cheerful and ſmiling; in ſhort, the African character, of which the negro is the exaggerated picture, though perhaps the original type.

The hieroglyphics, which are executed in three different manners, are alſo of three ſpecies, and may take their date from as many diſtinct periods. From the examination of the different edifices which have fallen under my eye, I imagine that the moſt ancient of theſe characters are only ſimple outlines cut in without relief, and very deep; the next in age, and which produce the leaſt effect, are ſimply in a very ſhallow relief; and the third, which ſeem to belong to a more improved age, and are executed at Tentyra more perfectly than in any other part of Egypt, are in relief below the level of the outline. By the ſide of the figures which compoſe theſe tabular pieces of ſculpture, there are ſmall hieroglyphics, which appear to be only the explanation of the ſubjects at large, and in which the forms are much ſimplified, ſo as to give a more rapid mode of inſcription, or a kind of *ſhort-hand*, if we may apply the term to ſculpture.

A fourth kind of hieroglyphics appears to be devoted ſimply to ornament: we have improperly termed it, I know not why, the *arabeſque*. It was adopted by the Greeks, and in the age of Auguſtus was introduced among the Romans; and in the fifteenth century, during the reſtoration of the arts, it was tranſmitted by them to us as a fantaſtic decoration, the peculiar taſte of which formed all its merit. Among the Egyptians, who employed theſe ornaments with equal taſte, every

object

object had a meaning or a moral, and, at the same time, formed the decoration of the friezes, the cornices, and the surbasements of their architecture.

I have discovered at Tentyra the representations of the peristyles of temples in caryatides, which are executed in painting at the baths of Titus, and have been copied by Raphael, and which we constantly ape in our rooms, without suspecting that the Egyptians have given us the first models of them.

On a second visit, as my time was very limited, I began with what had been the principal object in my journey hither, the celestial planisphere, which occupies part of the ceiling of a little apartment, built over the nave of the great temple. The floor being low, and the room dark, I was able to work at it only a few hours in the day; but neither this, nor the multiplicity of the details, and the great care required in not confounding them by the necessity of viewing them in so inconvenient a posture, abated my ardour: the desire of bringing to the philosophers of my native country the copy of an Egyptian bas-relief of so much importance, made me impatiently endure the tormenting position required in its delineation. I copied also the rest of the ceiling, which is divided into two equal parts, by a large figure, that seems to be an Isis: her feet rest upon the earth, her arms are extended towards heaven, and she appears to occupy all the space between. In another part of the ceiling is a large figure, probably representing heaven, or the year, with its hands and feet on the same level, and enfolding in the curvature of the body fourteen globes, placed on as many boats, distributed over seven bands or zones, separated from each other by numberless hieroglyphics, but too much covered with stalactites and smoke to allow of being copied. I took, however, a sketch of this compartment of the ceiling, in order to give a general idea of its form.

Behind this first chamber is a second, which receives light only through the door; this also is covered with most interesting and admirably executed hieroglyphical pictures. Notwithstanding the darkness, and the difficulty of getting what little light there was to fall at the same time on the bas-relief and my paper, I made drawings of almost all that was contained on the ceiling or the walls. It is difficult to imagine what could be the use of this little edifice, so carefully finished and ornamented with pictures so evidently scientific: those on the ceilings appear to relate to the motions of the heavenly bodies, and those on the walls have probably some reference to the earth, and the influences of the air and water. The earth is universally represented by the figure of Isis, who was the presiding divinity in all the temples of Tentyra, and whose emblem or figure is found in every part; her head is seen forming the capital of the columns belonging to the portico, and the first chamber of the great temple: it is also in the centre of the astragal, and sculptured in gigantic proportions on the outside of the foundation wall: it is the distinguishing object in the ornaments of the frieze and the cornice, and is conspicuous in all the pictures, with her proper attributes. It is

Iſis to whom all the offerings are made, when they are not preſented by herſelf to her huſband Oſiris: her figure is inſcribed on the outer gates of the enclofure, and to her are dedicated the little temples that are there repreſented; in that on the right hand of the entrance ſhe is triumphing over two evil genii; in that which is behind the great temple, ſhe is variouſly deſcribed as holding Horns in her arms, defending him from every hoſtile attempt, intruſting him only to figures like cows, and ſuckling him at every age, from infancy to puberty.

I employed all the time in which, for want of light, I was unable to work at the planiſphere, in meaſuring the capitals and columns, in making plans and elevations, and taking views of the gates. There are now neither doors nor even hinges to theſe gates, which formerly ſecluded from prophane eyes thoſe myſteries, of which the prieſts were ſo jealous, and alſo, perhaps, concealed the treaſures of the ſtate. The chambers conſecrated to eternal night, the myſteriouſneſs of the worſhip, obſcure as the temples themſelves, the ſecret initiation, ſo difficult to be obtained, and for ever ſhut againſt ſtrangers, and the ſudden overthrow, both of the government and religion, as ſoon as Cambyſes had violated the ſanctuaries, overthrown the divinities, and carried off the treaſures, all combine in announcing that, within theſe temples was contained the eſſence of all; and that hence emanated all the civil and religious authority of the ſtate.

Account of the Pyramids and Sphinx.

From the ſame.

AS ſoon as we quitted our boats we found ourſelves in the ſands, and climbed the level on which theſe monuments reſt. In approaching theſe ſtupendous buildings, their ſloping and angular forms diſguiſe their real height, and leſſen it to the eye; and beſides, as every thing regular is only great or ſmall by compariſon, and as theſe maſſes of ſtone eclipſe in magnitude every ſurrounding object, and yet are much inferior to a mountain, (the only thing with which our imagination can compare them) one is ſurprized to find the firſt impreſſion, given by viewing them at a diſtance, ſo much diminiſhed on a nearer approach. However, on attempting to meaſure any one of theſe gigantic works of art by ſome known ſcale, it reſumes its immenſity to the mind; for as I approached to the opening, a hundred perſons who were ſtanding under it appeared ſo ſmall, that I could hardly take them for men. It would be a good method for the artiſt to give an idea of the dimenſion of theſe edifices, by repreſenting on the ſame ground plan as the building ſome proceſſion or religious ceremony analogous to the ancient cuſtoms. As it is, theſe monuments ſtanding alone, and without any living ſcale of compariſon, excepting a few detached figures in front, loſe both the effect of their grand proportions, and the general impreſſions which they would otherwiſe make. We have a good example of compariſon in Europe in St. Peter's church at Rome, the magnitude of which is concealed by the

the exquisite harmony of proportion, and the crossing of the general outline, till the eye descends to a procession of the religious orders celebrating mass, and followed by a train of worshippers, which, in this situation, appears like a group of puppets attempting to act Athalia on the theatre of Versailles. Another point of resemblance between these two edifices is, that nothing but the despotism of a sacerdotal government could venture to undertake them, nor any thing but the stupid fanaticism of a people would submit to the labour of building. But to return to the actual state of the pyramids; let us first ascend a small heap of sand and rubbish, which is perhaps the remains of the trench of the first of these edifices which presents itself, and which now leads to the opening through which it may be reached. This opening, which is nearly sixty feet from the base, is concealed by a general stone facing, which forms the third or inner inclosure to the solitary intrenchment around this monument. Here begins the first gallery; its direction lies towards the centre and base of the edifice; but the rubbish, which has been but ill cleared out, or which, owing to the natural slope, has fallen back again into the gallery, added to the sand daily drifted in by the north wind, and which is never forced out again, has so blocked up the passage as to render it very inconvenient to cross. At the extremity of this gallery two large blocks of granite are met with, which form a second partition to this mysterious passage.

This obstacle appears to have perplexed all those who have undertaken the research, and has led to several random attempts to surmount it. Endeavours have been made by former visitors to cut a passage through the solid stone, but this proving unsuccessful, they have returned some way, have passed round two blocks of stone, climbed over them, and thus discovered a second gallery, of so steep an ascent, that it has been necessary to hew steps in the ground in order to mount it. This gallery leads to a kind of landing place, in which is a hole usually called "the well," which is the opening to a horizontal gallery leading to a chamber known by the name of "the queen's chamber," without ornament, cornice, or any inscription whatever.

Returning to the landing-place, a perpendicular opening leads to the grand gallery, which terminates in a second landing-place, on which is the third and last partition, constructed with much more art, and which gives a striking idea of the importance which the Egyptians attached to the inviolability of their places of sepulture.

Lastly comes the royal chamber, containing the sarcophagus, a narrow sanctuary, which is the sole end and object of an edifice so stupendous, so colossal, in comparison of all the other works of man.

In reflecting on the object of the construction of the pyramids, the gigantic pride which gave them birth appears more enormous even than their actual dimensions; and one hardly knows which is the most astonishing, the madness of tyrannical oppression, which dared to order the undertaking, or the stupid servility of obedience in the people who submitted to the labour.

In ſhort, the moſt favourable view, for the honour of human nature, in which theſe monuments can be conſidered is, that man was thereby ambitious of rivalling nature in immenſity and eternity, and not without ſucceſs, ſince the mountains contiguous to theſe edifices are leſs high, and ſtill leſs exempted from the ravages of time than this work of human hands.

I had only time to view the ſphynx, which deſerves to be drawn with a more ſcrupulous attention than has ever yet been beſtowed upon it. Though its proportions are coloſſal, the outline is pure and graceful; the expreſſion of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a ſoftneſs and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it ſeems real life and fleſh. Art muſt have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for if the head wants what is called *ſtyle*, that is to ſay, the ſtraight and bold lines which give expreſſion to the figures under which the Greeks have deſignated their deities, yet ſufficient juſtice has been rendered to the fine ſimplicity and character of nature which is diſplayed in this figure.

I had juſt ſnatched a glance of the tombs, of ſmall temples, decorated with bas-reliefs and ſtatues, of niches in the rocks, which might have broken the maſſiveneſs of the pyramids, and given them elegance; but ſo many objects worthy of inveſtigation remained, that it would have required many ſuch viſits as the preſent to have undertaken even a ſketch of them, much more to have endeavoured to remove the myſterious cloud which for ages has hung over theſe ſymbolical monuments. Almoſt the ſame uncertainty exiſts as to the time in which they were firſt violated, as even that of their conſtruction; the latter, which is loſt in the night of ages, gives an immenſe period to the annals of art; and in this view we cannot too much admire the accuracy of the pyramidal ſtructure, the permanency ſecured by their form and conſtruction, and by ſuch immenſe proportions, that theſe gigantic monuments may be conſidered as the laſt link in the chain of the coloſſi of art and nature.

Herodotus relates, that he was informed that the great pyramid, of which I have juſt been ſpeaking, was the tomb of Cheops; that the adjoining pyramid was that of his brother Cephrenes, who ſucceeded him; that only the former had any inner galleries; that a hundred thouſand men had been employed twenty years in building it; that the immenſe labour which it required had rendered this prince odious to his people; and that, notwithſtanding the taxes which were levied on his ſubjects, the expence for the ſubſiſtence of the workmen alone was ſo enormous, that the prince was obliged to proſtitute his daughter to finiſh this monument; and that the receipts of this proſtitution were ſo great as to enable the princeſs, beſides, to build the ſmall pyramid adjoining, which ſerved for her own tomb. We may add, that Cheops, having ſhut up the temples during his reign, found after his death no panegyriſt among the prieſts, who were the hiſtorians of Egypt, and who related many idle fables to Herodotus, the firſt hiſtorian who has given us any light on this country.

Deſcription

Deſcription of Syracuſe.

From the Rev. Cooper Williams's Voyage up the Mediterranean.

WHILE the ſhips were taking in water and live ſtock, I took the opportunity of viewing the curioſities of Syracuſe and its environs. But before I begin my account of what I ſaw on ſhore, I muſt ſay a few words of the bay of Syracuſe, in which the Britiſh fleet was anchored.

The form of this excellent harbour is nearly circular; the entrance, as I before obſerved, is very narrow; that without a tolerably fair wind, it would be dangerous, if not impoſſible, for a large ſhip to beat in or out. But when once entered, it is ſo ſpacious that it would contain with eaſe an immenſe fleet; and by being completely landlocked, ſhips may reſt in perfect ſecurity during the heavieſt gale, from whatever quarter it might blow.

Two ſmall rivers diſembogue themſelves into this bay, that to which the boats of the Swiftſure proceeded on our arrival was ſo choaked with mud and weeds at the entrance, that it was with conſiderable difficulty any of the boats could approach the ſhore, many of the larger kind grounded at ſome diſtance, and, to my miſhap, that in which I was: we were in conſequence obliged to wade to land with the water and mud up to our middles. The people now diſcovered another and worſe difficulty in their way; the fields on each ſide of the mouth of this river (I underſtand in ancient days it was called Anapus) produceed a great abundance of hemp, which is ſteeped in the river as ſoon as cut, and there left to ſoak. This operation renders the water pernicious to the health, as well as horribly unpleaſant to the ſmell and taſte. The mode adopted to obviate this difficulty was, rolling the empty caſks, through the fields to where the waters were uncontaminated; this was found to be beyond a bridge about a quarter of a mile up the river, and here they were ſoon filled and floated down to the boats. Another and more convenient watering place was ſoon diſcovered; it was ſituated near the town, and ſupplied by means of water courſes from an aqueduct ſome diſtance up the country. Here, by the able management and exertions of Captain Troubridge, the needful ſupplies were ſoon obtained. While he ſaw that the parties employed in filling the water-caſks did their duty, he alſo negociated with the people of the country for bullocks, ſheep, and other ſtock, which were ſoon brought down in great profuſion, and an ample ſtore of freſh proviſions ſupplied to all the ſhips of the fleet at a reaſonable price.

In the afternoon, the landing-place at the gate of the city was a ſcene of much gaiety and ſhow; the boats from the fleet pulling in towards the ſhore, the crowds that lined the ſtrand, the long range of carriages, in which the principal nobility of the place came to view the Britiſh fleet, the gaudy liveries of their ſervants, with the variety of dreſſes which every where preſented themſelves in the appearance of the ſeveral orders of the people, formed a pleaſing aſſemblage.

The town which now exiſts is built on what was formerly called the iſland of Ortygia. At the time

time when Syracuſe was reckoned one of the firſt cities of the world, it was only the citadel or caſtle of Dyoniſius; but then contained many buildings of eminence. Now it exhibits a melancholy contraſt to its former grandeur, the ſtreets being in general meanly built, and ſo narrow that two carriages cannot paſs each other with ſafety; and the eye is offended at every turn with the moſt deplorable objects of poverty, filth, and miſery. Among the moſt eminent buildings that adorned this quarter of the ancient city, was the temple of Diana, of which I ſaw no remains; but of which, according to Denon, a ſmall veſtige is to be found in an obſcure houſe in a bye ſtreet, called Reſalibra.

The temple of Minerva owes its preſervation to Agio, the tenth biſhop of Syracuſe, who converted it into a cathedral, and ſo preſerved it from that deſtruction which many of the other temples of antiquity have experienced. Although the corinthian front which now adorns the entrance does not coincide with the maſſive doric pillars of the ancient building, yet the whole edifice has a noble appearance. The majeſtic marble columns which ſupport the roof are fluted from top to bottom, and gradually increaſe in ſize towards the baſe. Originally they were open, and diſcovered a ſecond row of columns of the ſame order; but the ſpace between them has been built up to form the walls of the cathedral.

On entering the building our ears were ſaluted with the harmony of church muſic; the rich melody of the organ filling the vaulted roof with its tones, and, aided by the voices of the choir, formed an aſſemblage of ſolemn ſounds that, at the moment, raiſed our minds in rapture towards that being whoſe praiſes were then chanting.

No man, I believe, feels the impreſſions of devotion more ſtrongly than the ſeaman juſt landed from the perils of his dangerous occupation; his mind naturally raiſes itſelf in grateful acknowledgement towards that power by whoſe protecting arm he has been preſerved.

When the ſervice was ended, ſome of the clergy, in a friendly manner, offered to ſhew us the curioſities contained in their cathedral.

In an apartment behind the high altar, we found a good painting of the crucifixon, by Urbino; in this room alſo is kept an agate cup of great antiquity, and very beautiful workmanſhip, ſuppoſed to be coeval with the temple itſelf; but ſome of the monks, with more zeal than knowledge, had inlaid parts of it with legends of their ſaints. They produced alſo for our inſpection two maſſive gold rings, that were many years ſince dug up among the ruins of the ancient city.

The fable of the river god Alpheus and the nymph Arethuſa, is well known to all claſſical ſcholars. Every man of taſte muſt remember, with particular delight, the tale as it is told by Ovid. The whole would be too long to copy here, but I cannot forbear extracting a few of the concluding lines, in which the nymph with ſuch exquiſite livelineſs deſcribes her own ſudden converſion to a ſtream.

Occupat

§ Occupat obſeſſos ſudor mihi frigidus artus;
Cæruleæque cadunt toto de corpore guttæ.
Quaque pedem movi, manat lacus, èque capillis
Ros cadit: & citius, quam nunc tibi facta renarro,
In latices mutor. Sed enim cognoſcit amatas
Amnis aquas, poſitoque vici, quod ſumpſerat, ore
Vertitur in proprias, ut ſe mihi miſceat, undas.
Delia rupit humum: cæciſque ego merſa cavernis
Advehor Ortygiam.'* Ovid Met. lib. V. ver. 632.

Led by curioſity to ſee the place thus celebrated, we paid a viſit to what bears the name of the fountain of Arethuſa; but alas! found nothing to juſtify the eulogiums paid to it by various writers of antiquity: repeated earthquakes, after changing its ſituation, have deſtroyed its former beauty; the ſea has at times found its way through the riven rocks, the ſacred fiſh are no longer inhabitants of its pellucid waters. It now exhibits only the appearance of a dirty pool iſſuing from a hollow rock; the waters at ſome periods dry up; at others are tainted by ſulphureous effluvia. It is now uſed by the waſher-women of the city, who, at this time, were employed in their occupation. Standing up to their waiſts in the water, they were beating the linen with flat boards, upon the broken rocks which had tumbled into the pool. Neither the delicacy of the ladies, the beauty of the fountain, nor the elegance of the employment carried on there, recalled to our minds thoſe pleaſing images we had formed of it, and we quitted the place with diſguſt.

We next proceeded towards the land-gates, which are placed in the ſtrongeſt part of the fortifications. After paſſing through two handſome gateways, and over ſeveral broad and deep foſſes filled with water, we came to a large area that led us to the laſt gate, which is built in the outward walls of the fortifications. Croſſing the drawbridge, we entered on the ſcite of that part of ancient Syracuſe called Achradina, of which not a veſtige remains. Proceeding through ſeveral highly cultivated gardens, well ſtored with vegetables, delightfully ſhaded by tall poplars, and watered by clear ſtreams from the neighbouring hills, we arrived at the celebrated Latomiæ, or caverns, in which Dyoniſius is ſaid to

* Cold dews at once my weary limbs appal,
And azure drops from all my body fall;
And where my foot was placed, a lake is ſpread,
And moiſtures trickle from my trembling head;
And quicker than theſe words, my perſon flows
Chang'd to a ſtream. The amorous river knows
The lovely current; inſtant lays aſide
His human figure, and begins to glide
Again in wat'ry waves, with mine to mix his tide.
Diana, ſtill my virgin charms to keep,
Cleaves the hard earth; and ſafe in caverns deep,
To far Ortygia's ſhore my darkſome way I weep.

have

have confined his priſoners, and to have enjoyed their groans by means of a chamber that communicated with one of them. How far this ſtory is to be relied on, I ſhall not pretend to ſay, but muſt refer the reader to thoſe hiſtorians who have made it their ſtudy, and whoſe leiſure and opportunity have enabled them to inveſtigate the matter. My buſineſs is to give the beſt deſcription I can of the place as it now is. The cavern, known by the name of Dyoniſius's ear, is ſuppoſed to have been the ſcene of that cruelty; and its ſhape certainly gives colour to the ſtory, being formed to convey ſound to a particular place. It is hewn out of the ſolid rock, into the form of a gothic arch, eighteen feet wide by fifty-eight high, and curved from the entrance to the end; throughout the upper part runs a groove, which communicates with a ſmall chamber over the entrance, which muſt originally have been walled up to prevent the ſound eſcaping. In this chamber the tyrant, according to tradition, uſed to place himſelf to hear the diſcourſe of his priſoners who were chained to the walls of the cavern: and to give a colour to this idea, rings are diſcovered formed in the rock, to which poſſibly the hands and feet of the priſoners were faſtened with thongs. On the right, half way the length of the cavern, is a large ſquare chamber, alſo hewn out of the rock, but for what purpoſe it was formed, except to enlarge the place allotted for priſoners, we could not gueſs; yet, as it muſt in ſome meaſure have deſtroyed the conveyance of ſound, the original purpoſe for which this cavern was formed, it may have been a work of later date. The further end of the cavern terminates abruptly, like the gable end of a houſe; but near the top are ſeen ſeveral holes in the wall, as if a chamber had been there, and up to it, in regular gradations, ſmaller holes, apparently for iron cramps to ſupport ſteps.

The dryneſs of this curious cavern, the effect of the echo, and the ſolemn appearance of the place, muſt render it a delightful retreat during the ſummer months, when the heat of the climate is inſufferable; but it does not appear that the Syracuſans have taſte enough to enjoy ſo romantic a ſpot. Near this cavern is another, of a different form, being ſquare, flat at the upper part, and ſubdivided into ſeveral ſpacious chambers by rude pillars formed of the rock, out of which the cavern was excavated; a work that muſt have coſt infinite labour, and employed armies to accompliſh. In the ſpacious area before the entrance of the caverns, is an high white inſulated rock; on the top are the ruins of a building, perhaps a guard-houſe; and near are ſeen the remains of an ancient aqueduct. The rocks ſurrounding the area are ſo ſmooth, and ſo artfully project toward the ſummit, that to climb them would be impoſſible. Near the top appear the remains of an earthenware-channel to convey water from the aqueduct to the caverns below. There is alſo another cavern, in the ſame direction with the laſt-mentioned, but blackened with the ſmoke of furnaces uſed to extract the ſalt-nitre: it is of a ſimilar form, but of leſs dimenſions.

Near theſe caverns we diſcovered the remains of a bath, of an oblong form;

form; the water within it perfectly clear, and of an icy coldneſs; from the top are ſuſpended large maſſes of petrified ſtalactites, which daily increaſe by water dripping from above. The approach to this place is hid among plants, that have for ages been ſuffered to grow in wild luxuriance, and in feſtoons of various kinds overhang the entrance, forming a moſt romantic retreat.

We next viſited the remains of a Roman theatre, hewn chiefly out of the rock: which, of courſe, has ſuffered little from the injuries of time, but all that was built on this foundation is deſtroyed. The ſituation is perfectly beautiful; the ſpectators having a full view of the bay, with the iſland of Ortygia, and the rich plains through which the Anapus winds; it even now preſents a moſt pictureſque appearance. The white ſteps are nearly hid by buſhes and flowery ſhrubs of various kinds, and the waters eſcaping from a reſervoir above, come tumbling down the rocks in broken torrents.

Being ſomewhat tired with our walk, we poſtponed making further reſearches till the next day, when we again, at an early hour, landed at the uſual place. Before we proceeded to explore the venerable remains of paſt ages, we determined to inſpect the more modern edifices that adorn the preſent city. The firſt place that we proceeded to was an open area, or piazza, in which are the principal buildings of the city. On the right is the biſhop's palace, adjoining the cathedral, which I have before obſerved was built on the ruins of the temple of Minerva. This view ſhews the elevation of the modern façade erected on the ſcite of the old portico. Hiſtory informs us, that on the ſummit of the ancient portico was ſuſpended a ſhining buckler, which could be ſeen at a vaſt diſtance. No ſooner did the Syracuſan mariner loſe ſight of this taliſman, than he threw offerings of honey, flowers, and aſhes into the ſea, to render Neptune and Minerva propitious to his voyage, and enſure his ſafe return. The modern front is perfectly incongruous with the reſt of the building; it is of the corinthian order, and highly ornamented with coloſſal ſtatues. The aſcent to it is by a noble flight of ſteps, on each ſide of which is a ſtatue of the two principal Apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, has a fine effect.

Beyond the cathedral is a handſome ſquare building, appropriated to the adminiſtration of juſtice, oppoſite to which is the palace of the Baron de Boſci, a nobleman of large property and conſequence in this place.

We next paid our reſpects to ſome convents near the piazza. The firſt was dedicated to St. Lucia; where, over the high altar, in the chapel, is a good painting, by Caravagi, of the martyrdom of the patroneſs. St. Lucia is repreſented as drawn by oxen to the place of execution; but, by a miracle, ſhe is rendered immoveable, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertion of the animals, who appear to ſtrain every nerve in vain. However, the miracle ſeems to have no object, as a Saracen ſoldier comes behind her and cuts off her head.

The convent of Monte Virginis is appropriated to females of noble family only. As Engliſhmen, we could not but lament that ſo many lovely women ſhould, by ſuperſtition, be thus ſecluded from the world,

world, which otherwiſe they might have contributed by their preſence to adorn, as by their ſocial virtues to have added to the general ſtock of domeſtic happineſs.

We now once more emerged into the country, and proceeded to a farm-houſe, where the mode of raiſing water attracted our attention. A number of earthern pots, connected by bands of ruſhes, revolved round a wheel, (in the manner of a jack-chain) which was put in motion by an ox. As the pots fall into the well below they fill, and come up to the turn of the wheel, where they empty themſelves into a trough connected with a large reſervoir; from whence the neighbouring gardens are refreſhed with conſtant ſtreams during the heats of ſummer, and by this contrivance are bleſſed with a perpetual fertility.

From hence we viſited the church of St. John, eſteemed the oldeſt chriſtian church in Sicily. The pillars are of the heavieſt gothic, and the walls covered with miſerable daubings. But our principal objects of reſearch were the catacombs, or burying-places of the ancient Syracuſans. We were conducted by an old capuchin friar into theſe celebrated tombs, and were obliged at the entrance to creep in on our hands and knees, but we ſoon found it ſufficiently lofty. The ſtreets and alleys into which theſe vaults are cut, croſs each other in every direction, and had our guide extinguiſhed his torch, we muſt have remained in this diſmal abode till relieved by the hand of death, as it would be very difficult for a ſtranger to find his way out, even with a light, without it impoſſible. At certain diſtances we came to large round chambers, whoſe dome-like roof admitted a ſmall portion of light and air from an aperture in the upper part. The walls of theſe rooms were covered with a ſort of ſtucco, and round them were placed, in uniform directions, a number of ſtone coffins, like thoſe we ſaw on each ſide of the alleys; theſe were excavated from the ſolid rock, and of various dimenſions; ſome appearing ſcarcely large enough for a new-born infant. We were informed that ſkeletons had been found in ſome of them with a piece of money in their jaws; perhaps to pay the ferryman of the Styx for their paſſage to the regions of Pluto.

The horrid idea of being, by any accident, left to ſtarve in this labyrinth of death, made us glad to quit it, filled with aſtoniſhment at its vaſt capacity. For though we walked though a great many ſtreets and alleys, on each ſide of which are arched tombs excavated from the rock, yet we alſo paſſed by the ends of many other paſſages which we did not penetrate, and could form no idea of the extent of, nor of the number of bodies the whole might be capable of containing.

We next proceeded to a monaſtery of capuchins, ſituated on an eminence near the ſea. It is a neat and airy building, placed on a barren rock, without an appearance of any vegetation near it. But no ſooner had we paid our reſpects to the reverend fathers, than we were conducted by them into ſubterraneous gardens, where verdure and vegetation flouriſhed in the higheſt degree. The ſcene appeared like enchantment; nor could we at firſt deviſe the cauſe of it, till, on examination, we diſcovered

vered that we were in the ſame ſort of excavations as thoſe of the Latomiæ we had before viſited. By labour and cultivation the ground, rendered rich and productive, is become a luxuriant orchard of orange, lemon, and olive-trees. But Mr. Swinburne's deſcription of this place being far better than any I can hope to give, I ſhall take the liberty of uſing it.

'I deſcended by a ſlope into theſe extraordinary bowers, where my view was confined on all ſides by ſhaggy walls of great height, either purpoſely hewn into ſhape, or rudely figured by the corroſive ſea air. Huge maſſes have been broken off and rolled on the platform, where they contribute to the compoſition of a moſt wild yet ſolemn picture. The area is covered with a thick grove of trees, loaded with rich ſcented bloſſoms and beautiful fruit; I was delighted with their variety of kinds, vigour of growth, and brilliancy of foliage; the ſlim branches of the pale olive were interwoven with the buſhy heads of orange, lemon, bergamot, and cedar trees; while the tender colour of the full-blown almond formed a fine contraſt with the fiery buds of the pomegranate, juſt burſting into blow. The gardeners have ſkillfully increaſed the variety of their fruits by grafting and budding, and have procured a great diverſity in their taſte and colour. There are ſeveral ſepulchres in theſe quarries, and ſome projections of the ſtone have been ſcooped into rings, by which I conjecture, that after the place ceaſed to be uſed as a quarry, it was converted into a priſon.'

The undercroft, or cemetery of this monaſtery contains as curious a ſcene as any we had yet witneſſed. We entered it by a flight of ſteps through a trap-door in the nave of the chapel, and found it as light as the place we had juſt left, having windows in the vaulted roof. But our attention was immediately called off from other matters to an aſſemblage of venerable perſonages arranged along the wall, in niches formed for the purpoſe: they were all dreſſed in the habit of St. Francis, and, at firſt ſight, had the appearance of life; but, on cloſe examination, their ſkin appeared dry, ſhrivelled, and as hard as wood; ſome of them had been dead for near two centuries; many of them were decorated with long flowing beards, others with none; whether fallen off by time, or the faſhion of the age they lived in, I cannot ſay: the monks of the preſent day being diſtinguiſhed by a profuſion of that ornament. Beſides the bodies of the monks, we ſaw thoſe of the nobility and gentry who could afford the expence of this mode of ſepulture; for the worthy monks do not permit the intruſion of unhallowed laity into their ſociety without receiving, beſides the entrance fee, a handſome yearly compenſation for it, which is paid in various ways. Some contribute annually a wax candle, of many pounds weight; and ſhould any omiſſion of the payment occur, the unfortunate anceſtor of the defaulter is turned out of his place to make room for another. Theſe ſtrangers are generally habited in their beſt ſuits, and are laid in boxes, with lids faſtened by locks, which were opened for our inſpection: ſome of them had bag-wigs, ruffles, and laced coats, and preſented a very frightful ſatire on human vanity.

No

No ladies are admitted of this ſilent party. The ornaments of this ſolemn repoſitory are entirely appropriate; round the cornices, and over the altar, which has a crucifix on it, are ſkulls and croſs-bones, and over the entrance of the chapel this motto, 'Commune mori, mors nulli parcit honori!

On our return to Syracuſe, we paſſed over the rough foundations of part of the ancient city, ſome of which we could perceive extend ſome yards into the ſea. It was at this place Archimedes had his reſidence, from whence he annoyed the Roman fleet by the ingenuity of his inventions.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the comparative Advantages of public and private Education; from Dr. Barrow's *Eſſay on Education.*

TO determine upon what ſyſtem the riſing generation may be inſtructed with the greateſt convenience and effect; by what meaſures in early youth his offspring may moſt be ſucceſsfully trained to learning and virtue is a point of the utmoſt importance to a parent, and hardly leſs difficult than important. The inquiry is, indeed, both complicated and extenſive; influenced by various and weighty conſiderations; and particularly by what the ſubject naturally ſuggeſts, the comparative advantages of public or private education.

This queſtion has, indeed, been frequently agitated; not only with ſuch deliberation and diligence, as its importance ſeemed to require; but ſometimes with ſuch zeal and acrimony, as were prompted by the private intereſt of the diſputants, or the jealouſy of rival talents. It appears to me, however, that it can hardly be a general queſtion at all; at leaſt, that it does not admit of any general deciſion. But it was diſcuſſed by Quinctilian more than ſeventeen centuries ago; and has been ſince adverted to by almoſt every writer on the ſubject of education. Though it may not be determined, therefore it muſt not be wholly neglected.

Quinctilian will not be ſuſpected of waſting his reader's time or his own, in diſquiſitions foreign to his purpoſe; and in his treatiſe, indeed, the inquiry was not only natural but unavoidable. His ſyſtem of education had but one object in view, to form the youth of his own nation to excellence in the oratory of the bar, or the ſenate; and it was both rational and neceſſary to conſider by what means that excellence might be moſt ſucceſsfully attained. In this country the objects of education are not only numerous and varied, but ſometimes incompatible with each other; and its plans and purſuits, therefore, cannot always be the ſame. The queſtion evidently becomes different as it regards every different ſtudent; and muſt be determined with reſpect to each, not ſo much by the comparative advantages of general ſyſtems abſtractedly conſidered; as by what is moſt ſuitable to the individual concerned; to his rank, his health, his capacity, and his future deſtination. If the youth be deſigned for any active ſtation in public life; for the bar or the ſenate; for the practice of medicine; or for the profeſſion of arms; I have no heſitation in giving it as my opinion that he ought to have a public education. And by a public education, I mean an education at one of thoſe ſchools univerſally known amongſt us by the denomi-

nation of public ſchools; at one of the larger of thoſe endowed ſchools, which are eſtabliſhed in every conſiderable town, and almoſt in every diſtrict of the kingdom; or at one of thoſe academies, where the number of pupils is not limited, and where the diſcipline approaches to the model, and poſſeſſes ſome of the vigour of our public ſchools.

The objections to this ſyſtem of education ſtated by Quinctilian, and which, indeed, compriſe the ſtrongeſt objections that have yet been urged againſt it, conſiſt wholly in the danger, either that the morals of the pupil will be corrupted by the corruption of his fellows; or that his improvement will be neglected in the confuſion naturally incident to numbers.

Were the former of theſe objections well founded, it ought certainly to be deciſive. The purity of morals muſt not be ſacrificed to the acquiſition of learning. But fortunately this dreaded corruption is far from certain. The danger of it is not greater, perhaps, than in other ſituations; and at leaſt, if public ſchools furniſh the bane of morals, in them too the moſt powerful antidotes may be found. I ſhall give the reſult of my own experience and obſervation without diſguiſe; not certainly becauſe this reſult offers any novelty; but becauſe it has been called in queſtion. The truth in this caſe, as in many others, does not require ſo much to be diſcovered or proved, as to be publiſhed and enforced.

The common notion that boys corrupt each other, is not, I think, juſt to the extent generally ſuppoſed. Its riſe and continuance may be very reaſonably accounted for, without admitting its truth. The partiality natural to a parent inclines him to believe that his ſon is diſmiſſed from his own hands innocent and ſpotleſs; and to conclude when the ſon is afterwards found to be vicious, that he has been ſeduced by others more vicious than himſelf. The ſon, indeed, in order to ſoften his own offences, imputes the guilt and blame to his companions; and the father is willing to give credit to his aſſertions, to condemn the ſchool, rather than the child; and the conduct of the maſter rather than his own. But the truth is, that when boys of various diſpoſitions and habits meet promiſcuouſly in a ſchool, they uſually diſcover one anothers inclinations, with a quickneſs and penetration reſembling the effects produced by the private ſignals of free maſonry; and each aſſociates with thoſe, whoſe temper and purſuits beſt correſpond with his own. The corrupt attach themſelves to the corrupt, with the rapidity natural to thoſe, who are careleſs of the character of their friends; and leave the diligent and virtuous to form their intimacies among themſelves without interruption or moleſtation. The former do not frequently ſucceed in their endeavours to ſeduce the latter: and uſually reſpect them too much to make the attempt. The mutual encouragement and aſſiſtance of numbers will undoubtedly ſometimes puſh them further in culpable purſuits than each ſingly would have had the means or the reſolution to proceed. But I have ſeldom known a youth deeply involved in depravity at ſchool, who did not bring the ſeeds of it along with him. Where, indeed, the previous connection of their parents, or ſome other

other incidental and external cauſe, has occaſioned an intimacy, which the diſpoſitions of the ſons themſelves never would have produced; in ſuch caſes, an individual will ſometimes greatly influence the manners of his friend; and from the weakneſs or the propenſities of our nature it unfortunately happens, that the boy already depraved will more frequently ſeduce his aſſociate into miſchief, or into vice, than the virtuous youth will be able to reſtrain his leſs virtuous companion from it. But it is only, where a conſiderable ſuperiority in age or fortune, in rank or talents, has given an extraordinary influence, that any ſingle boy can corrupt the general manners of a ſchool; and it is perhaps ſtill more rare, that where the manners of a ſchool are generally corrupt, a ſingle youth, whatever may be his diſpoſition and habits, can wholly eſcape the contagion. An arch fiend may ſometimes ſeduce a number of inferior ſpirits from their duty and allegiance; but we can rarely hope to find the integrity and reſolution of Abdiel in a ſchool boy.

In a numerous ſchool the noiſe and riot of the pupils have more merriment than miſchief; and their miſchief has more frolic than malignity. Care, however, muſt be taken, that occaſional frolic do not ripen into habitual cruelty; that repeated tranſgreſſion do not ſink into ſettled corruption. Here, indeed, is the place and neceſſity for the vigilance and authority of the teachers; and theſe, if wiſely exerted, will ſeldom fail of their effect. It is an eaſy taſk, on one hand, to introduce every pupil to proper connections, when he firſt enters the ſchool, and to caution him, on the other, againſt ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed only by their vicious propenſities and ſeductive manners. It is eaſy, whenever any inſtance of vice is detected, to inflict ſome appropriate puniſhment, and to expoſe it to contempt or diſgrace: and it is not leſs eaſy, and ſtill more pleaſing, to ſhew conſtant favour and encouragement to truth, integrity, and diligence; to let it appear, upon all occaſions, that if a ſtudious and virtuous youth happen to be ſometimes expoſed to the ridicule or the malice of his leſs meritorious ſchool-fellows, he will find himſelf abundantly compenſated by the eſteem of his maſter and his friends. Such conduct in the teachers ſeldom fails to be rewarded by the gratitude, as well as the virtues, of thoſe intruſted to their care.

The exertion required in the ſtudents to perform the taſks appointed in every well regulated ſchool, is itſelf highly favourable to the vigour and activity of the intellect; and eventually, therefore, to the intereſts of virtue. There is always amongſt the pupils of a large ſchool a ſort of public opinion, and certain laws of honour, which though ſometimes founded upon erroneous principles, generally tend to the prevention of mean or malignant vices: and ſuch manlineſs of ſentiment and ſpirit is acquired as paves the way to the ſubſequent correction of any errors, into which the warmth or negligence of youth may ſurprize them. Let ſound learning give a young man ſtrength of mind to conquer himſelf, and from any other moral enemy he will have ſoon little to fear. And if ſuch a ſchool be found, as, it is hoped, will ſoon appear, the moſt favour-

able to the promotion of learning and knowledge, it will not be much leſs favourable to the ſoundneſs of moral principle. Notwithſtanding ſome extraordinary exceptions, which by the wonder they excite are proved to be rare, it is commonly true, that as the mind is enlarged, the affections are rectified. A *fool*, ſays Rochefoucault, *has not materials enough to make a good man.* But none are ſo likely to perform their duty well, as thoſe who beſt underſtand it. And were the moſt illuſtrious examples to be ſelected from our hiſtory of men, who had united virtue and learning, profeſſional ſkill with integrity of conduct, they would be generally found amongſt the pupils of our public ſchools.

The next objection, that the youth's improvement may be neglected amidſt the confuſion incident to numbers, is founded wholly upon miſtaken notions of a large ſchool, or of human nature. Order and regularity in its buſineſs are of the very eſſence of a public ſchool, and preſerved and enforced there with a degree of ſteadineſs and uniformity, which can rarely elſewhere be found. Thoſe who have the ſuperintendence of ſuch ſeminaries are convinced by the ſtrongeſt of all teſtimony, their own experience, that by ſyſtem only can application produce its proper effect; that by ſyſtem only can any art or ſcience be ſucceſsfully taught. Nor does a larger portion of his time beſtowed by the maſter produce a correſpondent benefit to the pupil. His progreſs in literature does not depend ſo much upon what is done for him by others, as upon what he can be ſtimulated to do for himſelf. The teacher, indeed, will naturally exert the greater zeal and diligence where greater numbers are to profit by his inſtructions, and to judge and report his conduct; and the ſame circumſtance is every way favourable to the improvement of his ſcholar. The voice of the preceptor to adopt the ſimilitudes of Quinctilian, is not like the food provided for an entertainment; where each man's ſhare muſt be diminiſhed in proportion as the numbers are encreaſed. It ſhould rather be compared with the ſun, which diſpenſes with the ſame degree of light and heat to each individual of a multitude, however numerous and extenſive. The attention of the ſtudent ſeldom fails to be rouſed and fixed by the attention of his teacher. The oppoſition of his rivals, the aſſiſtance of his friends, the praiſe or cenſure of his maſter and his ſchoolfellows, the hope of reward and the fear or ſhame of puniſhment; all theſe motives united produce ſuch exertions, as no domeſtic teacher can hope to ſecure. By every exertion too his faculties naturally expand; confidence in his own powers encreaſes by ſucceſs; and the pupil of a public ſchool often attains to an eminence in literature, which a youth differently circumſtanced would not attempt; and which himſelf, perhaps, had not preſumed to expect. Each, indeed, is aware, that a character eſtabliſhed amongſt a numerous claſs of ſchoolfellows will be very widely diffuſed in the world, and promote his advantage or his reputation in all the ſubſequent tranſactions of his life. And he to whom the palm of merit is adjudged, after an examination for honours and promotion; probably feels greater pride and pleaſure, and with better reaſon than

was

was ever felt by the ſucceſsful champion on the plains of Olympia or in the circus of antient Rome.

As another objection to our public ſchools properly ſo called, many parents have lately urged the increaſed and extravagant expence. But againſt this charge the vindication of the ſchools is not difficult; though a remedy for the evil may not ſo eaſily be found. The proper and neceſſary expences of our public ſchools are not encreaſed, either beyond the proportion of other places of education, or beyond the general encreaſe of the expences of life; and upon what principle, or by what expedient, the charges there are to be kept below the level of charges every where elſe, it is ſurely not neceſſary to enquire. There is no cheap labour for their accommodation; no cheap market for their ſupply. There is, indeed, one article of expence, of which the teachers complain, as loudly as the parents; and with much better reaſon; the large ſums entruſted to boys at their own diſpoſal, and for their private indulgence and gratification. Againſt this practice I ſeize the firſt opportunity of entering the ſtrongeſt proteſt in my power. It is not only the true cauſe of the complaint againſt the expences of our public ſchools; but one principal ſource of thoſe vices, which are ſo juſtly condemned. I do not wiſh to prevent, for I would by all means recommend, ſuch a regular allowance of money to every youth at ſchool, as ſhould teach him the uſe and management of ſome property of his own, and purchaſe for him ſuch inſtruments of amuſements, or ſuch harmleſs luxuries, as are proper for his age and ſtation. But if parents will return their ſons to ſchool, after every receſs, with their pockets filled with gold; and if every friend at every viſit will augment the miſchief by injudicious liberality, let them not blame the times or the teachers for the natural effects of their own folly. While any part of the money remains, little elſe will be attended to, than how it may be moſt agreeably expended. It is in vain to prohibit to the youth the uſe of thoſe luxuries, which he is himſelf furniſhed with the means to procure. It is in vain to expect from the teacher any effectual reſtraint upon the vicious propenſities of his pupil, while he is ſupplied by the miſtaken kindneſs of his friends with the power, not only of purchaſing criminal indulgence, but of bribing thoſe about him to connive at his pleaſures, or to aſſiſt him in the purſuit.

To the ſcheme of private and domeſtic tuition there are objections of at leaſt equal weight with thoſe which have been urged againſt public education. To engage a private tutor for a ſingle pupil is, perhaps, of all others the leaſt eligible mode of giving literary inſtruction. Men of talents and ſpirit can ſeldom be prevailed upon to undertake the taſk; and it is in vain to expect the due diſcharge of it from teachers of any other deſcription. The preceptor does not exert much zeal or diligence for his ſolitary pupil; and the exertions of the pupil will not be more than proportionate to thoſe of his preceptor. To prevent any ſeverity of diſcipline is generally one of the firſt principles of domeſtic tuition. Compulſion and correction, therefore, are in a great meaſure excluded. The youth has no rivals of

his own age to ſtimulate his efforts, and no friends to aſſiſt or applaud them. Honour and ſhame, of the firſt importance in all other caſes, have hardly any place in the ſyſtem. Every thing therefore is languid and inefficient. Even the ſports of the private pupil, for want of aſſociates and competitors, have little animation and little pleaſure. He cannot compare his own acquiſitions with thoſe of others; and therefore eſtimates them rather by the meaſure of his own vanity, than the ſtandard of truth. He is a coxcomb before he is a ſcholar. His books, indeed, will engage leſs of his attention, than thoſe amuſements, in which he is too liberally indulged, and for the ſake of which, in ſome degree, the plan of domeſtic education was adopted; and he will value himſelf leſs upon his progreſs in literature and ſcience, than upon his taſte in dreſs, or his dexterity in the ſports of the field.

Nor is the boaſted advantage of purity of morals much better ſecured. The perpetual reſtraint, under which the private pupil lives, and the conſtant preſence of thoſe much older than himſelf, do not ſuffer his propenſities and paſſions to appear in their true colours; and, conſequently their courſe cannot be ſufficiently regulated, nor their exceſſes reſtrained. He does not grow open and ingenuous by unreſerved communication with his equals; but artful and deſigning by watching the ſentiments of thoſe more advanced in age; and the ſelf command, which he appears to poſſeſs, is often policy, not principle; hypocriſy, not virtue. He is almoſt inevitably taught inſolence and pride; for he is conſtantly attended, not as a helpleſs creature that perpetually ſtands in need of aſſiſtance; but as a perſon inveſted with rank and authority, by which he may demand that aſſiſtance as a privilege and right. There is always danger, that he will be too much in the company of ſervants; and unlearn in the kitchen and the ſtable, what he has been taught in the library and the drawing room. If, indeed, the reſtraint impoſed upon him be not ſufficient to guard him againſt vulgarity and vice, it loſes the very benefit, which it moſt profeſſes to ſecure; and if ſufficient for the preſent, there is ſome reaſon to apprehend ſtill greater exceſs, when that reſtraint ſhall be removed. The time muſt come when the private pupils ſhall be truſted at large in the world; and ſuch men have ſometimes been obſerved to plunge more deeply in the moſt licentious pleaſures, than thoſe for whom theſe pleaſures had leſs novelty, and therefore leſs attraction. This, indeed, is not much to be feared, where the moral and religious principles have been duly cultivated and firmly eſtabliſhed. But the indulgence, in which the private pupil is reared, ſeldom gives much ſtrength of mind, or firmneſs of principle. He has been accuſtomed to deference and flattery. He will be ſtill ambitious of diſtinction: and it is but too probable that he will endeavour to compenſate the inferiority of his talents, by taking the lead in all the extravagancies of faſhion, or affecting a diſgraceful pre-eminence in vice.

A ſchool with a ſmall and limited number of pupils, though liable to ſome-

ſomewhat fewer objections, is not entitled to much greater praiſe. Such ſeminaries are, indeed, the favourites of the preſent day. But almoſt every circumſtance, which recommends them to popularity forms an objection to them, as places of literary education. To conſult by every means the eaſe and comfort of the boys; to ſupply them with a full ſhare of ſuch amuſements and luxuries, as can be permitted with ſafety only to men of the matureſt age and underſtanding; to allow them on all occaſions the freedoms and familiarities of equals and friends; theſe arts may anſwer the purpoſes, for which they were probably deſigned; they may conciliate the favour of the parents through the medium of indulgence to their ſons: but their natural tendency is to make the pupils men of pleaſure, not men of learning; to fit them for the faſhionable ceremonial of the drawing-room and the tea-table; not for the buſtle of publick ſtations, or the honourable labours of virtue. The maſter profeſſes to beſtow his whole time upon a ſmall number; and therefore a larger portion of attention upon their improvement; a profeſſion ſeldom fulfilled; and when fulfilled ſeldom beneficial. When the pupils of ſuch a ſeminary are in early youth, a female relation or upper ſervant of the maſter, often attends them in their walks and diverſions; a ſyſtem as captivating in appearance, as it is in reality contemptible. Boys ſhould be compelled to exert their own powers in their leſſons, and permitted to indulge their own fancies in their relaxations. Their natural gaiety is checked by the preſence or the direction of their ſuperiors; and the youth, who does not play with alacrity and ſpirit, will ſeldom ſtudy with diligence or ſucceſs. Some of theſe ſchools again profeſs wholly to exclude the diſcipline of the rod. Yet perhaps without the uſe or the fear of it, not a ſingle ſcholar was ever made. The acquiſition of learning muſt always be laborious; and by what motives, but the fear of a greater evil, ſhall boys be induced to labour with regularity and perſeverance? They cannot, or they will not, underſtand the force of arguments drawn from diſtant and future advantage; the policy of ſuſpending enjoyment for the preſent, in order to increaſe it hereafter. The forbearance and the virtues of a ſtoick, indeed, ſuit their comprehenſion as little as their inclination. They are, when left to themſelves, the genuine diſciples of Epicurus; they graſp with avidity, the pleaſures of the preſent hour, with little thought, and leſs apprehenſion, of what may happen to-morrow.

There are caſes, however, in which a publick education, notwithſtanding its general advantages would be wholly improper. It ought never to be choſen for ſuch unhappy youths, as labour under the misfortunes of an imbecility of mind, deformity of perſon, or permanent want of health.

In the caſe of imbecility of mind, domeſtick care and tenderneſs are neceſſary till a much later period, than where nature has been more liberal of her endowments. Nothing leſs than the conſtant preſence, and the moſt unwearied patience of his teachers,

can communicate such a portion of useful information, or establish such habits of action, as may conduct the unfortunate youth with propriety and comfort through one of the humblest walks of life. The ordinary modes of instruction cannot give learning to him, to whom nature has denied the capacity to receive it. The common operations of agriculture will not create the powers of vegetation in the sand.

Where a youth labours under great deformity of person, he ought certainly to be concealed in the shades of domestic education. In a large school he cannot always join in the amusements, with which he sees others delighted. A thousand incidents daily remind him of the unkindness of nature. He is frequently mortified by the ridicule, and the insults of his school-fellows; till at length his comfort is destroyed, his temper rendered irritable and fretful, and his heart, I fear, sometimes corrupted. For to these circumstances must probably be ascribed, that malignity of mind, which has been too often observed to accompany deformity of person. No degree of literary improvement can make amends for evils such as these; and under their influence it is not probable, that any great degree will be obtained.

In cases of permanent want of health, public education is not only improper, but in a great measure impracticable. Without health, few of the advantages of education can any where be obtained. And it would be as cruel, as it is absurd, to expose a youth to the tumult and accidents of a numerous school, whose infirmities require rather the tenderness of a nurse, than the instruction of a teacher. Some station of life must be chosen, which will not require either that health and strength, which nature has denied, or that learning, which the want of health does not permit him to obtain.

To these cases must be added, that of a youth approaching to manhood; whose literary education was neglected at the proper season, and the neglect of which it is now proposed to repair. Such a student should not be mortified by being joined in the same class with children; the same modes of instruction cannot be the most suitable both to him and to them; and he ought to be pushed forward with a rapidity, which is not practicable in the lower forms of a school. To a youth of this description, however, I cannot very strongly recommend the pursuit of classical literature; because I cannot very confidently promise him, either that he will succeed in his pursuit; or that success will recompense the time and labour, which it will require. The languages of Greece and Rome are seldom completely attained, unless undertaken at a very early age; while the memory is yet fresh and tenacious; while the understanding is not yet distracted by the cares of life and the passions of our nature; and while the authority of the teacher can confine his pupil to irksome and continued application. As the mind approaches to maturity, it wants either resolution to begin the study in question, patience to persevere in it, or aptitude to succeed: and even suppose all difficulties to be overcome, that time is employed

upon words, which is due to things; thoſe hours are waſted in ſpeculation, which ought to be devoted to action. The ingenious hiſtorian of the *Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies* has candidly acknowledged, that not having been *grounded in the grammar in his childhood, he afterwards found the ſtudy of the learned languages inſupportably diſguſting:* and Quinctilian has obſerved, that a child will learn in a few months to ſpeak his native tongue; but that to teach it to a foreign ſlave will require as many years.

Our public ſchools, properly ſo called, are unſuitable places of education for thoſe who are deſigned for any private ſtation, for the retirement and tranquillity of the country, or the patient diligence of trade. Young men do not there learn the ſciences beſt adapted to ſuch purpoſes; and they uſually acquire notions; habits, and connections, and ſometimes vices too incompatible with their future deſtination. The mechanic does not willingly receive his apprentice, nor the merchant ſelect his clerk, from among the pupils of a public ſchool; nor has the pupil of a public ſchool more inclination than aptitude to become the clerk or the apprentice. Our academies are the places where education ſuitable to ſuch ſtations are to be ſought; and in many of them, it may undoubtedly be found. Sometimes, indeed, an attempt is made to unite the advantages of both. For, in the conduct of education, what abſurdity can be named, which human folly has not in ſome inſtance endeavoured to reduce to practice? From a principle of miſtaken pride, from the hope and proſpect of valuable connections, or from ſome other perſonal or general motive, a youth is not unfrequently fixed for a few years at Eton or Weſtminſter, and afterwards placed at an academy to learn the qualifications requiſite for trade. But the firſt part of this ſcheme uſually fruſtrates the laſt. The maſter of an academy generally finds a youth of this deſcription amongſt the moſt turbulent and refractory of his pupils. He comes prepared to deſpiſe alike the perſons, the inſtructions, and the authority of his teachers; and determines not to ſubmit to what he deems the intolerable confinement and degrading drudgery of his deſtined occupation. He inſiſts too reſolutely to be refuſed, on an appointment in the navy or the army; and leaves his parents to repent at leiſure the diſappointment of their hopes, and the folly of their plan.

Our public ſchools are improper places of education, whenever claſſical literature is not indiſpenſably required; or where time for a deep and critical acquaintance with the authors of antiquity cannot be allowed. If this, indeed, be neceſſary as the baſis of general knowledge, or of profeſſional ſkill, it can no where elſe be obtained with equal rapidity and ſucceſs. Their unqueſtionable ſuperiority in this point, however, will excite the leſs ſurpriſe, when we reflect, that it is almoſt the ſole object of their attention: and that it is the ſole object of their attention is abundant evidence, that for other purpoſes, other inſtructors muſt be ſought. Wherever an ordinary acquaintance with the

Greek

Greek and Roman tongues is ſufficient; wherever dexterity in the humble talents of writing and arithmetic, or the more dignified accompliſhments of ſkill in the elegant arts, and the knowledge of modern languages and mathematical ſcience, are neceſſary to the future deſtination of the ſtudent, then indeed, recourſe muſt be had, either to the aſſiduity of a private teacher, which in ſome caſes is the moſt eligible, or to ſome one of our numerous academies, where the requiſite accompliſhments are taught.

It is ſometimes ſuppoſed to be highly eligible to place a youth at one of our public ſchools, with a view to his forming ſuch connections, as may be creditable or beneficial to him in all the ſubſequent tranſactions of his life. If the deſign be to form intereſted connections with the great, and to court the future patronage of the powerful, it is contemptible in its principle, and ſeldom ſucceſsful in its object. It muſt begin or end in meanneſs and ſycophancy; and does not ſo often advance the fortune, as corrupt the heart of the ſtudent. But if the purpoſe be to form early and pleaſing intimacies upon equal terms; to cement thoſe friendſhips, which when they endure through life, ſweeten it at every ſtep; this is, indeed, a deſirable and honourable object; but it is not confined excluſively to our public ſchools. It will be accompliſhed equally at every other place of education, where a variety of ingenuous youth are brought together, and each is at liberty to ſelect from the number thoſe, whom a ſimilarity in years, ſentiments and purſuits ſeems to have deſtined for his companions and friends. This recommendation of a public education, however, can only be conſidered as a ſort of counterpoiſe to the objection that has been urged, from the ſuppoſed danger to the morals of the pupils. If a youth may ſelect companions, who will afterwards improve his fortune, he may equally ſelect ſuch, as will induce him to waſte it. If he may chooſe aſſociates, that will confirm the principles of virtue; he may alſo attach himſelf to ſuch, as will allure him to licentiouſneſs and vice. Conſidered merely in this point of view, the chances of good or evil are naturally equal. Either ſide of the balance may appear to preponderate, according to the judgment or inclination of the parent; and the advantage, or the miſchief will depend at laſt upon the principles and prudence of the pupil, and the ſkill and diligence of the inſtructor.

It may perhaps appear extraordinary, that, in order to determine the preference between private and public education, I have not yet adduced on either ſide the authority of any of thoſe learned and judicious teachers, who have expreſſed their ſentiments on the ſubject. I have not neglected theſe ſentiments, becauſe I am not fully ſenſible of the reſpect and deference that are due to them; but, becauſe ſo many authorities may be urged in favour of either of the ſyſtems under conſideration, that I think authority will not ſatisfactorily decide the queſtion between them. In the civil war of his country, Lucan was unable or unwilling to determine the juſtice of the cauſe, when Cato was on one ſide, and fortune

fortune on the other. On these authorities, however, one general observation may be made. Of all the men who have enjoyed the opportunity and the advantages of a public education, Locke alone, perhaps will be found generally to condemn it; and of the advocates for the domestic system, the greater number have been either interested teachers, whose employment and profits were involved in the question; or men more willing to listen to the flattering promises of theory and innovation, than to the sober truths of practice and experience. By this time the reader does not want to be told, that I am not disposed, like the Roman poet, to suspend my judgment on the point before me; that I willingly give up the speculative opinions even of Cato himself; and adhere steadily to the cause which has been sanctioned by fortune and success.

In the observations that have been made upon the comparative advantages of public and private education, it is not to be supposed, that the result will always be precisely what has been stated. A thousand circumstances continually intervene to vary the effect of every system, and disappoint the conclusions of every calculation. Whatever mode be adopted, a wide difference will be made in the success by the various degrees of ability and diligence exerted by different teachers, and still more by the varieties of capacity and temper in their different pupils. Private tuition has sometimes produced men of the most brilliant talents; and dulness and stupidity have often issued from our public schools. But supposing the different students equally endowed by nature, and the same judgment and exertions in the respective preceptors, the effects that have been stated from the different modes of instruction, may most reasonably and usually be expected. The natural fertility of the soil cannot even by mismanagement be wholly suppressed; nor can its sterrility by any skill and care be so successfully cultivated, as to yield a rich and luxuriant produce.

Nor is it to be supposed, that any system of education can be adopted, which shall comprehend every possible benefit, and exclude every possible inconvenience. In almost every thing human, a compromise must be made. As we approach one advantage, we generally recede from another; and a greater evil can sometimes be avoided only by submitting to a less. Though in the important business of education, we must relinquish speculative perfection, or attainable excellence; yet happily something like an union between private and public instruction may be formed. While the student attends his school during the day, he may in the evening receive the assistance of a private teacher; not, certainly, to save him the labour of performing his own exercise, not to prevent, but stimulate, the exertion of his own powers; to explain to him the subject proposed; to illustrate the principles of composition; to relieve him from any difficulty, that may impede his progress; to enable him to proceed aright, or to correct what is amiss; to supply, in short, whatever the regulations of the school may not admit, or the thoughtlessness of the youth may have

have neglected. Even this ſcheme is not without its difficulties and objections. And while ſome of our public ſchools continue it, from their experience of its utility; others have rejected it, from a knowledge of its abuſes. This however, is the plan which I can venture to recommend with the greateſt confidence; becauſe I have ſeen it attended with the moſt beneficial effects. No ſyſtem, however, it may deſerve ſucceſs, can always command it. No future event, depending on human wiſdom and human paſſions, can be conſidered as certain.

On Longevity. From Sinclair's *Eſſays.*

THE means of preſerving health, and of attaining great age, are ſubjects which ſeem to be well entitled to the peculiar attention of every thinking man. In regard to the former, there is no queſtion: the pleaſure that ariſes from the poſſeſſion of health, and the diſtreſs which ſickneſs occaſions, are perpetual mementos that health cannot be neglected. But as to the latter, the propriety of aſpiring to long life, has been doubted; and it is ſaid, that after a perſon has lived for fifty or ſixty years, and has fulfilled his duties as a man, that he had better retire to make way for others, and that the ſooner he quits theſe ſublunary ſcenes the better. Such ſentiments, however, ought not to be indulged. If perſons lived only for themſelves, and for the gratification of their own paſſions, and to promote their own intereſts alone, this might be the caſe. But if we live, as we ought to do, to promote the happineſs of others, as well as of our own, and if by living long, we can be of more ſervice, from the knowledge which greater experience, and longer obſervation muſt neceſſarily furniſh, the reſult is, that we ought to live as long as we have health and ſtrength to perform good actions to others, and that the power of doing good, ought to be the proper limit by which our wiſhes for exiſtence ought to be bounded: nor ought it to be omitted, that there is an evident and neceſſary connection between good health and longevity, as it is impoſſible to poſſeſs the one without its contributing to the enjoyment of the other.

In ſketching out ſome obſervations on this important ſubject, it is my intention to ſtate. 1. The circumſtances which tend to promote longevity. 2. The rules which have been adopted by thoſe who have attained great age. 3. The peculiar deſcription of countries moſt remarkable for long life; and, 4. To add ſome tables of longevity, and the duration of human life.

I. *Circumſtances tending to promote Longevity.*

The circumſtances tending to promote longevity, may be conſidered under the following general heads:—1. Climate. 2. Form of the individual. 3. Parentage. 4. Natural diſpoſition. 5. Situation in life. 6. Profeſſions. 7. Exerciſe or labour. 8. Connubial connexions. 9. Sex; and, 10. Renewal of age.

1. *Climate.* In the firſt place, climate

climate seems to be of considerable importance; and it may be laid down as a general rule, that the moderate, or even the coldest climates, are the most favourable to long life. Heat seems to relax and enfeeble, cold to strengthen and brace, the human frame. The diet also of hot countries, is not so nourishing as that of cold*; and there is in general a greater disposition, and greater opportunities to indulge in various excesses in the former, than in the latter. But if the climate be cool, a rainy atmosphere seems to be less unfavourable to longevity, than could be well imagined; for Ireland, which is a wet country, boasts of a great number of old people. And a very large proportion of the aged, who have lived in England and Scotland, have resided in the western, and, consequently, the rainiest counties in the island†.

2. *Form.* The next circumstance to be considered, is, the form and size of the individual. It is generally admitted, that persons of a compact shape, and of a moderate stature, are the most likely to live long. Height often originates from the disproportioned growth of some particular part of the body, which necessarily has a tendency to engender weakness and disease. Tall persons also are apt to acquire a habit of stooping, which contracts the chest, and is a great enemy to free respiration; whereas the short sized find little difficulty in keeping themselves erect, and are naturally much more active, by which the animal functions are retained in a state of much greater perfection. The only disadvantage attending a short stature is, that it is frequently accompanied with corpulence, which is rather unfavourable to long life.

3. *Parentage.* Being born of healthy parents, and exempted from hereditary disease, are circumstances evidently favourable to longevity. A puny frame, like Cornaro's, may, by the greatest care and anxiety, be preserved in existence; but those who inherit health and strength, and are born with robust constitutions, can alone expect not only to live long, but to enjoy the pleasures and comforts of life, whilst they continue to possess it.

4. *Natural Disposition.* Longevity also seems to depend much upon good temper, mixed at the same time with a cheerfulness of disposition, or good spirits‡. Neither the irascible, nor those who, from despondency, sink under the crosses of life, can expect to live long. Even those who suffer their strength and spirits to be exhausted by severe study, or other mental exertions, seldom reach great age. In the long list of

* In cold countries they live more upon animal, in hot countries upon vegetables, food and fruits, a judicious mixture of both is the best plan to pursue, but of the two, animal food is the most nourishing.

† Moisture, it would appear, is not prejudicial to health, if it does not affect the purity of the air. Even stagnated water, if in peat bogs, or morasses, is not unwholesome, as the water, by the astringency of the peat, is prevented from becoming putrid. Lincolnshire, also, and several of the marshy counties of England, can produce a number of instances of great age, but probably they were from the more elevated parts of these districts.

‡ Hence the great age to which many of the French nobility lived, particularly before the regency of Orleans.

1712 perſons, who lived about a century, Fontenelle, (who did not quite reach 100 years,) is the only author of any note; and his great age is aſcribed to the tranquil eaſe of his temper, and that livelineſs of ſpirits for which he was much diſtinguiſhed; for he retained to the laſt *the youth of old age*, as the French happily expreſs it.

5. *Situation in life.* It is commonly obſerved, "that it is not the rich and great, not thoſe who depend on medicines, who become old, but ſuch as uſe much exerciſe, are expoſed to the freſh air, and whoſe food is plain and moderate*." And it is certain that perſons of that deſcription, in general, ſtand the beſt chance of living long. At the ſame time, though inſtances of old age in great and noble perſonages, are not often to be met with, yet they may be as many, *in proportion to the ſmaller number of ſuch perſons*, as thoſe in the lower but more numerous claſſes of ſociety. Nor is there any thing inconſiſtent in power, rank, or wealth, being accompanied with a long period of exiſtence, provided other circumſtances are favourable to longevity.

6. *Profeſſions.* In the next place, it is evident that long life muſt depend much on the manner in which the individual is employed. Unhealthy occupations generally become fatal. Yet Peter Prin, a glaſs blower, is ſaid to have attained the great age of 101 years; and John Tyler, a miner at Leadhills, in Scotland, is ſuppoſed to have reached even 132 years†. His age, indeed, could not be proved by direct, but it reſts on very ſtrong circumſtantial evidence, and a perſon of the moſt undoubted authority, (Dr. Walker, Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Edingburgh,) informs me, "that in his muſcles, joints, and in his whole conformation and aſpect, he wore the appearance of more remote antiquity than he had ever ſeen in any human creature." But on the whole, farmers, gardeners, and labourers in the country, are in general the longeſt lived. Foot ſoldiers alſo, who have ſurvived the dangers of war, are remarkable for long life. They are generally ſtout and vigorous men, and the regularity to which ſurviving ſoldiers muſt have accuſtomed themſelves, whilſt the careleſs and diſorderly drop off, the erect poſture to which they have been trained, and being of courſe men well formed by nature, and habituated to march and walk well, (which familiarizes them to a natural and healthy exerciſe,) all combine in their favour.

7. *Exerciſe or labour.* It is alſo proper to remark, that not only moderate exerciſe, but even labour, if not too ſevere, contributes to good health and old age. In many inſtances, perſons have worked at threſhing, and other laborious occupations, expoſed to a current of freſh air, after they had paſſed beyond the age of 100, and, if accuſtomed to them, they do not appear to have ſuffered any inconvenience from ſuch exertions.

* See Eaſton on Human Longevity, Introduction, p. 11.

† It is ſaid, that neither of theſe inſtances ought much to be wondered at, as a glaſs blower is conſtantly expoſed to freſh and dry air, and the labour of miners under ground is not for many hours, and they generally reſide in hilly diſtricts.

8. *Con-*

8. *Connubial connexions.* Nor ought it to be admitted, that a large proportion of the long lived, have preferred a married to a ſingle ſtate, and in general have left behind them a numerous family. Whether a life of Celibacy occaſions diſeaſe, or leads to irregularity, or ſours the temper, or to whatever other cauſe it ought to be attributed, may be a ſubject of diſpute, but it is certain, that the number of ſingle perſons who live long, bear no proportion to the married *.

9. *Sex.* Farther, though a greater number of males are born than of females, at leaſt in European countries, yet there is reaſon to believe, that of the two ſexes, women reach old age in the greateſt proportion. For this, various cauſes may be aſſigned as the greater regularity and temperance of their mode of living, their being leſs expoſed to dangers and hardſhips, leſs ſubject to violent agitations, and generally endowed with more cheerfulneſs and gentleneſs of diſpoſition.

10. *Renewal of Youth.* In the laſt place, among the ſymptoms of longevity, none is more ſtriking than when nature ſeems to renew itſelf, by producing, even in old age, new teeth, new hair, &c. but the inſtances of this are extremely rare.

II. *Rules tending to promote long Life.*

We ſhall now proceed to ſtate ſuch rules as have been followed by thoſe who have attained great age, as they may furniſh ſome hints that may be ſerviceable to others.

The plan laid down by the celebrated Cornaro, is well known, and the abſtemious manner in which he lived, has often been recommended to the imitation of others; but I queſtion much whether many would wiſh to lead the ſame life, for the ſake of mere exiſtence. Life is no longer deſirable, than whilſt it can be enjoyed with ſome degree of ſatisfaction, and it is of little conſequence, if a perſon merely vegetates, whether he lives or not.

Without entering therefore into various particulars, fitter for the diſcuſſions of experimental philoſophy, than for real life, (as weighing the food taken, &c. &c.) we ſhall proceed to mention the rules which have been found the moſt effectual, and which are the moſt likely to be carried into practice. They may be claſſed under the following heads:—1. Food. 2. Clothing. 3. Habitation. 4. Labour or exerciſe. 5. Habits or cuſtoms. 6. Medicine; and, 7. Diſpoſition of mind.

1. *Diet.* The importance of wholeſome food, for the preſervation of health and long life, and the avoiding of exceſs, whether in eating or drinking, need not be dwelt upon. Some inſtances, indeed, are mentioned of perſons who have continued to commit exceſſes, and have lived long; but theſe are to be conſidered in no other light, than as exceptions to the general rule; it may reaſonably be contended, that if ſuch perſons

* This applies to both ſexes, in particular to the male. Dr. Ruſh of Philadelphia aſſerts, that he never ſaw but one unmarried man exceed fourſcore years.

lived

lived to a great age, notwithstanding their intemperance, they would have lived much longer had they followed a different course.

2. *Clothing.* It is equally unnecessary to detail at any length, the necessity of warm clothing, more especially in advanced life, and during the cold seasons, as the best mode of preventing a number of diseases, to which old men are particularly exposed, and which by no other means, can be avoided.

3. *Habitation.* The health of every individual must greatly depend on the place where he resides, and the nature of the house which he inhabits; and as it has frequently been remarked, that the greatest number of old people die in winter, and that many individuals, in a weak and consumptive state, are obliged to fly to warmer climates, as the only means of safety, it has thence occurred to Dr. Pearson, that it would be of service, both to the aged and to the consumptive, to have houses erected, of such a peculiar construction, that the air could always be preserved, not only pure, but nearly of the same, and of rather an elevated temperature, so that the invalids who resided in them, should never be affected by the vicissitudes of the seasons. Such an idea, it must be admitted, cannot be a general remedy or resource, but it is well entitled to the attention of those who are in affluent circumstances, by some of whom, it is to be hoped, an hospital for the aged and the consumptive will be erected, and the experiment fairly tried, both for their own sakes, and for that of human nature in general.

4. *Exercise and labour.* That either exercise or moderate labour, is necessary even to aged persons, for the purpose of preserving the human frame in order, can hardly be questioned, provided any great exertion is avoided, than which nothing is more likely to destroy the springs of life, particularly when these become feeble. Travelling in moderation also, from the change of air and scene, has been found of great use.

5. *Habits and Customs.* In the next place, good health, and consequently longevity, depends much on personal cleanliness, and a variety of habits and customs, of minute attentions, which it is impossible here to discuss. It were much to be wished, that some author would undertake the trouble of collecting the result of general experience upon that subject, and would point out those habits, which taken singly, appear very trifling, yet when combined, there is every reason to believe, that much additional health and comfort would arise from their observance.

6. *Medicine.* It is a common saying, that every man, after the age of forty, should be his own physician. This seems, however, to be a dangerous maxim. The greatest physicians, when they are sick, seldom venture to prescribe for themselves, but generally rely on the advice of their medical friends. Persons who pretend to be their own physicians, are generally much addicted to quackery, than which nothing can be more injurious to the constitution. It is essential to health, that medicines should never be taken, but when necessary, and never without the best advice, in regard to the com-

commencement, which ought not to be too long delayed, otherwiſe much benefit cannot be expected from them, and alſo with reſpect to nature or ſort, quantity, and continuance.

At preſent, the power of phyſic, it is generally acknowledged, is extremely bounded. The medical art however, is probably ſtill in its infancy, and it is impoſſible yet to ſay, to what perfection it may reach, not only in conſequence of the new improvements which chemiſtry daily furniſhes, but alſo of thoſe which may be made, by the diſcovery of new and valuable plants, in countries either already known or hitherto unexplored, and indeed the new uſes to which old medicinal plants may be applied. Perhaps ſuch diſcoveries will be much accelerated, when, inſtead of being left to the zeal and induſtry of individuals, they ſhall meet with that public encouragement and protection, to which they are ſo peculiarly well entitled.

7. *Diſpoſition of Mind.* In the laſt place, nothing is more conducive to longevity, than to preſerve equanimity and good ſpirits, and not to ſink under the diſappointments of life, to which all, but particularly the old, are neceſſarily ſubjected. Indeed, this is a point which cannot be too much inculcated, for experience ſufficiently demonſtrates, that many periſh from deſpondency, who, if they had preſerved their ſpirit and vigour of mind, might have ſurvived many years longer.

III. *Countries remarkable for Longevity.*

The countries the moſt remarkable for long life, are thoſe of a hilly nature. We are informed by Pallas, that the inhabitants of the mountainous diſtricts of the province of Iſeſk, in the northern parts of Siberia, live to a great age; that people of 100 years are very common; and that he ſaw an invalid ſoldier aged 120. The inhabitants of the plains in their neighbourhood, are at the ſame time, by no means ſo healthy or ſo long lived. Buffon places the mountainous diſtricts of Scotland at the head of a liſt containing thoſe parts of Europe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for longevity; and, indeed, there is no country in Europe, where, in proportion to its population, a greater number of individuals reach to 60, and thence to 80, and even 90 years of age, in full poſſeſſion of all their faculties, both perſonal and mental, than is the caſe in that part of Great Britain*. There is alſo every

* In a work containing a collection of inſtances of longevity, for no leſs *a period* than, 733 years, namely, from A.D. 1066 to 1799, (by J. Eaſton) in which there is given the name, age, place of reſidence, &c. of 1712 perſons, from all parts of the world, who had attained to a century and upwards, 170 are ſtated to have been natives of Scotland, and the two moſt remarkable in the whole liſt are Kentigern, a native of Scotland, and Peter Torton of Terneſwar, in Hungary, both of whom attained the great age of 185 years. This Kentigern, alſo known under the name of St. Mungo, was the founder of the Biſhopric of Glaſgow. The following verſes were made on his extraordinary age and place of interment:

"Cum octogenus centum quoque quinque vir annos,
"Complerat, Sanctus eſt Glaſgow funere functus."

Spottiſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 11, & 112.

reaſon to believe, that many of the departments of France, and the mountainous diſtricts of Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, and even thoſe of Spain, Portugal, Italy and America, will produce extraordinary inſtances of longevity, whenever any particular enquiry is made regarding that intereſting circumſtance.

IV. *Tables of Longevity.*

Having thus diſcuſſed the ſubject of longevity in general, it may not be improper to lay before the reader the following table, explaining the ſhortneſs of human life, and pointing out how few there are, in proportion to the number born, who reach even the period of 60 years*.

Of a hundred men who are born, there die, according to Hufeland,

Under——10	50
Between 10 and 20	20
20 and 30	10
30 and 40	6
40 and 50	5
50 and 60	3
	94

Hence it would appear, that there are only ſix out of a hundred, who ſtand a chance of living beyond ſixty years.

Of perſons who have lived above a hundred years, the induſtrious Haller has collected 1113 inſtances, and gives the following ſtatement of the duration of their lives.

Of thoſe who lived from 100 to 110 years, the inſtances have been above 1000

From 110 to 120 about	62
120 to 130	29
130 to 140	15
140 to 150	5
152 (Parr)	1
169 (Jenkins)	1
	1113

But in a recent publication, the following table is given as the reſult of a more extenſive collection of inſtances of longevity.

Of males and females, who lived from 100 to 110 years, both incluſive, the inſtances have been 1310

Above 110 to 120	277
120 to 130	84
130 to 140	26
140 to 150	7
150 to 160	3
160 to 170	2
170 to 185	3
	1712

CONCLUSION.

Such is the ſubſtance of the obſervations, which have occurred to me on this intereſting ſubject. I ſhall conclude with remarking, that on the whole, it is more than probable, by proper attention and good management, perſons in general, might not only live longer, but might enjoy life with more reliſh, than is commonly the caſe at preſent; and it is to be hoped in reſpect of this, as well as of many other particulars, that human nature is ſtill in the threſhold of acquirement, that it will yet obtain

* On the art of prolonging Human Life; a work written by Profeſſor Hufeland of Jena, in Germany.

greater

greater and more important acquisitions of knowledge, and may reach further improvement, both with regard to the extent of personal and mental gratifications, which our species may be found capable of enjoying, and also the means of possessing them, with more satisfaction and comfort, and for a much longer period of time.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1802.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

LO, from Bellona's crimſon car
At length the panting ſteed unbound,
At length the thunder of the War
In feſtive ſhouts of Peace is drown'd:
Yet, as around her Monarch's brow
Britannia twines the Olive bough,
Bold as her eagle eye is caſt
On hours of recent tempeſt paſt:
Thro' the rude wave and adverſe gale,
When free ſhe ſpread her daring ſail,
Immortal glory's radiant form,
Her guiding load-ſtar thro' the ſtorm;
Directed by whoſe golden ray,
Thro' rocks and ſhoals ſhe kept her ſteady way;
"My ſons," ſhe cries, "can honour's guerdon claim,
"Unſoil'd my parent worth, unſtain'd their Sovereign's fame?"
Albion! tho' oft by dread alarms,
Thy native valour has been tried
Ne'er did the luſtre of thy arms
Shine forth with more refulgent pride,
Than when, while Europe's ſons diſmay'd,
Shrunk recreant from thy mighty aid;
Alone, unfriended, firm you ſtood,
A barrier 'gainſt the foaming flood.—
When mild and ſoft the ſilken breeze
Blows gently o'er the ripling ſeas;
The pinnace then may lightly ſweep,
With painted oar the halcyon deep:
But when the howling whirlwinds riſe,
When mountain billows threat the ſkies;

With

With ribs of oak the bark muſt brave
The inroad of the furious wave;
The hardy crew muſt to the raging wind
Oppoſe the ſinewy arm, the unconquerable mind.
In ev'ry clime where ocean roars,
High tho' thy naval banners flew;
From where by Hyperborean ſhores,
The frozen gale ungenial blew,
To ſultry lands that Indian ſurges lave,
Atlantic Iſles and fam'd Canopa's wave;
Tho' from inſulted Egypt's coaſt
Thy armies ſwept the victor hoſt,
From veteran bands where Britiſh valour won
The lofty walls of Ammon's god-like ſon:
Uſeleſs the danger and the toil,
To free each ſelf-devoted ſoil,
Auxiliar legions from thy ſide,
Recede, to ſwell the Gallic Conqueror's pride;
While on Marengo's fatal plain,
Faithful to honour's tie, brave Auſtria bleeds in vain.
Not fir'd by fierce Ambition's flame,
Did Albion's Monarch urge his car,
Impetuous thro' the bleeding ranks of War;
To ſuccour and protect his nobler aim.
His guardian arm, while each Heſperian vale,
While Luſitania's vine-clad mountains hail,
Their ancient rights and laws reſtor'd,
The Royal Patriot ſheaths the avenging ſword;
By Heaven-born Concord led, while Plenty ſmiles,
And ſheds her bounties wide to bleſs the Siſter Iſles.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1802.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

NO more the thunders of the plain
The fiery battle's iron ſhow'r,
Terrific, drown the duteous ſtrain
That greets our Monarch's natal hour;
Peace, ſoaring high on ſeraph wings,
Now ſtrikes her viol's golden ſtrings;
Reſponſive to the thrilling note,
Symphonious ſtrains of rapture float,
While grateful myriads in the Pæan join,
And hail her angel voice, and bleſs her form divine.

II.

Thro' many a whirlwind's blaſt fevere,
The rage of elemental war;
Stern heralds of the op'ning year,
Sol urges on his burning car;
Tho' dark the wint'ry tempeſt lours,
Tho' keen are April's icy ſhow'rs,
Still, ſtill, his flaming courſers riſe,
'Till high in June's refulgent ſkies,
'Mid the blue arch of heav'n he victor rides,
And ſpreads of light and heat the unextinguiſh'd tides.

III.

Glory's true ſons, that hardy race,
Who bravely o'er the briny flood,
Smiling ſerene in danger's face,
Uncheck'd by tempeſt, fire, and blood,
Britain's triumphant flag unfurl'd,
The terror of the wat'ry world,
Now freely to the fav'ring gale
Of Commerce, ſpread the peaceful ſail,
And friendly waft from ev'ry ſhore,
Where Ocean's ſubject billows roar,
The gifts of Nature, and the works of toil,
Produce of ev'ry clime and ev'ry ſoil.
The Genius of the Siſter Iſles
On the rich heap exulting ſmiles,
"Mine the prime ſtores of earth's remoteſt zone,
"Her choiceſt fruits and flow'rs, her treaſures all my own."

IV.

Nor ſecond you 'mid glory's radiant train,
Who o'er the tented field your enſigns ſpread:
Whether on Lincelles' trophied plain
Before your ranks ſuperior numbers fled;
Or on Ierne's kindred coaſt
Ye cruſh'd invaſion's threat'ning hoſt;
Or on fam'd Egypt's ſultry ſands
The banner tore from Gallia's vet'ran bands;
Your ſinewy limbs with happier toil
Now till your country's fertile ſoil,
Mow with keen ſcythes the fragrant vale,
Or whirl aloft the ſounding flail,
Or bow with many a ſturdy ſtroke,
King of our groves, the giant oak;
Or now the blazing hearth beſide,
With all a ſoldier's honeſt pride,
To hoary ſires and blooming maidens tell
Of gallant Chiefs who fought, who conquer'd, or who fell.

V. Yet,

V.

Yet, in the arms of Peace reclin'd,
Still flames the free, the ardent mind;
And ſhould again Sedition's roar,
Or hoſtile inroad threat our ſhore,
From Labour's field, from Commerce wave,
Eager would ruſh the ſtrong, the brave,
To form an adamantine zone
Around their patriot Monarch's throne.
But long, with Plenty in her train,
May Concord ſpread her halcyon reign,
And join with feſtive voice the lay ſincere
Which ſings the auſpicious morn to Britain ever dear.

Ode to the Volunteers of Britain, on the Proſpect of Invaſion. From the Poetical Regiſter for 1802.

O FOR the death of Thoſe,
Who for their Country die,
Sink on her boſom to repoſe,
And triumph where they lie!

How beautiful in death
The Warrior's corſe appears,
Embalm'd by fond Affection's breath,
And bathed in Woman's tears!

The loveliеſt ſpot of earth
Be ſacred to the Brave;
The womb of Her that gave them birth,
Their Country's womb, their grave.

——But the wild waves ſhall ſweep
Britannia's foes away,
And the blue Monſters of the deep
Be ſurfeited with prey!—

No!—they have 'ſcaped the waves,
'Scaped the Sea-Monſters' maws;
They come!—but O ſhall Gallic ſlaves
Give Engliſh freemen laws?

By Alfred's Spirit, No!
—Ring, ring, the loud alarms;
Ye drums awake, ye clarions blow,
Ye Heralds ſhout, "to arms!"

To arms our Heroes fly;
And leading on their lines,
The Britiſh Banner in the ſky,
The ſtar of conqueſt, ſhines.

The lowering battle forms
It's terrible array;
Like claſhing clouds in mountain-ſtorms,
That thunder on their way;

The ruſhing armies meet;
And while they pour their breath,
The ſtrong Earth ſhudders at their feet,
The day grows dim with death.

——Ghoſts of the mighty Dead!
Your Children's hearts inſpire;
And while they on your aſhes tread,
Rekindle all your fire.

The Dead to life return;
Our fathers' Spirits riſe!
—My Brethren! in YOUR breaſts they burn,
They ſparkle in YOUR eyes.

Now launch upon the foe
The lightning of your rage;
Strke, ſtrike the' aſſailing Giants low,
The Titans of the age.

They yield,—they break,—they fly;
The victory is won:
Purſue!——they faint,—they fall,—they die;
O ſtay!——the work is done.

Spirit of Vengeance! reſt:
Sweet Mercy cries, "forbear!"
She claſps the vanquiſh'd to her breaſt;
Thou will not pierce them there?

——Thus vaniſh Britain's foes
From her conſuming eye!
But rich be the reward of Thoſe
Who conquer,——Thoſe who die!

O'erſhadow-

O'erſhadowing laurels deck
The living Hero's brows;
But lovelier wreaths entwine his neck,
—His children and his ſpouſe!

Exulting o'er his lot,
The dangers he has braved;
He claſps the dear ones, hails the cot,
Which his own valour ſaved.

——Daughters of Albion! weep;
On this triumphant plain,
Your fathers, huſbands, brethren ſleep,
For you and freedom ſlain.

O gently cloſe the eye,
That loved to look on you;
O ſeal the lip, whoſe earlieſt ſigh,
Whoſe lateſt breath was true;

With knots of ſweeteſt flowers
Their winding ſheet perfume;
And waſh their wounds with true-love ſhowers,
And dreſs them for the tomb:

For beautiful in death,
The Warrior's corſe appears,
Embalm'd by fond Affection's breath,
And bathed in Woman's tears.

——Give me the death of Thoſe,
Who for their Country die;
And O be mine like their repoſe,
When cold and low they lie!

Their lovelieſt native earth
Enſhrines the fallen Brave:
The womb of Her that gave them birth,
That womb ſhall be their grave.

Sheffield, Auguſt 29, 1803. ALCÆUS.

Epigram

Epigram imitated from an ancient Greek Author. From the same.

1.

WITH me the rosy goblet share,
With me enjoy the youthful hours,
With me caress the frolic fair,
With me compose the wreath of flowers:

2.

Now drive with me dull thought away,
With me defiance bid to sorrow,
Be merry Thou with Me to day;—
And I'll be wise with Thee to-morrow!

EDMUND L. SWIFT. 1802.

Ode, to the Zephyrs. From the same.

YE; before whose genial breath,
Hovering Death,
Girt with troops of wan diseases,
Quits the usurp'd domain of air;
Where, oh! where
Linger ye, propitious breezes?

Hither, where my languid maid
Wooes your aid,
Come, with balmy spirit blowing;
Gentle harbingers of Spring,
Hither bring
Health in rosy beauty glowing,
Bright-eyed Joy to Youth allied
At her side;
While with giddy gesture after
Trip gay Sports of wilder glance,
Tiptoe Dance,
Dimpled Smiles and sleek-brow'd Laughter:

Joy-born Mirth shall lead the train;
Soon again
Her each sprightlier Love shall follow,
All who from the front defy,
All who lie
In the dimple's treacherous hollow.

So

So your praiſe my ſong ſhall tell;
So my ſhell
Pour to you the liquid meaſures;
Soft as when your downy wings
Fan the ſtrings,
Murmu'ring ſweetly-penſive pleaſures.

Ah! no ſuch reward you ſeek;
O'er that cheek
Bluſhing if ſhe meet my gazes,
O'er that boſom's living ſnow
Free to go,
Little you regard my praiſes.

Yet, if to my ſober ear
Ever dear
Sound your voices ſadly ſighing,
Where from lonely ſhades my grief
Courts relief,
To your airy woe replying;
Mindful now, in amorous play
Boldly gay
As around her charms ye hover;
Oh! in whiſper'd ſighs reveal
What I feel,
What to you alone diſcover. T.

Ode, on the 4th of November, the Anniverſary of the Revolution, 1688.

From the ſame.

IN IMITATION OF ALCÆUS.

"Ου λιθοι ουδε ξυλα."

WHAT conſtitutes the Bard?
Not ſilver ſounds, nor numbers that compel
Proud Tyranny's regard;
Not the ſweet witchery of Fancy's ſpell,
That can at will entrance
The captive ſenſe, and bid the charmed ſoul,
To faery meaſures dance:
No—but an energy that ſpurns controul,
An intellectual fire,
That fann'd by Freedom, to ſublimeſt heights
Impels us to aſpire,
And from baſe earth the ſpirit diſunites:

This

This conſtitutes the Bard.
Then in the ſhouts that "ring from ſide to ſide"
Loud o'er the reſt be heard,
The Muſe's hail! which at this ſeaſon wide
May pour the patriot rage,
She, Freedom's beſt ally, whoſe voice alone
Through ev'ry clime and age
Prevailing, mocks the thunders of the throne.

T. P.

St. John's College, Oxon.

The Helot's Song. *By* WILLIAM PRESTON, ESQ. *From the ſame.*

GOD of Armies, break my chain:
Lead me to th'embattled plain,
Where thy daring Sons advance,
Bend the bow, and wield the lance;—
Shafts are whizzing on the ſtring:—
Hark—the ſhouts of combat ring;
Nerve the limbs, the boſom ſteel;
Men their wounds no longer feel.
God of Armies hear.

Long theſe eyes have pour'd a flood;
Others, now, ſhall weep in blood:
Now, the fierce inſulting foe
Shall partake the Helot's woe;
Gaſping on the well-fought field,
Tyranny her ſcourge ſhall yield.
Couch the javelin—urge the ſteed—
Try how gallant men can bleed.
God of Armies hear.

Hear the proud exulting cry,
When the noble ſpirits fly,
Soaring from the mortal cage,
Only ſubject of your rage,
Baffled Tyrants;—"weep forlorn,
"Break the ſcourge, your rage we ſcorn,—
"Mars, receive our votive breath,—
"Give us Freedom, give us Death."
God of Armies hear.

When the bones on earth ſhall lie,
Weltering to the Summer's ſky;

Tho'

Tho' no ſepulture they find,
Tho' they whiten in the wind;
Yet, exult not, haughty foe,
Deem them not a ſight of woe:
On the field they ſhall remain,
Trophies of the glorious ſlain.
God of Armies hear.

Strains of war let clarions ſing,
Let the ſhouts of battle ring;
Let the volley'd weapons fly,
Duſt of combat dim the ſky;
In the dread conflicting hour,
Freedom, let me own thy power;
Freedom, take my parting breath,
Godlike trance, ennobled death!—
God of Armies hear.

Freedom, now, revives, tho' late,
Maid divine, to wed with Fate;—
For the nuptial pomp—around
Banners wave, and trumpets ſound,
Veins of men libations pour,
Sacred to the genial hour:
Be their offſpring Death, or Life,
Lead me to the generous ſtrife.
God of Armies hear.

'Mid the din of mortal harms,
Fold me, Freedom, in thine arms:
Let me in thy lap be laid,
When the final debt is paid.—
Still, the foe, poſſeſt with dread,
Shall confeſs A MAN lies dead:—
Valiant *Helots*, never yield—
Follow, follow, to the field.
God of Armies hear.

TO A FRIEND. *From the ſame.*

HER image, who enſlaves my mind,
Urge me no longer to diſcover;
Fain would I ſing, but ah! I find,
The Bard can ill expreſs the Lover.

Yet truſt me he whoſe happier ſkill,
For terms could ranſack earth, air, ocean;
Might ſhew, perhaps, more wit at will,
But leſs of genuine emotion.

Though

Though Art the florid phraſe deny,
Yet Truth can never want expreſſion,
For that beſt language of the eye,
Is ſtill in her's, and Love's poſſeſſion.

T. F.

St. John's College, Oxon.

The Maid with boſom cold. By W. Smythe, Eſq. From the Metrical Miſcellany.

OF me they cry, I'm often told—
"See there the Maid with boſom cold!
"Indifference o'er her heart preſides,
"And love and lovers ſhe derides;
"Their idle darts, unmeaning chains,
"Fantaſtic whims and ſilly pains;
"In pride ſecure, in reaſon bold,
"See there the Maid with boſom cold."

Ah! ever be they thus deceived!
Still be my boſom cold believed,
And never may enquiring eyes
Pierce thro' unhappy Love's diſguiſe:
Yet could they all my boſom ſhare,
And ſee each painful tumult there,
Ah! never ſhould I then be told
That I'm the Maid with boſom cold.

A fate ſevere my ſuffering mind,
To endleſs ſtruggles has conſign'd.
I feel a flame, I muſt not own,
I love, yet every hope is flown;
Too ſtrong to let my paſſion ſway,
Too weak to teach it to obey,
I agonize, and then am told
That I'm the Maid with boſom cold.

The joy o'er all my looks expreſt,
Conceals a boſom ill at reſt;
To balls and routes I haſte away,
But only imitate the gay:
I jeſt at Love and mock his power,
Yet feel his triumph every hour;
And loſt to every bliſs—am told,
That I'm the Maid with boſom cold.

Unable from myſelf to fly,
I catch each word, I read each eye;
Antonio comes—I die with fear
Leſt others mark my faultering air;
My eye perhaps too fondly gazed,
My tongue too much—too little praiſed;
Suſpicion's trembling ſlave—I'm told
That I'm the Maid with boſom cold.

With anxious toil, with ceaſeleſs care,
Content and careleſs I appear;
All mirth beneath another's eye,
Alone I heave the helpleſs ſigh,
Hang muſing o'er his image dear,
Feel on my cheek the unbidden tear,
And think, ah! why ſhould I be told
That I'm the Maid with boſom cold.

The flower may weave its foliage gay,
And flaunt it to the gariſh day,
Unſeen the while a canker's power
May haſte its honours to devour;
And thus, while vainly round me play,
Youth's zephyrs breath, and Pleaſure's ray,
My fate unknown, my tale untold,
Thus ſinks the Maid with boſom cold.

Stanzas. From the ſame.

IF to gaze on thee waking with love never ceaſing,
And fondly hang o'er thee in ſlumber when laid,
Each tender dear moment my Paſſion increaſing,
If that was betraying—thou haſt been betray'd.

If thy comforts by every fond art to enhance,
Thy ſorrows to lighten, thy pleaſures to aid,
To gueſs every wiſh, and obey every glance,
If that was betraying—thou haſt been betray'd.

The Viſionary. By W. Spencer, Eſq. From the ſame.

WHEN midnight o'er the moonleſs ſkies
Her pall of tranſient death has ſpread,
When mortals ſleep, when ſpectres riſe,
And nought is wakeful but the dead.

No ſhivering ghoſt my way purſues,
No bloodleſs ſhape my couch annoys,
Viſions more ſad my fancy views,
Viſions of long-departed joys.

The ſhade of youthful Hope is there,
That linger'd long, and lateſt died;
Ambition all diſſolved to air,
With phantom honours at her ſide.

What empty ſhadows glimmer nigh.
They once were Friendſhip, Truth, and Love,
Oh! die to thought, to memory die,
Since lifeleſs to my heart ye prove.

To the Evening Star: from the Greek of Moſchus. From Miſcellaneous Tranſlations and Imitations of the Minor Greek Poets. By J. B. S. Morritt, Eſq.

HAIL, Heſperus! bright torch of Beauty's queen,
Dear ſacred gem of dewy evening, hail!
So ſhine thy rays above her ſpangled ſheen,
As glows the moon above thy radiance pale.

When to th' accuſtomed fair my footſteps ſtray,
Now timely ſhine, for lo! the changeful moon
Drives her dim chariot in the blaze of day,
And envious ſets ere half the night be done.

No plunder tempts me through the treacherous ſhade,
For me no nightly traveller ſhall mourn;
'Tis Love that calls thee, be his voice obey'd;
Sweet is her Love, and claims a ſweet return.

FRIENDSHIP: AN EPISTLE. FROM POEMS, BY THOMAS DERMODY.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis Amicos. OVID.

IN ſonnet trim, and ditty quaint,
I 've often read the trite complaint,
That truth, ſearch all the nation round,
Untainted truth, will ſcarce be found;
Yet truſt me, which I wot you will,
I know a ſhyer ſtranger ſtill.
Let Bow-ſtreet ſend her myriads forth,
From eaſt to weſt, from ſouth to north;

" Cry

" Cry havoc!" and, inſpiring awe,
Let ſlip the hungry dogs of Law;
Direct at once, on different journeys,
Bums, Setters, Runners, Spies, Attorneys;
Keep TOWNSEND in perpetual hire,
With Catchpoles and " Chimeras dire;"
'Fore heaven, in vain will be their trouble,
This Bilk will give them all the double,
And tho' they 're often in " view hollow;"
'Tis merely loſs of time to follow.
Come, bend thy ſerious brow, and furl
Thy front's moſt formidable curl,
Excogitate, perpend, unlooſe
The myſtery of this Gordian nooſe,
Break its inextricable links
And ſolve this riddle for a Sphynx!
What, Maſter Œdipus! you 're hamper'd,
Your ſyllogiſtic ſchemes have ſcamper'd,
You 've ſcann'd old Euclid and the ſchool-men,
Grave whiſker'd Charlatans that fool men,
Yet cannot anſwer this plain queſtion:—
Well, as 'tis tough for your digeſtion,
And may your puzzled wits endanger,
'Tis FRIENDSHIP is the wondrous ſtranger.
FRIENDSHIP, ſoft cement of the ſoul,
Clear flame, above all baſe controul,
Whoſe light can ſhed a radiance pure,
Thro' Sorrow's palpable obſcure,
Tho' much of thee is ſung and ſpoken,
Frail ware! how often art thou broken!
FRIENDSHIP! in Life's conflicting ſtorm,
Where may we graſp thy fleeting form?
How oft, ſublime on borrow'd plume,
Does Intereſt vile thy ſhape aſſume;
How often, pompouſly bely'd,
Art thou the vaunting puff of Pride?
Nay, Avarice ſelf, unfeeling crone,
Not ſeldom takes thy honey'd tone.
But ſhould Misfortune once torment us,
Then thou 'rt a mere—*non eſt inventus*.
This, now, to prove in mode moſt ample,
Take me, myſelf, then—*par exemple*.
When, late, enforc'd by powerful ſpell,
I viſited the Debtor's hell,
And did, tho' earthly-born, preſume
Into dread Hades' central gloom;
Ah me! where no Orphean ſqueak
Drew iron tears down Jailor's cheek;

When, ſo unluckily he tript,
Pegaſus' wings were fairly clipt;
His tail, too, batter'd to a ſtump,
Nay, ſcarce a hair upon his rump;
When told by each rich Dunce's damn'd Son,
"The Philiſtines are on you Sampſon;"
And I had hardly breath to call,
"Why doſt thou perſecute me, Paul?"
What great man, pitying my ſtory,
Unlock'd the gates of Purgatory,
And whiſper'd Cerberus, the Porter,
"This fellow keeps a Miſs, I court her,
Miſs Muse, a dame extremely laviſh,
Tho' many a dolt attempts to raviſh:
For ſake of this celeſtial fair,
Do, let him taſte the outward air,
Lo! here the glittering droſs he owes you;
This conduct, certainly, may poſe you,
But I 've done more, as I 'm an Earl,
For Eunuch, or an Opera girl,
Beſides, the yellow traſh encumbers,
And he'll repay in heavenly numbers.'"
Then turn to me, and ſay, "Sir Poet,
I 've friendſhip, and I 'm come to ſhow it,
Fly from this dreary-looking barrack,
Go, pen ode, madrigal, pindaric;
Chaunt, quaver, whiſtle, trill, or warble,
Songs, ſweet enough to melt a marble;
Catch flying Fancy by the neck faſt,
And write an Epic—before breakfaſt."
Did any wight this courſe purſue?
You ſhrug! The de'il a one but you.
To you, tho' late your worth I 've known,
True friend! To you I 'm bound alone.
And may the only ſpark that warms
My heart, ſo cold to other charms,
Oh! may my tuneful art expire
My faint touch tremble on the lyre,
May it be ſtrew'd with mouldering duſt,
Nor I have power to wipe its ruſt,
Dew'd be each chord with many a tear,
All tuneleſs to its maſter's ear,
Its feeble frame may dulneſs rend,
When I forget the cordial friend.

Song.

Song. From the Same.

WHEN I ſat by my fair, and ſhe tremblingly told
The ſoft wiſhes and doubts of her heart,
How quickly old Time then delightfully roll'd,
For Love lent the plume from his dart;
From the bluſh of her cheek how my boſom caught flame,
And her eyes ſpoke a fondneſs, her lips would not name.

But her cheek that once rivall'd the Summer's full roſe,
Now as April's ſad primroſe is pale,
In her eye, now, no bright ſenſibility glows,
Though I breathe forth Truth's rapturous tale;
And thy moments, old Time, that on downy feet fled,
Ah me! are now fetter'd and weighty with lead.

Yet ſurely, tho' much of her paſſion is paſt,
Some ſparks of affection remain;
And the clouds that her meek-beaming brow have o'ercaſt,
May be melted in Pity's ſoft rain;
If not, my wrung breaſt to Diſtraction I bare,
Diſtraction itſelf is leſs hard than Deſpair.

Market Night. From Rural Tales, Ballads and Songs. By Robert Bloomfield.

'O WINDS, howl not ſo long and loud;
'Nor with your vengeance arm the ſnow:
'Bear hence each heavy-loaded cloud,
'And let the twinkling ſtar-beams glow.

'Now ſweeping floods ruſh down the ſlope,
'Wide ſcattering ruin.—Stars, ſhine ſoon!
'No other light my love can hope,
'Midnight will want the joyous *Moon*.

'O guardian Spirits!—Ye that dwell
'Where woods, and pits, and hollow ways,
'The lone night-traveller's fancy ſwell
'With fearful tales, of older days,—

'Preſs round him:—Guide his willing ſteed
'Through darkneſs, dangers, currents, ſnows;
'Wait where, from ſhel'tring thickets freed,
'The dreary Heath's rude whirlwind blows,

'That, ruſhing o'er the unſhelter'd waſte,
'Bears the old thorn's white load on high:
'Or plows the earth with furious haſte,
'The dried graſs mounts; the hail-ſtones fly.

'Then o'er the Hill with furious ſweep,
'It writhes, it rends the ſhivering tree,—
'Sure-footed beaſt thy road thou'lt keep:
'Nor ſtorm nor darkneſs ſtartles thee!

'O bleſt aſſurance, (truſty ſteed,)
'To thee the buried road is known;
'*Home*, all the ſpur thy footſteps need,
'When looſe the frozen rein is thrown.

'Between the roaring blaſts that ſhake
'The naked Elder at the door,
'Though not one prattler to me ſpeak,
'Their ſleeping ſighs delight me more.

'Sound is their reſt:—they little know
'What pain, what cold, their Father feels;
'But dream, perhaps, they ſee him now,
'While each the promis'd orange peels.

'Would it were ſo!—the fire burns bright,
'And on the warming trencher gleams;
'In Expectation's raptur'd ſight
'How precious his arrival ſeems!

'I'll look abroad!—'tis piercing cold!—
'How this bleak wind aſſails his breaſt!
'Yet there the parting clouds unfold:
'The ſtorm is verging o'er the Weſt.

'There ſhines a *Star!*—O welcome ſight!—
'Through the thin vapours brightning ſtill!
'Yet, 'twas beneath the faireſt night
'The murderer ſtain'd yon lonely Hill.

'Mercy, kind Heaven! ſuch thoughts diſpel!
'No voice, no foot is heard around!
'Perhaps he's near the haunted Well,
'Or by the Gibbet, or the Pound!

'Diſtreſſing hour! 'tis very late!
'O Mercy, Mercy, guide him home!—

'Hark!

'Hark!—then I heard the diſtant gate,—
'Repeat it, Echo; quickly, come!

'One minute now will eaſe my fears—
'Or, ſtill more wretched muſt I be?
'No: ſurely Heaven has ſpar'd our tears:
'I ſee him, cloath'd in ſnow:—*'tis* he—

'Where have you ſtay'd! Put down your load.
'How have you borne the ſtorm, the cold?
'What horrors did I not forebode—
'That Beaſt is worth his weight in gold!

'Thus ſpoke the joyful wife; then ran
'In grateful ſteams to hide her head:
'Dapple was hous'd; the weary Man
'With joy glanc'd o'er the children's bed.

'What all aſleep!—ſo beſt,' he cried;
'O what a Night I've travell'd through!
'Unſeen, unheard, I might have died;
'But Heaven has brought me ſafe to you.

'Dear partner of my nights and days,
'That ſmile becomes thee!—Let us then
'Learn, though miſhap may croſs our ways;
'It is not ours *to reckon when.*'

NANCY: *a Song. From the Same.*

YOU aſk me, dear Nancy, what makes me preſume
That you cheriſh a ſecret affection for me?
When we ſee the flowers bud, don't we look for the bloom?
Then, Sweeteſt, attend, while I anſwer to thee.

When we young men with paſtime the twilight beguile,
I watch your plump cheek till it dimples with joy:
And obſerve, that whatever occaſions the ſmile,
You give me a glance, but provokingly coy.

Laſt month, when wild ſtrawberries pluckt in the grove,
Like beads on the tall-ſeeded graſs you had ſtrung;
You gave me the choiceſt; I hop'd 'twas for love,
And I told you my hopes while the nightingale ſung.

Remember the viper—'twas cloſe at your feet,
How you ſtarted and threw yourſelf into my arms;

Not a ſtrawberry there was ſo ripe or ſo ſweet
As the lips that I kiſſ'd to ſubdue your alarms.

As I pull'd down the cluſters of nuts for my fair,
What a blow I receiv'd from a ſtrong bending bough;
Though Lucy and other gay laſſes were there,
Not one of them ſhow'd ſuch compaſſion as you.

And was it compaſſion? by Heaven 'twas more!
A tell tale betrays you;—that bluſh on your cheek.
Then come, deareſt Maid, all your trifling give o'er,
And whiſper what Candour will teach you to ſpeak.

Can you ſtain my fair honour with one broken vow?
Can you ſay that I've ever occaſion'd a pain?
On Truth's honeſt baſe let your tenderneſs grow;
I ſwear to be faithful, again and again.

WINTER SONG. *From the Same.*

DEAR Boy, throw that icicle down,
And ſweep this deep ſnow from the door;
Old Winter comes on with a frown:
A terrible frown for the poor.
In a ſeaſon ſo rude and forlorn,
How can age, how can infancy bear
The ſilent neglect and the ſcorn
Of thoſe who have plenty to ſpare?

Freſh broach'd is my caſk of old ale,
Well-tim'd now the froſt is ſet in;
Here's Job come to tell us a tale,
We'll make him at home to a pin.
While my wife and I baſk o'er the fire,
The roll of the ſeaſons will prove,
That Time may diminiſh deſire,
But cannot extinguiſh true love.

O the pleaſures of neighbourly chat,
If you can but keep ſcandal away!
To learn what the world has been at,
And what the great orators ſay:
Though the wind through the crevices ſing,
And hail down the chimney rebound,
I'm happier than many a king
While the bellows blow baſs to the ſound.

Abundance

Abundance was never my lot:
But out of the trifle that's given,
That no curſe may alight on my cot,
I'll diſtribute the bounty of Heaven;
The fool and the ſlave gather wealth;
But if I add nought to my ſtore,
Yet, while I keep conſcience in health,
I've a mine that will never grow poor.

THE VOICE OF HIM I LOVE. *From Poems by Mrs. Opie.*

HENCE, far from me! ye ſenſeleſs joys
That fade before ye reach the heart,—
The crowded dome's diſtracted noiſe,
Where all is pomp and uſeleſs art!

Give me my home, to quiet dear,
Where hours untold and peaceful move;
So fate ordain, I ſometimes there
May hear the Voice of Him I love.

I hate even muſic's pleaſing power,
When giddy crowds my tones attend,
But love to ſing at evening's hour
To ſoothe the ſorrows of a friend.

I love to breathe the plaintive lays
That HENRY's heart and taſte approve;
For, oh! how ſweet in tones of praiſe
Appears the Voice of Him I love!

The praiſes I from others hear
Some joy may to my pride impart;
But Henry's wake the rapturous tear,
For his applauſes touch my heart.

From buſy crowds o'erjoy'd I fly,
With him in lonely ſhades to rove,
For even in gayeſt ſcenes I ſigh
To hear the Voice of Him I love.

I woo the drama's magic powers,
Seek muſic's ever-crowded ſhrine,
In learning paſs the ſtudious hours,
Or try the Muſe's wreath to twine.

Yet ſtill I feel a joy more dear,
Though I theſe pure delights approve,
When in retirement's ſcenes I hear
The ſoothing Voice of Him I love.

Stanzas. From the Same.

GO, youth belov'd, in diſtant glades,
New friends, new hopes, new joys to find!
Yet ſometimes deign, 'midſt fairer maids,
To think on her thou leav'ſt behind.

Thy love, thy fate, dear youth, to ſhare,
Muſt never be my happy lot;
But thou may'ſt grant this humble prayer,
Forget me not! forget me not!

Yet ſhould the thought of my diſtreſs
Too painful to thy feelings be,
Heed not the wiſh I now expreſs,
Nor ever deign to think on me.

But, oh! if grief thy ſteps attend,
If want, if ſickneſs, be thy lot,
And thou require a ſoothing friend,
Forget me not! forget me not!

Of Dreſs and Action in Speaking.—Of Ore Tenus Examination, and the beſt and moſt approved Method of extracting Truth from EVIDENCE. *From the Pleader's Guide.*

'TIS ſtrange, dear JOB, among the rules
Of tutors, in the ancient ſchools,
For rhetoric renown'd, nor leſs
For judgment in their pupils' dreſs,[a]
Tho' ſome have learnedly laid down
The pattern of a pleader's gown,[b]
No common lawyer, or civilian,
Not even TULLY, or QUINTILIAN,
One ſingle ſyllable have ſaid
Touching the dreſſing of his head;—
A ſcience, though in former ages
Unknown to orators and ſages,
In theſe politer days we find
One great employment of mankind;

[a] Vid. Quintilian Inſtit. Liber undecimus de cultu Oratoris.
[b] De Togæ formâ. Ibid.

And

And ſince, while faſhion bears the ſway,
Your heads its dictates muſt obey,
Muſt run through ſcratches, crops, and queues,
Of queſtionable ſhapes and hues;
And after all its changes paſt,
In grizzle-wig muſt end at laſt,
I think, dear JOB, upon the whole,
'Twere beſt at once to ſhave your poll,
Leſt while the wordy war is raging,
And you the foe with warmth engaging,
That grizzle we may chance to ſee
Revolting from a black toupee,
And when too forward 'tis inclin'd,
A pig-tail ſticking out behind;
Be you in other guiſe array'd,
Your tie-wig decently diſplay'd;
And when before the bench you ſtand,
Words apt, fit weapons at command,
Altho' the gods, as well you know,
On you ſuch wond'rous gifts beſtow!
A face ſo fortified with braſs,
I truſt it would my own ſurpaſs,
And voice which Envy muſt admire,
And own that you excel the crier!
[e] At firſt, with accent mild and meek,
And looks that diffidence beſpeak,
With modeſt air and timid hand
[d] Hold up your brief, and ſtroke your band,
[e] For Modeſty, whoſe gentle mien,
If haply at the bar ſhe's ſeen,
The court with that reſpect will treat
Which ſtrangers may expect to meet;
[f] But when grown warm in your narration,
Proceed to loud vociferation,
Strong phraſe, and bold geſticulation;
Then, like a priſoner from the bilboes,
Stretch out your legs, your arms, and elbows,
Till you manœuvre them at length,
With all the ſpirit, eaſe and ſtrength,
Of ſome young hero, firſt eſſaying
The noble art of cudgel-playing,

[e] Proœmio lenis convenit pronunciato non protimus eſt erumpendum, ſed danda brevis cogitationi mora. *Ib. Quintilian. Lib. I.*

[d] Paulum commorandum eſt ut amictus ſit decentior. *Ibid.*

[e] Nihil eſt enim ad conciliandum gratius Verecundia. *Ibid.*

[f] Aſt ubi jam calor eam concitaverit etiam Geſtus cum ipsâ orationis celeritate crebreſcat. *Quint. Lib. II.*

Or

Or *Fugelman*, an active part
Performing in the tactic art;
Flouriſh your brief, look boldly round,
[g] And ſtamp your foot againſt the ground,
Then ſmack your forehead, and your thighs,
[h] Like one that's bit by gnats or flies,
And *ſo* go thro' your exerciſe:
For when a counſel tells his ſtory,
As Tully ſays, *de oratore*,
Arms, legs, and thighs, muſt play their part,
And aid the rhetorician's art.
[i] *Action* muſt all his words enforce,
And make his body hold diſcourſe,
As nothing props a rotten caſe
Like ſtrength of lungs, ſave power of face;
I aſk no wart ſo near my noſe,
[k] Or ſcraggy neck, like Cicero's,
Or ſome provincial's face I've ſeen,
Gaunt, oblong, oſſified, and lean;
Grant me, ye Gods, for pleading cauſes,
Some breadth of cheek, ſome depth of *fauces*;
A ſtrength and dignity of feature,
Something I can't expreſs in metre,
That cheerful confidence of viſage,
Which gives of wit and ſenſe a preſage:
Whene'er a counſel's pinch'd and preſt,
Much will depend on width of cheſt;
The ſtrength and tone of the *epiglottis*,
And ſtate in which his learned throat is;
For if 'tis true, as I conjecture,
(And hinted in a former lecture,)
That proceſs is a LEVER, pleading
Is ſome *mechanical* proceeding,
Combining ſomewhat of the SCREW,
The PULLEY, and the LEVER too,
By which great advocates compel
Truth from the bottom of her well,
And drag her by her dripping locks
Diſguiſ'd, into the jury-box:
While judges yawn, and patient ſit,
To hear th' encounters of their wit;

[g] Id in Callidio, Cicero deſiderat, non frons, inquit, percuſſa, non femur; pedum (quod minimùm eſt) nulla ſupplosio. *Cicero in Bruto.* Quintilian. Lib. XI.

[h] Nunquam, inquit, Octavi, Collegæ tuo Gratiam referer, qui niſi fuiſſet iſtic hodie te murce comediſſent. Cicero in Bruto.

[i] Actio in dicendo una dominàtur. Eſt enim actio, quæſi ſermo corporis. Cicer. de Orat.

[k] Procerum & tenue Collum. *Cicero de ſeipſo Brutus.*

For

For wit, although the lot of few,
All counſel think their lawful due;
And when it fails, as wit is wont,
When too much labour's uſed upon't,
A witneſs ever and anon
Serves like a hone to wet it on,
Or like a butt, is fix'd and ſhot at,
That Truth the better may be got at,
Who baffled in the firſt attack,
Stares like the man in the almanac,
Perplex'd with problems multifarious,
And pierc'd with darts thro' members various,
Quite down from ARIES to AQUARIUS.

THE VISION OF BRUCE. *From Wallace; or the Vale of Ellerſlie, with other Poems.*

"YE ſpirits of the days of old!
Who dwell amid this foreſt rude,
And fill with ſtrange myſterious fears
The gloomy depth of ſolitude;
Oh! deign, in mortal ſhape array'd,
Before a mortal eye to ſtand;
Ye ſpirits of the days of old!
Ye patriots of a ſinking land!"

'Twas thus, with nameleſs awe impreſt,
Appall'd, he form'd his midnight prayer,
When lo! a ſound commingled roſe,
And loudly ſtruck th' affrighted air!
Far-beaming round the ſhield and ſpear,
Shone like the varying fires of Even,
And glancing to the moon's white flame,
Illum'd the wide expanſe of Heaven!

The northern lights with flick'ring gleam,
Burnt diſmal o'er the blaſted view,
And thro' the foreſt's deepening gloom
Shed far around a ſilver hue;
And ever and anon was heard
A voice, that roſe the woods among,
And thus, in thrilling accents wild,
Pour'd loud the valour-breathing ſong:—

"King of the dark vindictive ſoul!
Tho' lofty be thy ſword in war,
Tho' fierce thine eye of vengeance gleam,
And dart wild ruin from afar;

Say,

Say, ſhall thy ſoul in quiet ſleep,
When terror points thy homeward way,
When Scotland's injur'd realm ſhall hail
The ſun that lights her better day!

"Tho' now in deſolate diſmay
She mourn her chiefs and warriors ſlain,
Tho' now aloft thy bloody plume
Wave terrible along the plain,
Tho' Falkirk's field with many a corſe
And ſpurning ſteed be ſcatter'd o'er,
And many a knight's wan ghaſtly form
Floats ſilently by Carron's ſhore!

"Yet ſoon thy tow'ring creſt ſhall ſtoop,
And ſoon on Biggar's crimſon'd field
Thy breathleſs chiefs in thouſands fall—
Vain the long lance, the ſounding ſhield!
And ſoon thine eyes, aghaſt, ſhall view
Albion's pale dames in anguiſh mourn
Their lords, who fell untimely ſlain
On the dreary fields of Bannockburn!"

HOPE. *From Metaſtaſio.* *From the ſame.*

FAREWELL the deep ſigh and the faſt-falling tear,
My ſorrows have fled like a cloud of the night,
For ſweet ſteals the whiſper of Hope on my ear,
And my heart revels wild 'mid its dreams of delight.

Perchance they are faithleſs—perchance 'mid the ſhade
That long hung o'er my path I am deſtin'd to ſtray,
The tints that have deck'd them in beauty may fade,
And the viſions ſo lovely be melted away.

Perchance they are faithleſs—once more I may brood
On joys wither'd by death in the pride of their bloom;
Love and friendſhip once more my fond heart may delude;
And again I may ſigh for the reſt of the tomb.

And let them deceive, they are lovely the while;
For their moment the ſuffering heart they can cheer,
On the pale cheek of ſorrow awaken a ſmile,
And illumine the eye that was dimm'd by a tear.

Stanzas.

Stanzas. *From the Same.*

SHE fairer was than any roſe
With deepeſt fluſh that ſoftly glows,
Breathing ſweet odours from its parent ſtem—
Who has not ſeen a roſe diſplay
His glories to the eye of day,
Nurſing in balmy folds the dewy gem.—

How ſoon the hopes of man decay—
The glimmering of a wintry day!
The dancing ſun-beam on a breaking wave!
The roſe-buds bloom—their colours fade—
So ſweet, ſo lovely bloom'd the maid—
So ſweet, ſo lovely dropt into the grave!

Song. *From Poems by Mrs. Hunter.*

WHEN hollow burſt the ruſhing winds,
And heavy beats the ſhower,
This anxious aching boſom finds
No comfort in its power.

For ah, my love! it little knows
What thy hard fate may be;
What bitter ſtorm of fortune blows,
What tempeſts trouble thee.

A wayward fate hath twin'd the thread
On which our days depend,
And darkling in the chequer'd ſhade,
She draws it to an end.

But whatſoe'er may be thy doom,
The lot is caſt for me;
Or in the world, or in the tomb,
My heart is fix'd on thee.

Song. *From the Same.*

THE ſeaſon comes when firſt we met,
But *you* return no more!
Why cannot I the days forget,
Which time can ne'er reſtore?

O!

O! days too ſweet, too bright to laſt,
Are you indeed for ever paſt?

The fleeting ſhadows of delight
In memory I trace;
In fancy ſtop their rapid flight,
And all the paſt retrace:
But, ah! I wake to endleſs woes,
And tears the fading viſion cloſe!

SONG. *From the Same.*

THE fatal moment I beheld
Thoſe eyes ſo fondly fix'd on me,
Some magic ſure my heart compell'd
To place its deareſt hopes on thee!
And my true faith can alter never,
Though thou art gone perhaps for ever.

Nor dangers paſt nor woes to come,
Thy image from my ſoul can part;
Through years of anguiſh, to the tomb
'Twill follow this devoted heart:
And my true faith can alter never,
Though thou art gone perhaps for ever.

Account of Books for 1802.

Memoirs of Horatio, *Lord* Walpole, *ſelected from his Correſpondence and Papers, and connected with the Hiſtory of the Times, from* 1678 *to* 1757. *Illuſtrated with Portraits. By* William Coxe, M. A. F.R.S. F.A.S. *Rector of Bemerton.*

IT is unneceſſary to inform the reader how much pleaſure and information the Britiſh public have derived from the literary labours of Mr. Coxe. His travels in Switzerland and the northern parts of Europe, are perhaps the beſt ſpecimens of that kind of compoſition, and, in an age of travelling, ſtill maintain their credit for various, new and intereſting information. His account of the Ruſſian diſcoveries contains every thing which could be collected on ſo obſcure and diſtant a ſubject. The Hiſtorical Tour in Monmouthſhire, though on a ſcene more confined, does no leſs honour to his deſcriptive powers, than to his talents and diſcrimination as an antiquary and a biographer.

Much as Mr. Coxe has diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a traveller, his name ſtands ſtill higher as a biographer and hiſtorian. The Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, which were publiſhed in 1798, compriſed a luminous and intereſting account of foreign and domeſtic hiſtory, from the acceſſion of Anne to 1742. It preſents a new and faithful picture of that great but calumniated miniſter's adminiſtration, illuſtrated by a collection of documents and papers as copious and curious as ever were given to the public, and diſſipated the miſrepreſentations and partial accounts of leſs candid writers.

The work now under conſideration may be viewed as a ſequel to the former. In this however, Mr. Coxe has judiciouſly varied his plan; inſtead of publiſhing the correſpondence and papers ſeparately, he has interwoven them with the narrative, as well for the purpoſe of avoiding that ſameneſs which would otherwiſe have ariſen, from a recapitulaton of the ſame events, as of reducing the expence and ſize of the publication.

The beſt idea of the ſervices performed by the ſubject of theſe memoirs, as well as of the aim of the author, may be collected from his own words.

From

From an early period of his life, Lord Walpole was in a public capacity. In 1706 he accompanied General Stanhope to Barcelona, as private ſecretary, and was employed in various miſſions of conſequence. In 1707 he was appointed ſecretary to Mr. Boyle, firſt as chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards as ſecretary of ſtate; and in 1709 accompanied the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townſhend, who were plenipotentiaries at the congreſs of Gertruydenburg. Soon after the acceſſion of George the firſt, he was ſucceſſively under ſecretary of ſtate, ſecretary to the treaſury, and envoy at the Hague, until the ſchiſm of the whig miniſtry, which terminated in the reſignations of Lord Townſhend and his brother, as well as his own.

In 1720 he became ſecretary to the Duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, was re-appointed ſecretary to the treaſury, and again deputed to the Hague.

In 1723 he commenced his embaſſy to Paris, and continued to fill that important ſtation until 1730. In 1733 he was nominated embaſſador to the ſtates-general, and remained at the Hague until 1739, when he returned to England.

During the whole period of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, Lord Walpole was an able and uſeful coadjutor to his brother, both in and out of parliament; and was conſulted in all buſineſs of ſtate, particularly foreign tranſactions. During his reſidence abroad, beſides official diſpatches, he maintained a private intercourſe with his brother, and even a confidential correſpondence with Queen Caroline, who repoſed the fulleſt reliance on his talents and integrity.

Although from the time of his brother's reſignation he filled no official ſtation, yet, in conſequence of his abilities, experience, and weight among his party, he retained a conſiderable influence over many of the miniſters; he was confidentially conſulted by Mr. Pelham and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and often gave his opinion in the moſt frank and unreſerved manner to the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Duke of Cumberland, and even to the king.

The importance of his correſpondence and papers will fully appear from this ſketch of his life, and it would be difficult to point out another character who, for ſo long a period, was more truſted with the ſecrets of government, more acquainted with motives and ſprings of action, and who poſſeſſed more influence in the direction of foreign and domeſtic affairs.

After giving a liſt of the important documents and papers, from which the narrative has been principally drawn, he adds,

During the æra of the Walpole adminiſtration, I have avoided as much as poſſible a repetition of the ſame events and reflections which occur with the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole; but have principally confined myſelf to the foreign tranſactions and domeſtic incidents, which did not fall within the plan of that work, or tended to illuſtrate the conduct and character of Lord Walpole.

From the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, I have expatiated more largely on the hiſtory of the times. I have attempted to develope the characters and adminiſtrations of Lord Granville, Mr. Pelham, and the Duke of Newcaſtle;

to ſketch the ſtate of parties, particularly the conteſts for power between Lord Granville and the Pelhams, and between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; and to form a connected narrative of political tranſactions from 1742 to the death of Lord Walpole in 1757. With this view, beſides the correſpondence of Lord Walpole, I have introduced various letters from the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Fox.

I therefore hope that this work, which may be conſidered as a companion and ſupplement to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, will not only place the talents, character, and ſervices of Lord Walpole in a new point of view, but will throw additional light on a period of Engliſh Hiſtory, of which we have few authentic documents.

The work is illuſtrated with the portraits of twenty-two diſtinguiſhed perſons, many of which have never been before engraven.

The ſtyle is equally natural, pure, elegant, and ſimple, adapted to the ſubject, and free from that affectation which is now ſo faſhionable; the arrangement is perſpicuous, the events ſelected with judgment, the characters ably drawn and ſkilfully grouped, and the execution in general according with the copiouſneſs, variety, and importance of the materials.'

Theſe opinions will be beſt ſupported by a few extracts, which are made from amidſt many other paſſages, all equally intereſting to thoſe who know how to eſtimate that moſt uſeful ſpecies of biography, which affords a knowledge of the minds and motives of thoſe who guide the fate of nations.

The ſhort adminiſtration of Lord Granville is thus deſcribed: "The king was indignant at the manner in which he had been compelled to diſmiſs Lord Granville, and to admit into his ſervice Lord Cheſterfield, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and ſeveral other perſons, who had been in conſtant oppoſition to his government. His indignation was ſtill farther increaſed by a ſtrong remonſtrance, made by the lord chancellor, on his want of confidence in his ſervants, which he heard with ſilence and diſguſt. He accordingly treated the Pelhams with great coolneſs and reſerve, even before his departure for the continent in the ſpring of 1745; and ſeemed to wait only for the firſt favourable opportunity of diſmiſſing them from his counſels on his return. But this reſolution was ſuſpended on account of the rebellion; and the king's reſentment might gradually have ſubſided, had not the Duke of Newcaſtle, in conformity with his promiſe to Lord Cobham, propoſed the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the office of ſecretary at war; and preſſed it upon the king with repeated importunities.

At this period the friends of Lord Granville aſſerted, that the king was a priſoner on his throne, and that an adminiſtration on a broader bottom was neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the emancipation of the ſovereign. The proſperous turn of affairs, the retreat of the rebels into Scotland, the zeal which the nation had diſplayed in the ſupport of his government, and the reproaches caſt againſt the weakneſs and inability of the miniſtry, inſpired the king with confidence, and his friends with courage.

Lord Granville inculcated the neceſſity of the moſt vigorous meaſures, and propoſed to revive the

ſpirit of the grand alliance which had actuated the European ſtates during the reigns of William and Anne, and reduced the power of France. England he wiſhed to become the ſoul of the confederacy, and, by means of large ſubſidies, to obtain the co-operation of the Auſtrian court, induce the Dutch to declare war againſt France, and concur in ſupport of the common cauſe.

In conformity with this ſyſtem, the Dutch miniſter in England tranſmitted a plan for an immediate augmentation of their reſpective forces, and for a more vigorous proſecution of the war in the Netherlands. The king approved this plan, and warmly urged the execution of it, in his ſpeech from the throne on the 14th of January. But the cabinet, affecting an averſion to involve the country in continental alliances, while the finances were embarraſſed by the effects of the rebellion, oppoſed this plan; Lord Harrington even wrote to the Dutch miniſter in London, obſerving that the ſecurity of the Netherlands was a foreign though important conſideration to England, but a domeſtic concern to the Dutch, and declined the propoſed augmentation unleſs the Dutch ſhould declare war againſt France.

This diſcordance of political views, on his favourite object, increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the king; he lamented that, on the death of Lord Winnington, he had not placed Lord Bath at the head of the treaſury, inſtead of conferring on Mr. Pelham that office, and the chancellorſhip of the exchequer, which had given to his party the preponderance in the cabinet, and the ſole power in the government. In this criſis the king complained to Lord Bath, that he was under the dominion of an ariſtocracy, and was hemmed in on all ſides; he conjured him to break the combination, and ſet him at liberty, and offered him full powers to form a new adminiſtration. Lord Bath expreſſed his willingneſs to obey his majeſty's commands, but candidly diſplayed the difficulty he had to encounter, and declared, that ſucceſs muſt ultimately depend on the king's ſteadineſs and reſolution. The king promiſed his ſupport; and Lord Bath concerted with his friend, Lord Granville, the means of dividing the Whigs, conciliating the Tories, and gaining the co-operation of the Prince of Wales. He then ſummoned a meeting of the monied men, and obtained from them a promiſe of furniſhing the ſupplies on terms more advantageous to the nation than thoſe they had already ſettled with Mr. Pelham.

Theſe preliminary arrangements being made, the king flattered himſelf that he could ſecure part of the cabinet, particularly Lord Harrington, whom he had endeavoured to conciliate in his journey to Hanover, both perſonally, and by means of his daughter the Princeſs of Orange, who poſſeſſed great influence over him. He alſo expected to obtain the co-operation of Mr. Winnington, of whom he had a high opinion by appointing him chancellor of the exchequer, with the management of the Houſe of Commons.

In the beginning of February, the importunities of the Pelhams, in favour of Mr. Pitt, brought the affair to a criſis. On the 6th, Lord Bath coming from the cloſet, obſerved to Lord Harrington, that he had adviſed the king to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment, and to purſue proper meaſures on the continent.

tinent. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private should be employed in public." On the 7th, the king perceiving his attempts to detach Lord Harrington from his party ineffectual, gave way to his indignation, and reproached him with obstinacy and ingratitude. The whole phalanx, no longer doubting of his intention to dismiss them, held a meeting at the lord chancellor's, on the evening of the 8th, and determined on instant resignation.

On Monday the 10th, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington gave up the seals of their respective offices; and on the 11th, Mr. Pelham, to whom Lord Granville had made overtures, also resigned, and told the king that he would avoid going into opposition as long as possible; but frankly added, that the united body of Whigs were averse to the Earls of Bath and Granville. On the same day Lord Gower gave up the privy seal, the Duke of Bedford the place of first lord of the admiralty, and all the members of the boards of treasury and admiralty followed their example, excepting the adherents of the Prince of Wales, Lord Middlesex, and Lord Archibald Hamilton.

In delivering the key of groom of the stole, the Earl of Pembroke drew an unfavourable picture of the characters of Bath and Granville, and expatiated on their unpopularity. More resignations were hourly expected, particularly Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the Dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Grafton and Richmond. Mr. Winnington also declared his intention of resigning his office of paymaster of the forces; and when the king offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer, he returned the seals into his majesty's hands, adding, "The new ministry, Sire, can neither support your majesty nor themselves; they cannot depend upon more than 31 lords, and 80 commoners."

During this scene of confusion, the king in vain attempted to fill the places of his former servants. On the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington, his page of the back stairs, Evans, came to Bath-house privately, in a chair with the curtains drawn, with a message from the king, desiring Lord Bath to repair to the palace. His lordship waited on the king, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, and received the two seals of the secretaries of state, which he conveyed to Lord Granville, who was indisposed. Granville was immediately constituted secretary of state, and announced his appointment in a circular dispatch to the foreign ministers. Lord Winchelsea was destined for the admiralty, and Lord Carlisle for the office of lord privy seal.

But the new arrangements were suddenly suspended. The king, surprised and intimidated at the numerous resignations, and the unexpected firmness of the old cabinet, faultered in his resolution, though Lord Bath exhorted him to persevere, and offered, through the medium of the Prince of Wales, to secure the Tories. He would not venture, however, to provoke the Whigs, who had supported his family on the throne while the rebellion was uncrushed; he was averse to a tory administration, and still more unwilling to owe the formation of his ministry to the intervention of his son. Perplexed and embarrassed, he shut himself up in his closet, and refused to admit those persons who were pouring in upon

him with white ſtaves, gold keys, and commiſſions. On the 12th he ſent for Mr. Winnington, told him he was the honeſteſt man about his perſon, and ſhould have the honour of the reconciliation, and commanded him to inform Mr. Pelham, that he would accept no more reſignations, and was deſirous that his old ſervants ſhould be reinſtated in their employments.

Thus terminated a miniſtry of forty hours. Lord Granville, the only perſon who had kiſſed hands, reſigned his office; the ſeals were redelivered on the 14th to the Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Harrington, the old cabinet reſumed their employments, and Mr. Pitt was conſtituted vice treaſurer of Ireland, and, on the death of Mr. Winnington, became paymaſter of the forces.

Although the king thus wiſely yielded to the torrent, yet, with that elevation of character which diſdained diſſimulation, he did not affect to conceal his diſpleaſure; he diſmiſſed Lord Bath with marks of favour and confidence, deſired him to write an account of the whole tranſaction, and even declared that it was a ſhame that a man (alluding to the Duke of Newcaſtle) who was not fit for a chamberlain to a petty court in Germany, ſhould be forced on him and the nation. But he carried his reſentment againſt Lord Harrington to a degree unworthy of his character. In November his majeſty ungraciouſly diſmiſſed him from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and was, not without great difficulty, perſuaded to appoint him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The friends of the Prince of Wales continued in office; and a few changes in the ſubordinate departments of government took place, which added ſtill greater weight to the cabinet. Mr. Fox ſucceeded to the office of ſecretary at war, in the room of Sir William Yonge, who, on the promotion of Mr. Pitt, became vice-treaſurer of Ireland. Lord Barrington was placed at the board of admiralty, and Mr. Welbore Ellis at that of the treaſury.

The author, in another chapter, delineates the characters of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. "This event (the death of Mr. Pelham) was a great loſs to his country and to his party. England being on the eve of a war with France, great exertions were neceſſary, and unanimity requiſite to enforce thoſe exertions, and to excite ſpirit and zeal among all orders of men in the kingdom. His loſs to his party was almoſt irreparable; his integrity was univerſally acknowledged, his complacent temper and conciliating manners, had cemented the diſcordant parts of his heterogeneous adminiſtration; his preponderating influence in the Houſe of Commons repreſſed thoſe ambitious ſpirits who aſpired to the ſupreme direction of affairs, and his death opened a new ſcene of competition, which diſtracted the counſels of the cabinet.

Mr. Pelham was ſucceeded in the treaſury by his brother the Duke of Newcaſtle, who, though a nobleman of high honour, unblemiſhed integrity, and conſiderable abilities, yet was of too jealous and unſtable a temper to manage the Houſe of Commons with equal addreſs and ſuavity, and to guide the reins of government, without a coadjutor, at ſo arduous a conjuncture. The ſeals of chancellor of the exchequer and of ſecretary of ſtate, vacant by the death of Mr. Pelham and the promotion of the Duke of Newcaſtle, became the objects of contention. The perſons who now aſpired

to the management of the House of Commons, were Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, whose parliamentary abilities had for some time divided the suffrages of the nation; who had long fostered reciprocal jealousy, and who now became public rivals for power. Both these rival statesmen were younger brothers, nearly of the same age; both were educated at Eaton, both distinguished for classical knowledge, both commenced their parliamentary career at the same period, and both raised themselves to eminence by their superior talents; yet no two characters were ever more contrasted.

Mr. Fox inherited a strong and vigorous constitution, was profuse and dissipated in his youth, and after squandering his private patrimony, went abroad to extricate himself from his embarrassments. On his return he obtained a seat in parliament, and warmly attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, whom he idolized, and to whose patronage he was indebted for the place of surveyor-general of the board of works. In 1743 he was appointed one of the lords of the treasury, and in 1746 secretary at war, which office he now filled. His marriage, in 1744, with Lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, though at first displeasing to the family, yet finally strengthened his political connexions. He was equally a man of pleasure and business, formed for social and convivial intercourse; of an unruffled temper and frank disposition. No statesman acquired more adherents, not merely from political motives, but swayed by his agreeable manners, and attached to him from personal friendship, which he fully merited by his zeal in promoting their interests. He is justly characterized, even by Lord Chesterfield, "as having no fixed principles of religion or morality, and as too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them." As a parliamentary orator, he was occasionally hesitating and perplexed; but, when warmed with his subject, he spoke with animation and rapidity, which appeared more striking from his former hesitation. His speeches were not crowded with flowers of rhetoric, or distinguished by brilliancy of diction; but were replete with sterling sense and sound argument. He was quick in reply, keen in repartee, and skilful in discerning the temper of the House. He wrote without effort or affectation; his public dispatches were manly and perspicuous, and his private letters easy and animated. Though of an ambitious spirit, he regarded money as a principal object, and power only as a secondary concern.

Mr. Pitt, at an early period of his life, suffered extremely from the attacks of an hereditary gout; hence, though fond of active diversions, and attached to the sports of the field, he employed the leisure of frequent confinement in improving the advantages of his education, and in laying the foundation of extensive and useful knowledge, which he increased during his travels by an assiduous attention to foreign history and foreign manners. He is generally represented of a haughty, unbending, and imperious temper, and too proudly conscious of his own superior talents; but they who thus characterize him, are ill acquainted with his real disposition. The repeated attacks of a painful disorder did not sour his temper, but render-

ed him more ſuſceptible of the comforts of domeſtic, and the pleaſures of ſocial life. He was an agreeable and lively companion, poſſeſſed great verſatility of wit, adapted to all characters and all occaſions; excelled in epigrammatic turns, and light pieces of poetry, and even condeſcended to join in ſongs of mirth and feſtivity.

On his return to England, he obtained a cornetcy of horſe, which, with a ſmall annuity from his family, was his only proviſion, until he received a legacy of 10,000*l.* from the Ducheſs of Marlborough. From family connexions and early habits, he formed ſtrict intimacy with his ſchoolfellows Mr. Lyttleton and the Grenvilles; attached himſelf to Lord Cobham, and became a partizan of Leiceſter-houſe. In 1736, he came into parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, and inſtantly commenced his oppoſition to the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole. His bitter invectives drew on him the reſentment of the miniſter; and he was deprived of his cornetcy; but was recompenced by his own party with the appointment of groom of the bed chamber to the Prince of Wales. He continued in oppoſition until the arrangement of the broad bottom miniſtry, when all the friends of Lord Cobham were gratified with places, except Mr. Pitt, who received the promiſe of ſome future employment when the king's antipathy could be removed. The attempt to introduce him into the office of ſecretary at war occaſioned the temporary reſignation of the Pelhams, which terminating in their re-eſtabliſhment, Mr. Pitt was ſucceſſively promoted to the poſts of vice treaſurer of Ireland and paymaſter of the forces.

It is difficult to deſcribe the preciſe characteriſtics of his parliamentary eloquence; his ſpeeches were not ſo remarkable for methodical arrangement and logical preciſion, as for boldneſs of language, grandeur of ſentiment, and the graces of metaphorical and claſſical alluſion. They were not, however, diſtinguiſhed by a continual glow of animated language, but illuminated with ſudden flaſhes of wit and eloquence, which have been compared to the tranſient and dazzling ſplendour of lightning. "His invectives," to uſe the words of a contemporary ſtateſman, "were terrible, and uttered with ſuch energy of diction, and ſtern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated thoſe who were the moſt willing and the beſt able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they ſhrunk under the aſcendant of his ſublime genius."

Among his eminent qualifications as an orator, that of turning his vindication into an attack, and from the defender becoming the accuſer, was not the leaſt conſpicuous. Another excellence, not generally attributed to him, he alſo diſplayed in an eminent degree; the art of explaining what he had uttered with too much warmth, and of ſoothing the perſon whom he wiſhed to conciliate.

Mr. Pitt poſſeſſed great elevation of mind, and his ruling paſſion was the love of power; he was diſtinguiſhed for his diſintereſtedneſs and contempt of money, which, being attended with a total want of economy, often involved him in pecuniary diſtreſſes. Although this ſketch is principally confined to the public character of this great ſtateſman,

yet

yet it would be unjuſt to omit one amiable trait of his domeſtic life. Though deeply immerſed in the moſt important affairs of ſtate, he never forgot the duties of a father, but always paid the moſt unremitted attention to the education and morals of his children.

The character of the principal ſubject of the work is accurately and judiciouſly diſplayed in the following ſketch.

No character was ever more wantonly miſrepreſented by the malignance of party than that of Lord Walpole. As he was the brother of a miniſter who ſo long directed the helm of government, and had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the conduct of foreign affairs, he partook of the obloquy heaped on Sir Robert Walpole in the numerous party pamphlets and periodical papers which deluged the public during his adminiſtration. Smollett, blindly adopting the malevolence of his opponents, deſcribed him, "as employed, in deſpite of nature, in different negotiations; as blunt, awkward and ſlovenly; an orator without eloquence, an embaſſador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without addreſs." But the continuator of Tindal has done juſtice to his abilities and character; and the late earl of Hardwicke, who cannot be ſuſpected of intereſted flattery, has paid a juſt tribute of applauſe to his memory:

'Mr. Robinſon (afterwards Lord Graham) was ſecretary to Mr. Walpole, embaſſador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both; and the editor, with gratitude, remembers the friendſhip and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greateſt weight with Cardinal Fleury, till Monſieur Chauvelin gained the aſcendant over him, and then the former deſired to be recalled from his ſtation. His diſpatches (were they publiſhed) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, induſtry, and capacity. He was a great maſter of the commercial and political intereſts of this country; he was deſervedly raiſed to the peerage in 1756, and died ſoon after. It was the faſhion of the oppoſition of this time to ſay, that he was the dupe of Cardinal Fleury; his correſpondence would ſhew, no man was ever leſs ſo. He negotiated with firmneſs and addreſs; and, with the love of peace, which was the ſyſtem of his brother, Sir Robert, he never loſt ſight of that great object, keeping up the ſources of national ſtrength and wealth. One of the moſt cordial leave-takings, which any public miniſter ever had, was that which he exchanged with the ſtates-general in 1739, on preſenting his letters of recall.'

It is hoped that this obſervation of ſo able a judge of political talents will be proved and juſtified by theſe memoirs; and that Lord Walpole will be vindicated from the unjuſt obloquy heaped upon his perſon and abilities.

Lord Walpole, in his perſon was below the middle ſize; he did not poſſeſs the graces recommended by Lord Cheſterfield as the eſſential requiſites of a fine gentleman; and his manners were plain and unaſſuming. Notwithſtanding his long reſidence abroad, he was careleſs in his dreſs; though witty, he was often boiſterous in converſation, and his ſpeech was tinctured with the provincial accent of Norfolk. But theſe trifling defects, which the

prejudices of party highly exaggerated, and which rendered his perſonal appearance unprepoſſeſſing, he was, himſelf, the firſt to ridicule. He was frequently heard to ſay, that he never learnt to dance, that he did not pique himſelf on making a bow, and that he had taught himſelf French.

He was by nature choleric and impetuous; a foible which he acknowledges in a letter to his brother; "You know my mother uſed to ſay that I was the moſt paſſionate, but not the moſt poſitive child ſhe ever had." He corrected, however, this defect ſo prejudicial to an embaſſador; no one ever behaved with more coolneſs and addreſs in adapting himſelf to circumſtances, and in conſulting the characters and prejudices of thoſe with whom he negotiated. Notwithſtanding his natural vivacity, he was extremely placable, and eaſily appeaſed. He behaved to thoſe who had reviled his brother's adminiſtration, and derided his own talents and perſon, with unvaried candour and affability; and no inſtance occurs of his perſonal enmity to the moſt violent of his former opponents.

In converſation he was candid and unaffuming; and communicated the inexhauſtible fund of matter, with which his mind was ſtored, with an eaſe and vivacity which arreſted attention. In the latter part of his life he fondly expatiated on paſt tranſactions, removed the prejudices of many who had been deluded by the miſrepreſentations of party, and induced ſeveral of his former opponents candidly to confeſs their errors.

With regard to his moral conduct, he was ſincere in his belief of chriſtianity, and zealous and conſtant in performing the duties of religion. His private character was irreproachable; he was a tender huſband, an affectionate father, a zealous friend, and a good maſter; he was particularly careful in ſuperintending the education of his children, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his cares repaid by their good conduct.

He maintained an unimpeached character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity. He gave a ſtriking proof of his invariable attachment to his word, by refuſing to ſign the triple alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain and France; becauſe he had ſolemnly aſſured the ſtates, that no treaty ſhould be concluded with France without their participation. This attachment to truth, which has been too often ſuppoſed an incumbrance to miniſters in foreign tranſactions, eſtabliſhed his credit, and contributed to his ſucceſs in many difficult negotiations. He was equally truſted by the ſagacious Fleury, the cautious Heinſius, and the irritable Slingelandt.

He was by nature and habit, ariſing from the original ſmallneſs of his fortune, and from the neceſſity of providing for a numerous family, ſtrictly economical; yet he was liberal in rewarding ſervices, and magnificent whenever the dignity of his ſtation required. During his embaſſies he acted with a laudable ſpirit, which few embaſſadors have imitated; even in his abſence a regular table was maintained, and the ſame eſtabliſhment (except in his equipages) kept up as when he was preſent. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that the beſt intelligence is obtained by the convivial intercourſe

course of a good table; and was anxious to give the same opportunities to his secretary.

He was always an early riser, and usually finished his dispatches, and transacted his business before the hour of dinner, unless he was pressed by urgent affairs. Being fond of society, and of a convivial temper, though strictly sober in his habits, he usually relaxed his attention after dinner, and passed a cheerful evening in domestic enjoyments, or mixed society.

During the whole administration of his brother, he was not only assiduous in fulfilling the drudgery of his own official departments, but had a share in directing every negotiation, and superintended the whole system of foreign affairs. Even after his retirement from office, he spontaneously submitted his thoughts to the king or ministry; and, on account of his extensive knowledge in political affairs, he was constantly consulted, and drew up memorials, abstracts of treaties, and other diplomatic papers. Although many of these documents were destroyed by himself, and others unavoidably lost; yet those which remain are so numerous as to excite astonishment at his incredible perseverance.

Lord Walpole also gave to the public several pamphlets, (of which an enumeration is attempted in a note) and it may be truly said, that few treaties of importance issued from the press, on the side of the ministry with whom he acted, which were not submitted to his inspection, or corrected and improved by his hand.

During the time of his embassies, and when almost the whole affairs of Europe passed through his hands, Lord Walpole was no less employed at home. He constantly spent the summer and autumn at his post, and returned to England just before the meeting of parliament; he was always consulted by his brother, and often by the king on the current affairs, and took an active share in those debates which related to foreign transactions.

Lord Walpole was intimately acquainted with the history both of ancient and modern times, and his political knowledge was accurate and comprehensive; being the result of sagacious observation, improved by long practice in momentous business.

He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of his country, and particularly to those which Great Britain carried on with the American colonies, and which the place of auditor of the foreign plantations rendered, according to his own expression, "no less an object of duty than of information." The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce and manufacture, both native and foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers, interspersed with occasional remarks in his own hand writing. These remarks shew great liberality of sentiment, and the most extensive views with respect to the freedom of trade, the abolition of monopolies, and the prevention of smuggling. His acquaintance with these subjects was so well known and appreciated, that, not only during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, but even in subsequent periods, he was consulted, and had the principal share in preparing many acts of parliament

liament relating to the increaſe of trade, or the improvement of manufactures.

From the time of his brother's reſignation, till his own death, he neither deſired nor courted any official employment. During this period he acted a part which every man of moderation and integrity will admire and imitate. Inſtead of going into petulant oppoſition, or publicly combating the meaſures of government, he thought it his duty openly to ſupport them, whenever they deſerved approbation. When he differed from the king and miniſters in eſſential points, he always privately delivered his opinion, either in perſon, or by letter. Whenever he was convinced that government was purſuing weak or improper meaſures, he gave his ſentiments with reſpect and firmneſs, and was not diſcouraged by obſerving that his advice was not acceptable. His private correſpondence, in this publication, diſplays many inſtances in which his frankneſs and perſeverance offended the king and the miniſters, and drew on himſelf the imputation of officiouſneſs.

Lord Walpole underſtood and wrote French with great fluency and propriety, and ſpoke it with equal facility, though with a foreign accent. Cardinal Fleury, alluding to his pronunciation, uſed to ſay of him, "Il eſt diablement eloquent avec ſon mauvais françois." His knowledge of claſſical literature was very conſiderable, and formed a great fund of amuſement during his retirement in the country, and in the latter period of his life. In his letters to his friends he often dwells with peculiar pleaſure on the writings of antiquity, and proves his knowledge and taſte by frequent and appoſite quotations. He maintained a conſtant intercourſe with men of letters, both native and foreign. Pope preſented him with a copy of his works, which is ſtill preſerved in the library of Wolterton, as a mark of gratitude for obtaining from Cardinal Fleury a benefice for his friend the Abbé Southcote; and he maintained an epiſtolary correſpondence with Maittaire, the learned author of the Annales Typographici, and editor of Corpus Poetarum Latinorum.

Voyages from Montreal, *on the* River St. Lawrence, *through the continent of* North America *to the* Frozen *and* Pacific Oceans; *in the years* 1789 *and* 1793. *With a preliminary account of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the Fur trade of that country. Illuſtrated with maps. By* Alexander Mackenzie, Eſq.

IMPELLED by various motives, travellers viſit the different parts of the globe. Some, urged by the love of claſſic literature, and animated by the deſire, at once rational and elegant, of ſeeing the ſpots celebrated in the annals of antiquity, purſue their reſearches through the regions of Greece and Italy, and inſtruct the world by reſcuing fading memorials from the hand of time, and by comparing the preſent with the paſt ſtate of thoſe celebrated countries. Others trace the governments, laws, and manners of modern nations, by viewing their courts and colleges, and converſing with their moſt diſtinguiſhed and beſt inſtructed inhabitants, while a different claſs exhibit light ſketches of life and manners,

manners, collected in the eaſy mode of daily familiar intercourſe with thoſe of the people who have had the leaſt propenſity to diſguiſe. Affairs of ſtate have occaſioned the deputation of embaſſadors into ſome regions, and the public have been gratified and inſtructed by the details of the voyage; religion has employed its miſſionaries in Aſia, Africa, and America, while the ſpirit of diſcovery and purſuit of ſcience has produced able accounts of voyages around the world and to different parts. Commerce has been at all times one of the leading motives to the voyages of enterprize, and from the deſire of extending commerce the perilous attempts of Mr. Mackenzie derive their origin.

I was led, he ſays, at an early period of life, by commercial views, to the country north-weſt of Lake Superior, in North America, and being endowed by nature with an inquiſitive mind and enterprizing ſpirit; poſſeſſing alſo a conſtitution and frame of body equal to the moſt arduous undertakings, and being familiar with toilſome exertions in the proſecution of mercantile purſuits, I not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating acroſs the continent of America, but was confident in the qualifications, as I was animated by the deſire, to undertake the perilous enterprize. The general utility of ſuch a diſcovery, has been univerſally acknowledged; while the wiſhes of my particular friends and commercial aſſociates, that I ſhould proceed in the purſuit of it, contributed to quicken the execution of this favourite project of my own ambition: and as the completion of it extends the boundaries of geographic ſcience, and adds new countries to the realms of Britiſh commerce, the danger I have encountered, and the toils I have ſuffered, have found their recompenſe; nor will the many tedious and weary days, or the gloomy and inclement nights which I have paſſed, have been paſſed in vain. The firſt voyage, he adds, has ſettled the dubious point of a practicable north-weſt paſſage; and I truſt, that it has ſet that long agitated queſtion at reſt, and extinguiſhed the diſputes reſpecting it for ever. In this voyage, I was not only without the neceſſary books and inſtruments, but alſo felt myſelf deficient in the ſciences of aſtronomy and navigation: I did not heſitate, therefore, to undertake a winter's voyage to this country, in order to procure the one and acquire the other. Theſe objects being accompliſhed, I returned, to determine the practicability of a commercial communication through the continent of North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which is proved by my ſecond journal. Nor do I heſitate to declare my decided opinion, that very great and eſſential advantages may be derived by extending our trade from one ſea to the other.

Theſe voyages, the author modeſtly obſerves, will not, I fear, afford the variety that may be expected from them; and that which they offered to the eye, is not of a nature to be effectually transferred to the page. Mountains and vallies, the dreary waſte, and wide ſpreading foreſts, the lakes and rivers ſucceed each other in general deſcription; and, except on the coaſts of the Pacific Ocean, where the villages were permanent, and

and the inhabitants in a great measure ſtationary, ſmall bands of wandering Indians are the only people whom I ſhall introduce to the acquaintance of my readers. The beaver and the buffalo, the mooſe deer and the elk, which are the principal animals to be found in theſe countries, are already ſo familiar to the naturaliſts of Europe, and have been ſo often as well as correctly deſcribed in their works, that the bare mention of them, as they enlivened the landſcape, or were hunted for food, with curſory account of the ſoil, the courſe and navigation of lakes and rivers, and their various produce, is all that can be reaſonably expected from me. I do not poſſeſs the ſcience of the naturaliſt; and even if the qualifications of that character had been obtained by me, its curious ſpirit would not have been gratified. I could not ſtop to dig into the earth, over whoſe ſurface I was compelled to paſs with rapid ſteps; nor could I turn aſide to collect the plants which nature might have ſcattered on the way, when my thoughts were anxiouſly employed in making proviſion for the day that was paſſing over me. I had to encounter perils by land and perils by water; to watch the ſavage who was our guide, or to guard againſt thoſe of his tribe who might meditate our deſtruction. I had, alſo, the paſſions and fears of others to controul and ſubdue. To day I had to aſſuage the riſing diſcontents, and on the morrow to cheer the fainting ſpirits of the people who accompanied me. The toil of our navigation was inceſſant, and oftentimes extreme; and in our progreſs overland we had no protection from the ſeverity of elements, and poſſeſſed no accommodations or conveniencies but ſuch as could be contained in the burden on our ſhoulders, which aggravated the toils of our march, and added to the weariſomeneſs of our way.

So much candour and moderation intitle the author to the higheſt praiſe; and it is but juſt to obſerve that, if his materials were ſcanty and his means few, he has yet contrived to make his narrative intereſting, and to keep curioſity perpetually alive, not by ſtudied graces of deſcription, or the affectation of profound reſearch, but by an ingenuous narrative of difficulties every day renewed, of toils ſurmounted only to be recommenced; of caſual intercourſe with irritable, ſuſpicious, and fickle ſavages, whoſe good-will was frequently converted into hatred without an apparent cauſe, and whoſe good offices were capriciouſly withdrawn at the very moment when they were become moſt eſſential.

As an introduction, Mr. Mackenzie gives a general hiſtory of the fur trade from Canada to the north-weſt, in which he ſhews a thorough knowledge of his ſubject, points out the reaſons why it has not hitherto been more proſperous, and indicates the means by which it may be purſued with the utmoſt advantage. The following is his account of the general mode of carrying on the fur trade. The agents are obliged to order the neceſſary goods from England in the month of October, eighteen months before they can leave Montreal; that is, they are not ſhipped from London until the ſpring following, when they arrive in Canada in the ſummer. In the courſe of the following

lowing winter they are made up into ſuch articles as are required for the ſavages; they are then packed into parcels of ninety pounds weight each, but cannot be ſent from Montreal until the May following; ſo that they do not get to market until the enſuing winter, when they are exchanged for furs, which come to Montreal the next fall, and from thence are ſhipped, chiefly to London, where they are not ſold or paid for before the ſucceeding ſpring, or even as late as June; which is forty-two months after the goods were ordered in Canada; thirty-ſix after they had been ſhipped from England, and twenty-four after they had been forwarded from Montreal; ſo that the merchant, allowing that he has twelve months credit, does not receive a return to pay for thoſe goods, and the neceſſary expences attending them, which is about equal to the value of the goods themſelves, till two years after they are conſidered as caſh, which makes this a very heavy buſineſs. There is even a ſmall proportion of it that requires twelve months longer to bring round the payment, owing to the immenſe diſtance it is carried, and from the ſhortneſs of the ſeaſons, which prevents the furs, even after they are collected, from coming out of the country for that period*.

The articles neceſſary for this trade, are coarſe woollen cloths of different kinds; milled blankets of different ſizes; arms and ammunition; twiſt and carrot tobacco; Manchester goods; linens, and coarſe ſheetings; thread, lines, and twine; common hardware; cutlery and ironmongery of ſeveral deſcriptions; kettles of braſs and copper, and ſheet iron; ſilk and cotton handkerchiefs; hats, ſhoes, and hoſe; calicoes and printed cottons, &c. &c. &c. Spirituous liquors and proviſions are purchaſed in Canada. Theſe, and the expence of tranſport to and from the Indian country, including wages to clerks, interpreters, guides, and canoe-men, with the expence of making up the goods for the market, form about half the annual amount againſt the adventure.

This expenditure in Canada ultimately tends to the encouragement of Britiſh manufactory, for thoſe who are employed in the different branches of this buſineſs, are enabled by their gains to purchaſe ſuch Britiſh articles as they muſt otherwiſe forego.

The men employed in the concern are fifty clerks, ſeventy-one interpreters and clerks, one thouſand one hundred and twenty canoe men, and thirty-five guides. Of theſe, five clerks, eighteen guides, and three hundred and fifty canoe-

* This will be better illuſtrated by the following ſtatement:
We will ſuppoſe the goods for 1798;

The orders for the goods are ſent to this country	25th Oct.	1796.
They are ſhipped from London	March,	1797.
They arrive in Montreal	June,	1797.
They are made up in the courſe of that ſummer and winter.		
They are ſent from Montreal	May,	1798.
They arrive in the Indian country, and are exchanged for furs the following winter,		1798-9.
Which furs come to Montreal	Sept.	1799.
And are ſhipped for London, where they are ſold in March and April, and paid for in May or June		1800.

men,

men, were employed for the ſummer ſeaſon in going from Montreal to the Grande Portage, in canoes, part of whom proceeded from thence to Rainy Lake, as will be hereafter explained, and are called pork-eaters, or goers and comers. Theſe were hired in Canada or Montreal, and were abſent from the firſt of May till the latter end of September. For this trip the guides had from eight hundred to a thouſand livres; and a ſuitable equipment; the foreman and ſteerſman from four to ſix hundred livres; the middlemen from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty livres, with an equipment of one blanket, one ſhirt, and one pair of trowſers; and were maintained during that period at the expence of their employers. Independent of their wages, they were allowed to traffic, and many of them earned to the amount of their wages. About one-third of theſe went to winter, and had more than double the above wages and equipment. All the winterers were hired by the year, and ſometimes for three years; and of the clerks many were apprentices, who were generally engaged for five or ſeven years, for which they had only one hundred pounds, proviſion and clothing. Such of them who could not be provided for as partners, at the expiration of this time, were allowed from one hundred pounds to three hundred pounds per annum, with all neceſſaries, till proviſion was made for them. Thoſe who acted in the two-fold capacity of clerk and interpreter, or were ſo denominated, had no other expectation than the payment of wages to the amount of from one thouſand to four thouſand livres per annum, with clothing and proviſions. The guides, who are a very uſeful ſet of men, acted alſo in the additional capacity of interpreters, and had a ſtated quantity of goods, conſidered as ſufficient for their wants, their wages being from one to three thouſand livres. The canoe men are of two deſcriptions, foremen and ſteerſmen, and middlemen. The two firſt were allowed annually one thouſand two hundred, and the latter four hundred livres each. The firſt claſs had what is called an equipment, conſiſting of two blankets, two ſhirts, two pair of trowſers, two handkerchiefs, fourteen pounds of carrot tobacco, and ſome trifling articles. The latter had ten pounds of tobacco, and all the other articles: thoſe are called north men, or winterers; and to the laſt claſs of people were attached upward of ſeven hundred Indian women and children, victualled at the expence of the company.

This firſt claſs of people are hired in Montreal, five months before they ſet out, and receive their equipments, and one-third of their wages in advance; and an adequate idea of the labour they undergo may be formed from the following account of the country through which they paſs, and their manner of proceeding.

The neceſſary number of canoes being purchaſed, at about three hundred livres each, the goods formed into packages, and the lakes and rivers free of ice, which they uſually are in the beginning of May, they are then diſpatched from La Chine, eight miles above Montreal, with eight or ten men in each canoe, and their baggage; and ſixty-five packages of goods, ſix hundred

hundred weight of biſcuit, two hundred weight of pork, three buſhels of peaſe, for the men's proviſion; two oil-cloths to cover the goods, a ſail, &c. an axe, a towing-line, a kettle, and a ſponge to bail out the water, with a quantity of gum, bark, and watape, to repair the veſſel. An European, on ſeeing one of theſe ſlender veſſels thus laden, heaped up, and ſunk with her gunwale within ſix inches of the water, would think his fate inevitable in ſuch a boat, when he reflected on the nature of her voyage; but the Canadians are ſo expert that few accidents happen.

A deſcription follows of the courſe of the voyage purſued in this trade, and the manners and cuſtoms of the natives, interſperſed with free and judicious animadverſions on the nature of the intercourſe of the Europeans with them.

The firſt voyage was begun on the third of June, 1789. We embarked, Mr. Mackenzie ſays, at nine o'clock in the morning, at Fort Chepewyan, on the ſouth ſide of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58. 40. north, and longitude 110. 30. weſt from Greenwich; and the compaſs has ſixteen degrees of variation eaſt, in a canoe made of birch bark. The crew conſiſted of four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives, and a German; we were accompanied alſo by an Indian, who had acquired the title of Engliſh chief, and his two wives, in a ſmall canoe, with two young Indians, his followers, in another ſmall canoe. Theſe men were engaged to ſerve us in the twofold capacity of interpreters and hunters. This Indian was one of the followers of the chief who conducted Mr. Hearne to the copper-mine river, and has ſince been a principal leader of his countrymen, who were in the habit of carrying furs to Churchill factory, Hudſon's-Bay, and till of late very much attached to the intereſt of that company. Theſe circumſtances procured him the appellation of the Engliſh chief.

We were alſo accompanied by a canoe that I had equipped for the purpoſe of trade, and given the charge of it to M. Le Roux, one of the company's clerks. In this I was obliged to ſhip part of our proviſion; which, with the clothing neceſſary for us on the voyage, a proper aſſortment of the articles of merchandize, as preſents, to enſure us a friendly reception among the Indians, and the ammunition and arms requiſite for defence, as well as a ſupply for our hunters, were more than our own canoe could carry, but by the time we ſhould part company, there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe that our expenditure would make ſufficient room for the whole.

It would be tedious and ſuperfluous to trace the courſe of his progreſs, affording, from the cauſes already mentioned, but little diverſity, and often threatened with impediment, not only from the natural difficulties, and the diſpoſitions of the natives, but from the timidity and irreſolution of his own aſſociates, who allowed themſelves to be terrified by the apprehenſion of unreal dangers, and to be ſeduced from perſeverance, by the deſire of returning to their abodes.

Some few anecdotes and obſervations from the two voyages may, however, be ſelected, both as objects

jects of inſtruction and amuſement, and as favourable ſpecimens of the author's ſtyle.

I was threatened, he ſays, with a very unpleaſant event; which, however, I was fortunately able to controul. Two young Indians being engaged in one of their games, a diſpute enſued, which roſe to ſuch an height, that they drew their knives, and if I had not happened to have appeared, they would, I doubt not, have employed them to very bloody purpoſes. So violent was their rage, that after I had turned them both out of the houſe, and ſeverely reprimanded them, they ſtood in the fort at leaſt for half an hour, looking at each other with a moſt vindictive aſpect, and in ſullen ſilence.

The game which produced this ſtate of bitter enmity, is called that of the platter, from a principal article of it. The Indians play at it in the following manner.

The inſtruments of it conſiſt of a platter, or diſh, made of wood or bark, and ſix round or ſquare, but flat pieces of metal, wood, or ſtone, whoſe ſides or ſurfaces are of different colours. Theſe are put into the diſh, and after being for ſome time ſhaken together, are thrown into the air, and received again into the diſh with conſiderable dexterity; when by the number that are turned up of the ſame mark or colour, the game is regulated. If there ſhould be equal numbers, the throw is not reckoned; if two or four, the platter changes hands.

On the 13th, one of theſe people came to me, and preſented in himſelf a curious example of Indian ſuperſtition. He requeſted me to furniſh him with a remedy that might be applied to the joints of his legs and thighs, of which he had in a great meaſure loſt the uſe for five winters. This affliction he attributed to his cruelty about that time, when, having found a wolf with two whelps in an old beaver lodge, he ſet fire to it and conſumed them.

The following paſſage exhibits a curious inſtance of deceptive ſuperſtition. We had no ſooner laid ourſelves down to reſt laſt night, than the natives began to ſing, in a manner very different to what I have been accuſtomed to hear among ſavages. It was not accompanied either with dancing, drum, or rattle; but conſiſted of ſoft, plaintive tones, and a modulation that was rather agreeable: it had ſomewhat the air of church muſic. As the natives had requeſted me not to quit them at a very early hour in the morning, it was five before I deſired that the young men, who were to proceed with us, ſhould depart; when they prepared to ſet off: but, on calling to our guide to conduct us, he ſaid, that he did not intend to accompany us any further, as the young men would anſwer our purpoſe as well as himſelf. I knew it would be in vain to remonſtrate with him, and therefore ſubmitted to his caprice, without a reply. However, I thought proper to inform him, that one of my people had loſt his dag, or poignard, and requeſted his aſſiſtance in the recovery of it. He aſked me what I would give him to conjure it back again; and a knife was agreed to be the price of his necromantic exertions. Accordingly all the dags and knives in the place were gathered together, and

and the natives formed a circle round them; the conjurer alſo remaining in the middle. When this part of the ceremony was arranged, he began to ſing, the reſt joining in the chorus; and after ſome time he produced the poignard, which was ſtruck in the ground, and returned it to me.

The treatment of the ſick, by one of the tribes near the ſea, is thus deſcribed. At an early hour this morning, I was again viſited by the chief, in company with his ſon. The former complained of a pain in his breaſt; to relieve his ſuffering, I gave him a few drops of Turlington's balſam on a piece of ſugar; and I was rather ſurpriſed to ſee him take it without the leaſt heſitation. When he had taken my medicine, he requeſted me to follow him, and conducted me to a ſhed, where ſeveral people were aſſembled round a ſick man, who was another of his ſons. They immediately uncovered him, and ſhewed me a violent ulcer in the ſmall of his back, in the fouleſt ſtate that can be imagined. One of his knees was alſo afflicted in the ſame manner. This unhappy man was reduced to a ſkeleton, and, from his appearance, was drawing near to an end of his pains. They requeſted that I would touch him, and his father was very urgent with me to adminiſter medicine; but he was in ſuch a dangerous ſtate, that I thought it prudent to yield no further to the importunities, than to give the ſick perſon a few drops of Turlington's balſam, in ſome water. I therefore left them, but was ſoon called back by the loud lamentations of the women, and was rather apprehenſive that ſome inconvenience might reſult from my compliance with the chief's requeſt. On my return, I found the native phyſicians buſy in practiſing their ſkill and art on the patient. They blew on him, and then whiſtled; at times they preſſed their extended fingers with all their ſtrength on his ſtomach: they alſo put their fore-fingers doubled into his mouth, and ſpouted water from their own, with great violence into his face. To ſupport theſe operations, the wretched ſufferer was held up in a ſitting poſture; and when they were concluded, he was laid down and covered with a new robe, made of the ſkin of a lynx. I had obſerved that his belly and breaſt were covered with ſcars, and I underſtood that they were cauſed by a cuſtom prevalent among them, of applying pieces of lighted touch-wood to their fleſh, in order to relieve pain, or demonſtrate their courage. He was now placed on a broad plank, and carried by ſix men into the woods, where I was invited to accompany them. I could not conjecture what would be the end of this ceremony, particularly as I ſaw one man carry fire, another an axe, and a third dry wood. I was, indeed, diſpoſed to ſuſpect, that as it was their cuſtom to burn the dead, they intended to relieve the poor man from his pain, and perform the laſt ſad duty of ſurviving affection. When they had advanced a ſhort diſtance into the wood, they laid him upon a clear ſpot, and kindled a fire againſt his back, when the phyſician began to ſcarify the ulcer with a very blunt inſtrument, the cruel pain of which operation, the patient bore with incredible reſolution. The ſcene afflicted me, and I left it.

If any yet remain who in their pretended philoſophical dreams, affect a preference of ſavage to civil life, they ſhould read this writer, and others, who ſpeak from actual knowledge, and do not diſfigure their works with fiction, or deprave them by abſurd ſpeculation; and then theſe reaſoners might at leaſt enjoy a chance of rouzing from their deluſive and injurious reveries.

The author concludes with an able geographical deſcription of his courſe, and with the following ſtatement of the reſults of his two voyages.

The diſcovery of a paſſage by ſea, north-eaſt or north-weſt from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, has for many years excited the attention of governments, and encouraged the enterprizing ſpirit of individuals. The non-exiſtence, however, of any ſuch practical paſſage being at length determined, the practicability of a paſſage through the continents of Aſia and America, becomes an object of conſideration. The Ruſſians, who firſt diſcovered that, along the coaſts of Aſia no uſeful or regular navigation exiſted, opened an interior communication by rivers, &c. and through that long and wide-extended continent, to the ſtrait that ſeparates Aſia from America, over which they paſſed to the adjacent iſlands and continent of the latter. Our ſituation, at length, is in ſome degree ſimilar to theirs: the non-exiſtence of a practicable paſſage by ſea, and the exiſtence of one through the continent are clearly proved; and it requires only the countenance and ſupport of the Britiſh government, to increaſe in a very ample proportion this national advantage, and ſecure the trade of that country to its ſubjects.

Experience, however, has proved, that this trade, from its very nature, cannot be carried on by individuals. A very large capital, or credit, or indeed both, is neceſſary, and conſequently an aſſociation of men of wealth to direct, with men of enterprize to act, in one common intereſt, muſt be formed on ſuch principles, as that in due time the latter may ſucceed the former, in continual and progreſſive ſucceſſion. Such was the equitable and ſucceſsful mode adopted by the merchants from Canada, which has been already deſcribed.

The junction of ſuch a commercial aſſociation with the Hudſon's-Bay Company, is the important meaſure which I would propoſe, and the trade might then be carried on with a very ſuperior degree of advantage, both private and public, under the privilege of their charter, and would prove, in fact, the complete fulfilment of the conditions on which it was firſt granted.

It would be an equal injuſtice to either party to be excluded from the option of ſuch an undertaking; for if the one has a right by charter, has not the other a right by prior poſſeſſion, as being ſucceſſors to the ſubjects of France, who were excluſively poſſeſſed of all the then known parts of this country, before Canada was ceded to Great Britain, except the coaſt of Hudſon's-Bay, and having themſelves been the diſcoverers of a vaſt extent of country ſince added to his Majeſty's territories, even to the Hyperborean and the Pacific Oceans?

If, therefore, that company ſhould decline, or be averſe to engage in, ſuch an extenſive, and perhaps hazardous, undertaking, it would not, ſurely, be an unreaſonable

reasonable proposal to them, from government, to give up a right which they refuse to exercise, on allowing them a just and reasonable indemnification for their stock, regulated by the average dividends of a certain number of years, or the actual price at which they transfer their stock.

By enjoying the privilege of the company's charter, though but for a limited period, there are adventurers who would be willing, as they are able, to engage in, and carry on the proposed commercial undertaking, as well as to give the most ample and satisfactory security to government for the fulfilment of its contract with the company. It would at the same time, be equally necessary to add a similar privilege of trade on the Columbia River, and its tributary waters.

If, however, it should appear that the Hudson's Bay company have an exclusive right to carry on their trade as they think proper, and continue it on the narrow scale, and with so little benefit to the public as they now do; if they should refuse to enter into a co-operative junction with others, what reasonable cause can they assign to government for denying the navigation of the bay to Nelson's river; and, by its waters, a passage to and from the interior country, for the use of the adventurers, and for the sole purpose of transport, under the most severe and binding restrictions not to interfere with their trade on the coast, and the country between it, and the actual establishments of the Canadian traders.

By these waters that discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay at Port Nelson, it is proposed to carry on the trade to their source, at the head of the Saskatchiwine River, which rises in the rocky mountains, not eight degrees of longitude from the Pacific Ocean. The Tacoutche or Columbia river flows also from the same mountains, and discharges itself likewise in the Pacific, in latitude 46. 20. Both of them are capable of receiving ships at their mouths, and are navigable throughout for boats.

The distance between these waters is only known from the report of the Indians. If, however, this communication should prove inaccessible, the route I pursued, though longer, in consequence of the great angle it makes to the north, will answer every necessary purpose. But whatever course may be taken from the Atlantic, the Columbia is the line of communication from the Pacific Ocean, pointed out by nature, as it is the only navigable river in the whole extent of Vancouver's minute survey of that coast: its banks also form the first level country in all the southern extent of continental coast from Cook's entry, and, consequently, the most northern situation fit for colonization, and suitable for the residence of a civilized people. By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained, from latitude 48. north to the pole, except that portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishing in both seas, and the markets of the four quarters of the

globe. Such would be the field for commercial enterprize, and incalculable would be the produce of it, when ſupported by the operations of that credit and capital which Great Britain ſo pre-eminently poſſeſſes. Then would this country begin to be remunerated for the expences it has ſuſtained in diſcovering and ſurveying the coaſt of the Pacific Ocean, which is at preſent left to American adventurers, who without regularity or capital, or the deſire of conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the intereſt of the moment. They, therefore, collect all the ſkins they can procure, and in any manner that ſuits them, and having exchanged them at Canton for the produce of China, return to their own country. Such adventurers, and many of them, as I have been informed, have been very ſucceſsful, would inſtantly diſappear from before a well-regulated trade.

It would be very unbecoming in me to ſuppoſe for a moment, that the Eaſt India company would heſitate to allow thoſe privileges to their fellow-ſubjects which are permitted to foreigners, in a trade that is ſo much out of the line of their own commerce, and therefore cannot be injurious to it.

Many political reaſons, which it is not neceſſary here to enumerate, muſt preſent themſelves to the mind of every man acquainted with the enlarged ſyſtem and capacities of Britiſh commerce, in ſupport of the meaſure which I have very briefly ſuggeſted, as promiſing the moſt important advantages to the trade of the united kingdoms.

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